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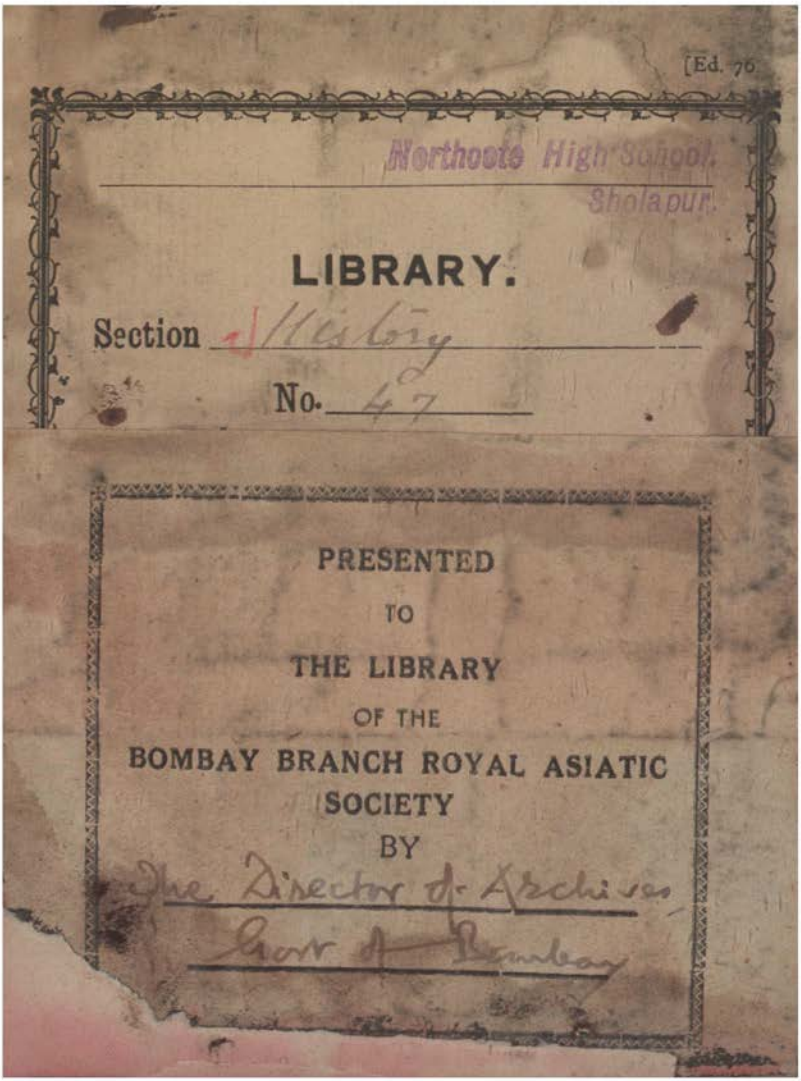
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A

HISTORY OF GREECE;

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF THE GENERATION CONTEMPORARY WITH ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

By GEORGE GROTE.

A NEW EDITION.

IN TEN VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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12-

HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART I.

CONTINUATION OF LEGENDARY GREECE.

CHAPTER XX.

STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS AS EXHIBITED IN GRECIAN LEGEND.

THOUGH the particular persons and events chronicled in the legendary poems of Greece are not to be regarded as belonging to the province of real history, those poems are nevertheless full of instruction as pictures of life and manners; and the very same circumstances which divest their composers of all credibility as historians, render them so much the more valuable as unconscious expositors of their own contemporary society. While professedly describing an uncertified past, their combinations are involuntarily borrowed from the surrounding present. For among communities, such as those of the primitive Greeks, without books, without means of extended travel, without acquaintance with foreign languages and habits, the imagination even of highly gifted men was naturally enslaved by the circumstances around them to a far greater degree than in the later days of Solôn or Herodotus; insomuch that the characters which they conceived and the scenes which they described would for that reason bear a stronger generic resemblance to the realities of their own time and locality. Nor was the poetry of that age

Legendary poems of Greece valuable pictures of real manners, though giving no historical facts.

addressed to lettered and critical authors, watchful to detect plagiarism, sated with simple imagery, and requiring something of novelty or peculiarity in every fresh production. To captivate their emotions, it was sufficient to depict with genius and fervour the more obvious manifestations of human adventure or suffering, and to idealise that type of society, both private and public, with which the hearers around were familiar. Even in describing the gods, where a great degree of latitude and deviation might have been expected,[1] we see that Homer introduces into Olympus the passions, the caprices, the love of power and patronage, the alternation of dignity and weakness, which animated the bosom of an ordinary Grecian chief; and this tendency, to reproduce in substance the social relations to which he had been accustomed, would operate still more powerfully when he had to describe simply human characters—the chief and his people, the warrior and his comrades, the husband, wife, father, and son—or the imperfect rudiments of judicial and administrative proceeding. That his narrative on all these points, even with fictitious characters and events, presents a close approximation to general reality, there can be no reason to doubt.[2] The necessity under which he lay of drawing from a store, then happily unexhausted, of personal experience and observation, is one of the causes of that freshness and vivacity of description for which he stands unrivalled, and which constituted the imperishable charm of the Iliad and Odyssey from the beginning to the end of Grecian literature.

They are memorials of the first state of Grecian society—the starting-point of Grecian history.

While therefore we renounce the idea of chronologising or historicising the events of Grecian legend, we may turn them to profit as valuable memorials of that state of society, feeling and intelligence, which must be to us the starting-point of the history of the people. Of course the legendary age, like all those which succeeded it, had its antecedent causes and determining conditions; but of these we know nothing,

[1] Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐβασιλεύοντο. Ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν (Aristot. Politic. i. 1, 7).

[2] In the pictures of the Homeric Heroes, there is no material difference of character recognised between one race of Greeks and another—or even between Greeks and Trojans. See Helbig, Die sittlichen Zustände des Griechischen Heldenalters, part ii. p. 53.

and we are compelled to assume it as a primary fact for the purpose of following out its subsequent changes. To conceive absolute beginning or origin (as Niebuhr has justly remarked) is beyond the reach of our faculties: we can neither apprehend nor verify anything beyond progress, or development, or decay[1]—change from one set of circumstances to another, operated by some definite combination of physical or moral laws. In the case of the Greeks, the legendary age, as the earliest in any way known to us, must be taken as the initial state from which this series of changes commences. We must depict its prominent characteristics as well as we can, and show—partly how it serves to prepare, partly how it forms a contrast to set off—the subsequent ages of Solôn, of Periklês, and of Demosthenês.

1. The political condition, which Grecian legend everywhere presents to us, is in its principal features strikingly different from that which had become universally prevalent among the Greeks in the time of the Peloponnêsian war. Historical oligarchy, as well as democracy, agreed in requiring a certain established system of government, comprising these three elements—specialised functions, temporary functionaries, and ultimate responsibility (under some forms or other) to the mass of qualified citizens—either a Senate or an Ecclêsia, or both. There were of course many and capital distinctions between one government and another, in respect to the qualification of the citizen, the attributes and efficiency of the general assembly, the admissibility to power, &c.; and men might often be dissatisfied with the way in which these questions were deter-

Comparison of legendary with historical Greece—government of the latter.

[1] Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 55, 2nd ed. "Erkennt man aber, dass aller Ursprung jenseits unserer nur Entwickelung und Fortgang fassenden Begriffe liegt; und beschränkt sich von Stufe auf Stufe im Umfang der Geschichte zurückzugehen, so wird man Völker eines Stammes (das heisst, durch eigenthümliche Art und Sprache identisch) vielfach eben an sich entgegenliegenden Küstenländern antreffen . . . ohne dass irgend etwas die Voraussetzung erheischte, eine von diesen getrennten Landschaften sei die ursprüngliche Heimath gewesen, von wo ein Theil nach der andern gewandert wäre . . . Dies ist der Geographie der Thiergeschlechter und der Vegetation analog: deren grosse Bezirke durch Gebirge geschieden werden und beschränkte Meere einschliessen."

"When we once recognise, however, that *all absolute beginning lies out of the reach of our mental conceptions, which comprehend nothing beyond development and progress*, and when we attempt nothing more than to go back from the later to the earlier stages in the compass of history, we shall often find, on opposite coasts of the same sea, people of one stock (that is of the same peculiar customs and language), with-

mined in their own city. But in the mind of every man, some determining rule or system—something like what in modern times is called a *constitution*—was indispensable to any government entitled to be called legitimate, or capable of creating in the mind of a Greek a feeling of moral obligation to obey it. The functionaries who exercised authority under it might be more or less competent or popular; but his personal feelings towards them were commonly lost in his attachment or aversion to the general system. If any energetic man could by audacity or craft break down the constitution and render himself permanent ruler according to his own will and pleasure—even though he might govern well, he could never inspire the people with any sentiment of duty towards him. His sceptre was illegitimate from the beginning, and even the taking of his life, far from being interdicted by that moral feeling which condemned the shedding of blood in other cases, was considered meritorious. Nor could he be mentioned in the language except by a name[1] (*τύραννος, despot*) which branded him as an object of mingled fear and dislike.

Government of legendary Greece.

If we carry our eyes back from historical to legendary Greece, we find a picture the reverse of what has been here sketched. We discern a government in which there is little or no scheme or system,—still less any idea of responsibility to the governed,—but in which the main-spring of obedience on the part of the people consists in their personal feeling and reverence towards the chief. We remark, first and foremost, the King; next, a limited number of subordinate kings or chiefs; afterwards, the mass of armed freemen, husbandmen, artisans, freebooters, &c.; lowest of all, the free labourers for hire and the bought slaves. The King is not distinguished by any broad or impassable boundary from the other chiefs, to each of whom the title *Basileus* is applicable as

The King.

out being warranted in supposing that either of these separate coasts was the primitive home from whence emigrants crossed over to the other. This is analogous to the geography of animals and plants, whose wide districts are severed by mountains and enclose internal seas."

[1] The Greek name *τύραννος* cannot be properly rendered *tyrant*; for many of the *τύραννοι* by no means deserved to be so called, nor is it consistent with the use of language to speak of a mild and well-intentioned tyrant. The word *despot* is the nearest approach which we can make to it, since it is understood to imply that a man has got more power than he ought to have, while it does not exclude a beneficent use of such power by some individuals. It is however very inadequate to express the full strength of Grecian feeling which the original word called forth.

well as to himself: his supremacy has been inherited from his ancestors, and passes by descent, as a general rule, to his eldest son, having been conferred upon the family as a privilege by the favour of Zeus.[1] In war, he is the leader, foremost in personal prowess, and directing all military movements; in peace, he is the general protector of the injured and oppressed; he farther offers up those public prayers and sacrifices which are intended to obtain for the whole people the favour of the gods. An ample domain is assigned to him as an appurtenance of his lofty position, while the produce of his fields and his cattle is consecrated in part to an abundant, though rude, hospitality. Moreover, he receives frequent presents, to avert his enmity, to conciliate his favour,[2] or to buy off his exactions; and when plunder is taken from the enemy, a large previous share, comprising probably the

[1] The Phæakian king Alkinous (Odyss. vii. 55—65): there are twelve other Phæakian Βασιλῆες, he is himself the thirteenth (viii. 391).

The chief men in the Iliad, and the suitors of Penelopê in the Odyssey, are called usually and indiscriminately both Βασιλῆες and Ἄνακτες; the latter word however designates them as men of property and masters of slaves (analogous to the subsequent word δεσπότης, which word does not occur in Homer, though δέσποινα is found in the Odyssey), while the former word marks them as persons of conspicuous station in the tribe (see Odyss. i. 393—401; xiv. 63). A chief could only be Βασιλεύς of freemen; but he might be Ἄναξ either of freemen or of slaves.

Agamemnôn and Menelaus belong to the *most kingly* race (γένος βασιλεύτερον: compare Tyrtæus, Fragm. ix. v. 8, p. 9, ed. Schneidewin) of the Pelopids, to whom the sceptre originally made for Zeus has been given by Hermês (Iliad, ii. 101; ix. 160; x. 239); compare Odyss. xv. 539. The race of Dardanus are the favourite offspring of Zeus, βασιλεύτατον among the Trojans (Iliad, xx. 304). These races are the parallels of the *kingly prosapiæ* called Amali, Asdingi, Gungingi and Lithingi, among the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards (Jornandes, De Rebus Geticis, c. 14—22; Paul Warnefrid, Gest. Langob. c. 14—21); and the ἀρχικὸν γένος among the Chaonian Epirots (Thucyd. ii. 80).

[2] Odyss. i. 392; xi. 184; xiii. 14; xix. 109.—

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλεύεμεν. αἶψά τε οἱ δῶ
Ἀφνειὸν πέλεται, καὶ τιμηέστερος αὐτός.

Iliad, ix. 154—297 (when Agamemnôn is promising seven townships to Achilles, as a means of appeasing his wrath):—

Ἔν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολυῤῥῆνες, πολυβοῦται,
Οἵ κέ σε δωτίνῃσι, θεὸν ὡς, τιμήσουσι,
Καί σοι ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.

See Iliad, xii. 312; and the reproaches of Thersitês (ii. 226) — βασιλῆας δωροφάγους (Hesiod, Opp. Di. 38—264).

The Roman kings had a large τέμενος assigned to them,—"agri, arva, et arbusta et pascui læti atque uberes" (Cicero, De Republ. v. 2): the German kings received presents: "Mos est civitatibus (observes Tacitus respecting the Germans whom he describes, M. G. 15) ultro ac viritim conferre principibus, vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit".

The revenue of the Persian kings before Darius consisted only of what were called δῶρα or presents (Herod. iii. 89): Darius first introduced both the name of tribute and the determinate assessment. King Polydektês in Seriphos invites his friends to a festival, the condition of which is that each guest shall contribute to an ἔρανος for his benefit (Pherekydês, Fragm. 26, ed. Didot); a case to which the Thracian banquet prepared by Seuthês affords an exact parallel (Xenophôn,

most alluring female captive, is reserved for him apart from the general distribution.[1]

Such is the position of the King in the heroic times of Greece, —the only person (if we except the heralds and priests, each both special and subordinate) who is then presented to us as clothed with any individual authority,—the person by whom all the executive functions, then few in number, which the society requires, are either performed or directed. His personal ascendency—derived from divine countenance bestowed both upon himself individually and upon his race, and probably from accredited divine descent—is the salient feature in the picture. The people hearken to his voice, embrace his propositions, and obey his orders: not merely resistance, but even criticism upon his acts, is generally exhibited in an odious point of view, and is indeed never heard of except from some one or more of the subordinate princes. To keep alive and justify such feelings in the public mind, however, the king must himself possess various accomplishments, bodily and mental, and that too in a superior degree.[2] He must be brave in the field, wise in the council, and eloquent in the agora; he must be endued with

His overruling personal ascendency.

Anab. vii. 3, 16—32: compare Thucyd. ii. 97, and Welcker, Æschyl. Trilogie, p. 381). Such Aids or Benevolences, even if originally voluntary, became in the end compulsory. In the European monarchies of the middle ages, what were called free gifts were more ancient than public taxes: "The feudal Aids (observes Mr. Hallam) are the beginning of taxation, of which they for a long time answered the purpose" (Middle Ages, ch. ii. part i. p. 189). So about the Aides in the old French Monarchy, "La Cour des Aides avoit été instituée, et sa jurisdiction s'étoit formée, lorsque le domaine des Rois suffisoit à toutes les dépenses de l'Etat, les droits d'Aides étoient alors des supplémens peu considérables et toujours temporaires. Depuis, le domaine des Rois avoit été anéanti. les Aides, au contraire, étoient devenues permanentes et formoient presque la totalité des ressources du trésor." (Histoire de la Fronde, par M. de Sainte-Aulaire, ch. iii. p. 124.)

[1] Ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι, is the description which Thucydidês gives of these heroic governments (i. 13).

The language of Aristotle (Polit. iii. 10, 1) is much the same: Ἡ βασιλεία ἦ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους—αὐτὴ δ' ἦν ἑκόντων μέν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς δ' ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος.

It can hardly be said correctly, however, that the king's authority was *defined:* nothing can well be more indefinite.

Agamemnôn enjoyed or assumed the power of putting to death a disobedient soldier (Aristot. Polit. iii. 9, 2). The words which Aristotle read in the speech of Agamemnôn in the Iliad—Πάρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος—are not in our present copies: the Alexandrine critics effaced many traces of the old manners.

[2] Striking phrases on this head are put into the mouth of Sarpêdôn (Iliad, xii. 310—322).

Kings are named and commissioned by Zeus,—Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες (Hesiod, Theogon. 96; Callimach. Hymn. ad Jov. 79): κρατέρῳ θεράποντε Διός is a sort of paraphrase for the kingly dignity in the case of Pelias and Nêleus (Odyss. xi. 255; compare Iliad, ii. 204).

bodily strength and activity above other men, and must be an adept, not only in the use of his arms, but also in those athletic exercises which the crowd delight to witness. Even the more homely varieties of manual acquirements are an addition to his character,—such as the craft of the carpenter or shipwright, the straight furrowing of the ploughman, or the indefatigable persistence of the mower without repose or refreshment throughout the longest day.[1] The conditions of voluntary obedience, during the Grecian heroic times, are—family descent with personal force and superiority, mental as well as bodily, in the chief, coupled with the favour of the gods: an old chief, such as Pêleus and Laërtes, cannot retain his position.[2] But, on the other hand, where these elements of force are present, a good deal of violence, caprice and rapacity is tolerated: the ethical judgment is not exact in scrutinising the conduct of individuals so pre-eminently endowed. As in the case of the gods, the general epithets of *good, just*, &c. are applied to them as euphemisms arising from submission and fear, being not only not suggested, but often pointedly belied, by their particular acts. These words signify[3] the man of birth, wealth, influence and daring, whose arm is strong to destroy or to protect, whatever may be the turn of his moral sentiments; while the opposite epithet, *bad*, designates the poor, lowly and weak, from

[1] Odysseus builds his own bed and bedchamber and his own raft (Odyss. xxiii. 188; v. 246—255): he boasts of being an excellent mower and ploughman (xviii. 365—375): for his astonishing proficiency in the athletic contests, see viii. 180—230. Paris took a share in building his own house (Iliad, vi. 314).

[2] Odyss. xi. 496; xxiv. 136—248.

[3] See this prominent meaning of the words ἀγαθός, ἐσθλός, κακός, &c., copiously illustrated in Welcker's excellent Prolegomena to Theognis, sect. 9—16. Camerarius, in his notes on that poet (v. 19), had already conceived clearly the sense in which these words are used. Iliad, xv. 323. Οἵα τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρώωσι χέρηες. Compare Hesiod, Opp. Di. 216, and the line in Athenæus, v. p. 178, Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἴασιν.

"*Moralis* illarum vocum vis, et *civilis* —quarum hæc a lexicographis et commentatoribus plurimis fere neglecta est —probe discernendæ erunt. Quod quo facilius fieret, nescio an ubi posterior intellectus valet, majusculâ scribendum fuisset 'Αγαθοί et Κακοί."

If this advice of Welcker could have been followed, much misconception would have been obviated. The reference of these words to power and not to worth, is their primitive import in the Greek language, descending from the Iliad downward, and determining the habitual designation of parties during the period of active political dispute. The ethical meaning of the word hardly appears until the discussions raised by Sokratês, and prosecuted by his disciples: but the primitive import still continued to maintain concurrent footing.

I shall have occasion to touch more largely on this subject, when I come to expound the Grecian political parties. At present it is enough to remark that the epithets of *good men, best men* (the *better classes*, according to a phrase common even now), habitually applied afterwards to the aristocratical parties, descend from the rudest period of Grecian society.

whose dispositions, be they ever so virtuous, society has little either to hope or to fear.

Difficulty which Aristotle found in explaining to himself the voluntary obedience paid to the early kings.

Aristotle, in his general theory of government, lays down the position,[1] that the earliest sources of obedience and authority among mankind are personal, exhibiting themselves most perfectly in the type of paternal supremacy; and that therefore the kingly government, as most conformable to this stage of social sentiment, became probably the first established everywhere. And in fact it still continued in his time to be generally prevalent among the non-Hellenic nations immediately around; though the Phœnician cities and Carthage, the most civilised of all non-Hellenic states, were republics. Nevertheless, so completely were the feelings about kingship reversed among his contemporary Greeks, that he finds it difficult to enter into the voluntary obedience paid by his ancestors to their early heroic chiefs. He cannot explain to his own satisfaction how any one man should have been so much superior to the companions around him as to maintain such immense personal ascendency: he suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors.[2] Such remarks illustrate strongly the revolution which the Greek mind had undergone during the preceding centuries, in regard to the internal grounds of political submission. But the connecting link between the Homeric and the republican schemes of government is to be found in two adjuncts of the Homeric royalty, which are now to be mentioned—the Boulê, or council of chiefs, and the Agora, or general assembly of freemen.

These two meetings, more or less frequently convoked, and interwoven with the earliest habits of the primitive Grecian

[1] Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 7.

[2] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἦν εὑρεῖν ἄνδρας διαφέροντας κατ' ἀρετήν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις (Polit. iii. 10, 7); also the same treatise v. 8, 5, and v. 8, 22. Οὐ γίνονται δ' ἔτι βασιλεῖαι νῦν, &c.

Aristotle handles monarchy far less copiously than either oligarchy or democracy: the tenth and eleventh chapters of his third book, in which he discusses it, are nevertheless very interesting to peruse.

In the conception of Plato also, the kingly government, if it is to work well, implies a breed superior to humanity to hold the sceptre (Legg. iv. p. 6, 173).

The Athenian dramatic poets (especially Euripidês) often put into the mouths of their heroic characters popular sentiments adapted to the democratical atmosphere of Athens—very different from what we find in Homer.

communities, are exhibited in the monuments of the legendary age as opportunities for advising the king, and media for promulgating his intentions to the people, rather than as restraints upon his authority. Unquestionably they must have conduced in practice to the latter result as well as to the former; but this is not the light in which the Homeric poems describe them. The chiefs, kings, princes, or Gerontes—for the same word in Greek designates both an old man and a man of conspicuous rank and position—compose the Council,[1] in which, according to the representations in the Iliad, the resolutions of Agamemnôn on the one side and of Hectôr on the other appear uniformly to prevail. The harshness and even contempt with which Hectôr treats respectful opposition from his ancient companion Polydamas—the despondent tone and conscious inferiority of the latter, and the unanimous assent which the former obtains, even when quite in the wrong—all this is clearly set forth in the poem:[2] while in the Grecian camp we see Nestôr tendering his advice in the most submissive and delicate manner to Agamemnôn, to be adopted or rejected as "the king of men" might determine.[3] The Council is a purely consultative body, assembled not with any power of peremptorily arresting mischievous resolves of the king, but solely for his information and guidance. He himself is the presiding (Boulêphorus or) member[4] of council; the rest, collectively as well as individually, are his subordinates.

The Boulê—the Agora: their limited intervention and subordination to the king.

We proceed from the Council to the Agora. According to what seems the received custom, the king, after having talked over his intentions with the former, proceeds to announce them to the people. The heralds make the crowd sit down in order,[5] and

[1] Βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἶζε γερόντων (Iliad, ii. 53): compare x. 195—415. Ἴλου, παλαιοῦ δημογέροντος (xi. 371). So also the modern words *Seigneur*, *Signore*, from *Senior*; and the Arabic word *Shaik*.

[2] Iliad, xviii. 313.—

Ἕκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπῄνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,
Πουλυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔτις, ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλήν.

Also xii. 213, where Polydamas says to Hector,—

. . . . ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικε
Δῆμον ἐόντα παρὲξ ἀγορεύεμεν, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ,
Οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ, σὸν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν.

[3] Iliad, ix. 95—101.

[4] Iliad, vii. 126, Πήλευς—Ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουληφόρος ἠδ' ἀγορήτης.

[5] Considerable stress seems to be laid on the necessity that the people in the agora should *sit down* (Iliad, ii. 96): a *standing* agora is a symptom of tumult or terror (Iliad, xviii. 246); an evening agora, to which men come elevated by wine, is also the forerunner of mischief (Odyss. iii. 138).

enforce silence: any one of the chiefs or councillors—but as it seems, no one else[1]—is allowed to address them: the king first promulgates his intentions, which are then open to be commented upon by others. But in the Homeric agora no division of affirmative or negative voices ever takes place, nor is any formal resolution ever adopted. The nullity of positive function strikes us even more in the Agora than in the Council. It is an assembly for talk, communication and discussion to a certain extent by the chiefs, in presence of the people as listeners and sympathisers—often for eloquence, and sometimes for quarrel—but here its ostensible purposes end.

The Agora—a medium for promulgation of the intentions of the king.

The Agora in Ithaka, in the second book of the Odyssey, is convened by the youthful Telemachus, at the instigation of Athênê, not for the purpose of submitting any proposition, but in order to give formal and public notice to the suitors to desist from their iniquitous intrusion and pillage of his substance, and to absolve himself further, before gods and men, from all obligations towards them, if they refuse to comply. For the slaughter of the suitors in all the security of the festive hall and banquet (which forms the catastrophe of the Odyssey), was a proceeding involving much that was shocking to Grecian feeling,[2] and therefore required to be preceded by such ample formalities, as would leave both the delinquents themselves without the shadow of excuse, and their surviving relatives without any claim to the customary satisfaction. For this special purpose Telemachus directs the heralds to summon an agora; but what seems most of all surprising is, that none had ever been summoned or held since the departure of Odysseus himself, an interval of twenty years. "No agora or session has taken place amongst us (says the grey-headed Ægyptius who opens the proceedings) since Odysseus went on shipboard; and

Agora summoned by Telemachus in Ithaka.

Such evidences of regular formalities observed in the agora are not without interest.

[1] Iliad, ii. 100,—

. . . . εἴποτ' ἀϋτῆς
Σχοίατ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων ρασιλήων.

Nitzsch (ad Odyss. ii. 14) controverts this restriction of individual manifestation to the chiefs: the view of O. Müller (Hist. Dorians, b. iii. c. 3) appears to me more correct: such was also the opinion of Aristotle—φησὶ τοίνυν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ὁ μὲν δῆμος μόνου τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι κύριος ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ πρᾶξαι (Schol. Iliad. ix. 17): compare the same statement in his Nikomachean Ethics, iii. 5.

[2] See Iliad, ix. 635; Odyss. xi. 419.

now, who is he that has called us together? what man, young or old, has felt such a strong necessity? Has he received intelligence from our absent warriors, or has he other public news to communicate? He is our good friend for doing this: whatever his projects may be, I pray Zeus to grant him success."[1] Telemachus, answering the appeal forthwith, proceeds to tell the assembled Ithakans that he has no public news to communicate, but that he has convoked them upon his own private necessities. Next he sets forth pathetically the wickedness of the suitors, calls upon them personally to desist and upon the people to restrain them, and concludes by solemnly warning them, that, being henceforward free from all obligation towards them, he will invoke the avenging aid of Zeus, so "that they may be slain in the interior of his own house, without bringing upon him any subsequent penalty".[2]

We are not of course to construe the Homeric description as anything more than an *idéal*, approximating to actual reality. But allowing all that can be required for such a limitation, it exhibits the Agora more as a special medium of publicity and intercommunication,[3] from the king to the body of the people, than as including any idea of responsibility on the part of the former or restraining force on the part of the latter, however such consequences may indirectly grow out of it. The primitive Grecian government is essentially monarchical, reposing on personal feeling and divine right: the memorable dictum in the

[1] Odyss. ii. 25—40.

[2] Odyss. ii. 43, 77, 145.—
Νήποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὄλοισθε.

[3] A similar character is given of the public assemblies of the early Franks and Lombards (Pfeffel, Histoire du Droit Public en Allemagne, t. i. p. 18; Sismondi, Histoires des Républiques Italiennes, t. i. c. 2, p. 71).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ii. 12) pays rather too high a compliment to the moderation of the Grecian heroic kings.

The kings at Rome, like the Grecian heroic kings, began with an ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος: the words of Pomponius (De Origine Juris, i. 2) would be perhaps more exactly applicable to the latter than to the former: "Initio civitatis nostræ Populus sine certâ lege, sine jure certo, primum agere instituit: omniaque manu a Regibus gubernabantur". Tacitus says (Ann. iii. 26, "Nobis Romulus, ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit, repertaque quædam a Tullo et Anco: sed præcipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam Reges obtemperarent". The appointment of a Dictator under the Republic was a reproduction, for a short and definite interval, of this old unbounded authority (Cicero, De Republ. ii. 32; Zonaras, Ann. vii. 13; Dionys. Hal. v. 75).

See Rubino, Untersuchungen über Römische Verfassung und Geschichte, Cassel, 1839, Buch I. Abschnitt 2, p. 112—132; and Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, i. sect. 18, p. 81—91.

Iliad is borne out by all that we hear of the actual practice,—"The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only—one king,—him to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and the tutelary sanctions".[1]

Agora in the second book of the Iliad—picture of submission which it presents.

The second book of the Iliad, full as it is of beauty and vivacity, not only confirms our idea of the passive, recipient, and listening character of the Agora, but even presents a repulsive picture of the degradation of the mass of the people before the chiefs. Agamemnôn convokes the Agora for the purpose of immediately arming the Grecian host, under a full impression that the gods have at last determined forthwith to crown his arms with complete victory. Such impression has been created by a special visit of Oneirus (the Dream-god), sent by Zeus during his sleep—being indeed an intentional fraud on the part of Zeus, though Agamemnôn does not suspect its deceitful character. At this precise moment, when he may be conceived to be more than usually anxious to get his army into the field and snatch the prize, an unaccountable fancy seizes him, that instead of inviting the troops to do what he really wishes, and encouraging their spirits for this one last effort, he will adopt a course directly contrary; he will try their courage by professing to believe that the siege had become desperate, and that there was no choice except to go on shipboard and flee. Announcing to Nestôr and Odysseus, in preliminary council, his intention to hold this strange language, he at the same time tells them that he relies upon them to oppose it and counterwork its effect upon the multitude.[2] The agora is presently assembled, and the king of men pours forth a speech full of dismay and despair, concluding by a distinct exhortation to all present to go aboard and return home at once. Immediately the whole army, chiefs as well as people, break up and proceed to execute his orders: every one

[1] Iliad, ii. 204. Agamemnôn promises to make over to Achilles seven well-peopled cities, with a body of wealthy inhabitants (Iliad, ix. 153); and Menelaus, if he could have induced Odysseus to quit Ithaka and settle near him in Argos, would have depopulated one of his neighbouring towns in order to make room for him (Odyss. iv. 176).

Manso (Sparta, i. 1, p. 34) and Nitzsch (ad Odyss. iv. 171) are inclined to exclude these passages as spurious,—a proceeding, in my opinion, inadmissible, without more direct grounds than they are able to produce.

[2] Iliad, ii. 74. Πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, &c.

rushes off to get his ship afloat, except Odysseus, who looks on in mournful silence and astonishment. The army would have been quickly on its voyage home, had not the goddesses Hêrê and Athênê stimulated Odysseus to an instantaneous interference. He hastens among the dispersing crowd and diverts them from their purpose of retreat: to the chiefs he addresses flattering words, trying to shame them by gentle expostulation: but the people he visits with harsh reprimand and blows from his sceptre,[1] thus driving them back to their seats in the agora.

Amidst the dissatisfied crowd thus unwillingly brought back, the voice of Thersitês is heard the longest and the loudest,—a man ugly, deformed, and unwarlike, but fluent in speech, and especially severe and unsparing in his censure of the chiefs, Agamemnôn, Achilles, and Odysseus. Upon this occasion, he addresses to the people a speech denouncing Agamemnôn for selfish and greedy exaction generally, bnt particularly for his recent ill-treatment of Achilles—and he endeavours moreover to induce them to persist in their scheme of departure. In reply Odysseus not only rebukes Thersitês sharply for his impudence in abusing the commander-in-chief, but threatens that if ever such behaviour is repeated, he will strip him naked, and thrash him out of the assembly with disgraceful blows, as an earnest of which he administers to him at once a smart stroke with the studded sceptre, imprinting its painful mark in a bloody weal across his back. Thersitês, terrified and subdued, sits down weeping, while the surrounding crowd deride him, and express the warmest approbation of Odysseus for having thus by force put the reviler to silence.[2]

Both Odysseus and Nestôr then address the agora, sympathising with Agamemnôn for the shame which the retreat of the Greeks is about to inflict upon him, and urging emphatically upon every one present the obligation of persevering until the siege shall be successfully consummated. Neither of them animadverts at all upon Agamemnôn, either for his conduct

[1] Iliad, ii. 188—196.—

Ὄντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,
Τόνδ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς . . . .

Ὃν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι, βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
Τὸν σκήπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν, ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ, &c.

[2] Iliad, ii. 213—277.

towards Achilles, or for his childish freak of trying the temper of the army.[1]

There cannot be a clearer indication than this description—so graphic in the original poem—of the true character of the Homeric agora. The multitude who compose it are listening and acquiescent, not often hesitating, and never refractory,[2] to their chief. The fate which awaits a presumptuous critic, even where his virulent reproaches are substantially well-founded, is plainly set forth in the treatment of Thersitês; while the unpopularity of such a character is attested even more by the excessive pains which Homer takes to heap upon him repulsive personal deformities, than by the chastisement of Odysseus—he is lame, bald, crook-backed, of misshapen head and squinting vision.

Conduct of Odysseus to the people and the chiefs.

But we cease to wonder at the submissive character of the Agora, when we read of the proceedings of Odysseus towards the people themselves,—his fine words and flattery addressed to the chiefs, and his contemptuous reproof and manual violence towards the common men, at a moment when both were doing exactly the same thing,—fulfilling the express bidding of Agamemnôn, upon whom Odysseus does not offer a single comment. This scene, which excited a sentiment of strong displeasure among the democrats of historical Athens,[3] affords a proof that the feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece—Herodotus, Xenophôn, Hippokratês, and Aristotle—boasted, as distinguishing the free Greek citizen from the slavish Asiatic, was yet undeveloped in the time of Homer.[4] The ancient epic is commonly so filled with the personal adventures of the chiefs, and the people are so constantly depicted as simple appendages attached to them, that we rarely obtain a glimpse of the treatment of the one apart from the other, such as this memorable Homeric agora affords.

[1] Iliad, ii. 284—340. Nor does Thersitês, in his criminatory speech against Agamemnôn, touch in any way upon this anomalous point, though in the circumstances under which his speech is made, it would seem to be of all others the most natural—and the sharpest thrust against the commander-in-chief.

[2] See this illustrated in the language of Thêseus, Eurip. Supplic. 349—352. Δόξαι δὲ χρήζω καὶ πόλει πάσῃ τάδε· Δόξει δ', ἐμοῦ θέλοντος· ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου Προσδοὺς, ἔχοιμ' ἂν δῆμον εὐμενέστερον.

[3] Xenophôn, Memorab. i. 2, 9.

[4] Aristot. Polit. vii. 6, 1; Hippocrat. De Aëre, Loc. et Aq. v. 85—86; Herodot. vii. 134.

There remains one other point of view in which we are to regard the Agora of primitive Greece—as the scene in which justice was administered. The king is spoken of as constituted by Zeus the great judge of society. He has received from Zeus the sceptre, and along with it the powers of command and sanction: the people obey these commands and enforce these sanctions, under him, enriching him at the same time with lucrative presents and payments.[1] Sometimes the king separately, sometimes the kings or chiefs or Gerontes in the plural number, are named as deciding disputes and awarding satisfaction to complainants; always, however, in public, in the midst of the assembled agora.[2] In one of the compartments of the shield of Achilles the details of a judicial scene are described. While the agora is full of an eager and excited crowd, two men are disputing about the fine of satisfaction for the death of a murdered man—one averring, the other denying, that the fine had already been paid, and both demanding an inquest. The Gerontes are ranged on stone seats,[3] in the holy circle, with two talents of gold lying before them, to be awarded to such of the litigants as shall make out his case to their satisfaction. The heralds with their sceptres, repressing the warm sympathies of the crowd in favour of one or other of the parties, secure an alternate hearing to both.[4] This

Justice administered in the Agora by the king or chiefs.

[1] The σκῆπτρον, θέμιστες or θέμις, and ἀγορή go together, under the presiding superintendence of the gods. The goddess Themis both convokes and dismisses the agora (see Iliad, xi. 806; Odyss. ii. 67; Iliad, xx. 4).

The θέμιστες, commandments, and sanctions, belong properly to Zeus (Odyss. xvi. 403); from him they are given in charge to earthly kings along with the sceptre (Iliad, i. 238; ii. 206).

The commentators on Homer recognised θέμις, rather too strictly, as ἀγορὰς καὶ βουλῆς λέξιν (see Eustath. ad Odyss. xvi. 403).

The presents and the λιπαραὶ θέμιστες (Iliad, ix. 156).

[2] Hesiod, Theogon. 85; the single person judging seems to be mentioned (Odyss. xii. 439).

It deserves to be noticed that in Sparta the Senate decided accusations of homicide (Aristot. Polit. iii. 1, 7): in historical Athens the Senate of Areiopagus originally did the same, and retained, even when its powers were much abridged, the trial of accusations of intentional homicide and wounding.

Respecting the judicial functions of the early Roman kings, Dionys. Hal. A. R. x. 1. Τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐφ' αὑτῶν ἔταττον τοῖς δεομένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ τὸ δικαιωθὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, τοῦτο νόμος ἦν (compare iv. 25; and Cicero, Republic. v. 2; Rubino, Untersuchungen, i. 2, p. 122).

[3] Iliad, xviii. 504.—

Οἱ δὲ γέροντες
Εἵατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ.

Several of the old northern Sagas represent the old men assembled for the purpose of judging as sitting on great stones in a circle called the Urtheilsring or Gerichtsring (Leitfaden der Nordischen Alterthümer, p. 31, Copenhag. 1837).

[4] Homer, Iliad, xviii. 497—510.

interesting picture completely harmonises with the brief allusion of Hesiod to the judicial trial—doubtless a real trial—between himself and his brother Persês. The two brothers disputed about their paternal inheritance, and the cause was carried to be tried by the chiefs in agora; but Persês bribed them, and obtained an unjust verdict for the whole.[1] So at least Hesiod affirms, in the bitterness of his heart: earnestly exhorting his brother not to waste a precious time, required for necessary labours, in the unprofitable occupation of witnessing and abetting litigants in the agora—for which (he adds) no man has proper leisure, unless his subsistence for the year beforehand be safely treasured up in his garners.[2] He repeats more than once his complaints of the crooked and corrupt judgments of which the kings were habitually guilty; dwelling upon abuse of justice as the crying evil of his day, and predicting as well as invoking the vengeance of Zeus to repress it. And Homer ascribes the tremendous violence of the autumnal storms to the wrath of Zeus against those judges who disgrace the agora with their wicked verdicts.[3]

Complaints made by Hesiod of unjust judgment in his own case.

Though it is certain that in every state of society the feelings of men when assembled in multitude will command a certain measure of attention, yet we thus find the Agora, in judicial matters still more than in political, serving merely the purpose of publicity. It is the king who is the grand personal mover of Grecian heroic society.[4] He is on earth the equivalent of Zeus in the agora of the gods: the supreme god of Olympus is in the habit of carrying on his government with frequent publicity, of hearing some dissentient opinions, and of allowing himself occasionally to be wheedled by Aphroditê or worried into compliance by Hêrê, but his determination is at last conclusive, subject only to the overruling interference of the Mœræ or Fates.[5] Both the society of gods, and the various societies of men, are, according to the conceptions of Grecian legend, carried on by the personal rule of

The king among men is analogous to Zeus among gods.

[1] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 37.

[2] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 27—33.

[3] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 250—263; Homer, Iliad, xvi. 387.

[4] Tittmann (Darstellung der Griechischen Staatsverfassungen, book ii. p. 63) gives too lofty an idea, in my judgment, of the condition and functions of the Homeric agora.

[5] Iliad, i. 520—527; iv. 14—56; especially the agora of the gods (xx. 16).

a legitimate sovereign, who does not derive his title from the special appointment of his subjects, though he governs with their full consent. In fact, Grecian legend presents to us hardly anything else, except these great individual personalities. The race, or nation, is as it were absorbed into the prince: eponymous persons, especially, are not merely princes, but fathers and representative unities, each the equivalent of that greater or less aggregate to which he gives name.

But though in the primitive Grecian government the king is the legitimate as well as the real sovereign, he is always conceived as acting through the council and agora. Both the one and the other are established and essential media through which his ascendency is brought to bear upon the society: the absence of such assemblies is the test and mark of savage men, as in the case of the Cyclôpes.[1] Accordingly he must possess qualities fit to act with effect upon these two assemblies: wise reason for the council, unctuous eloquence for the agora.[2] Such is the *idéal* of the heroic government: a king not merely full of valour and resource as a soldier, but also sufficiently superior to those around him to ensure both the deliberate concurrence of the chiefs and the hearty adhesion of the masses.[3] That this picture is not, in all individual cases, realised, is unquestionable; but the endowments so often predicted of good kings show it to have been the type present to the mind of the describer.[4] Xenophôn, in his

[1] Odyss. ix. 114.—

Τοῖσιν δ' (the Cyclôpes) οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι, οὔτε θέμιστες.
Ἀλλ' οἵγ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
Ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι· θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
Παιδῶν ἠδ' ἀλόχων· οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.

These lines illustrate the meaning of θέμις.

[2] See this point set forth in the prolix discourse of Aristeides, Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς (Or. xlv. vol. ii. p. 99): Ἡσίοδος . . . . ταὐτὰ ἀντικρὺς Ὁμήρῳ λέγων . . . . ὅτι τε ἡ ῥητορικὴ σύνεδρος τῆς βασιλικῆς, &c.

[3] *Pêleus*, king of the Myrmidons, is called (Iliad, vii. 126) Ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουληφόρος ἠδ' ἀγορητής—*Diomêdês*, ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνω (iv. 400)—*Nestôr*, λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής—*Sarpêdôn*, Δυκίων βουληφόρε (v. 633); and *Idomeneus*, Κρητῶν βουληφόρε (xiii. 219).

Hesiod (Theogon. 80—96) illustrates still more amply the *idéal* of the king governing by persuasion and inspired by the Muses.

[4] See the striking picture in Thucydidês (ii. 65). Xenophôn, in the Cyropædia, puts into the mouth of his hero the Homeric comparison between the good king and the good shepherd, implying as it does immense superiority of organisation, morality, and intelligence (Cyropæd. viii. p. 450, Hutchinson).

Volney observes respecting the emirs of the Druses in Syria—"Everything depends on circumstances; if the governor be a man of ability, he is absolute;—if weak, he is a cipher. This proceeds from the want of fixed laws; a want common to all Asia." (Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 66.) Such was pretty much the condition of the king in primitive Greece.

Cyropædia, depicts Cyrus as an improved edition of the Homeric Agamemnôn,—"a good king and a powerful soldier," thus idealising the perfection of personal government.

It is important to point out these fundamental conceptions of government, discernible even before the dawn of Grecian history, and identified with the social life of the people. It shows us that the Greeks, in their subsequent revolutions, and in the political experiments which their countless autonomous communities presented, worked upon pre-existing materials—developing and exalting elements which had been at first subordinate, and suppressing or remodelling on a totally new principle that which had been originally predominant. When we approach historical Greece, we find that (with the exception of Sparta) the primitive, hereditary, unresponsible monarch, uniting in himself all the functions of government, has ceased to reign—while the feeling of legitimacy, which originally induced his people to obey him willingly, has been exchanged for one of aversion towards the character and title generally. The multifarious functions which he once exercised have been parcelled out among temporary nominees. On the other hand, the Council or Senate, and the Agora, originally simple media through which the king acted, are elevated into standing and independent sources of authority, controlling and holding in responsibility the various special officers to whom executive duties of one kind or another are confided. The general principle here indicated is common both to the oligarchies and the democracies which grew up in historical Greece. Much as these two governments differed from each other, and many as were the varieties even between one oligarchy or democracy and another, they all stood in equal contrast with the principle of the heroic government. Even in Sparta, where the hereditary kingship lasted, it was preserved, with lustre and influence exceedingly diminished,[1] and such timely diminution of its power seems to have

The Council and Assembly, originally media through which the king acted, become in historical Greece the paramount depositaries of power.

Spartan kings an exception to the general rule—their limited powers.

[1] Nevertheless the question put by Leotychides to the deposed Spartan king Demaratus—ὁκοιόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν (Herodot. vi. 65), and the poignant insult which those words conveyed, afford one among many other evidences of the lofty estimate current in Sparta respecting the regal dignity, of which Aristotle in the Politica seems hardly to take sufficient account.

been one of the essential conditions of its preservation.[1] Though the Spartan kings had the hereditary command of the military forces, yet even in all foreign expeditions they habitually acted in obedience to orders from home; while in affairs of the interior the superior power of the Ephors sensibly overshadowed them. So that unless possessed of more than ordinary force of character, they seem to have exercised their chief influence as presiding members of the senate.

There is yet another point of view in which it behoves us to take notice of the Council and the Agora as integral portions of the legendary government of the Grecian communities. We are thus enabled to trace the employment of public speaking, as the standing engine of government, and the proximate cause of obedience, to the social infancy of the nation. The power of speech in the direction of public affairs becomes more and more obvious, developed and irresistible, as we advance towards the culminating period of Grecian history, the century preceding the battle of Chæroneia. That its development was greatest among the most enlightened sections of the Grecian name, and smallest among the more obtuse and stationary, is matter of notorious fact; and it is not less true, that the prevalence of this habit was one of the chief causes of the intellectual eminence of the nation generally. At a time when all the countries around were plunged comparatively in mental torpor, there was no motive sufficiently present and powerful to multiply so wonderfully the productive minds of Greece, except such as arose from the rewards of public speaking. The susceptibility of the multitude to this sort of guidance, their habit of requiring and enjoying the stimulus which it supplied, and the open discussion, combining regular forms with free opposition, of practical matters political as well as judicial—are the creative causes which formed such conspicuous adepts in the art of persuasion. Nor was it only professed orators who were thus produced; didactic aptitude was formed in the

Employment of public speaking as an engine of government—coæval with the earliest times.

[1] O. Müller (Hist. Dorians, book iii. i. 3) affirms that the fundamental features of the heroic royalty were maintained in the Dorian states, and obliterated only in the Ionian and democratical. In this point he has been followed by various other authors (see Helbig, Die sittlichen Zustände des Heldenalters, p. 73), but his position appears to me not correct, even as regards Sparta; and decidedly incorrect, in regard to the other Dorian states.

background, and the speculative tendencies were supplied with interesting phænomena for observation and combination, at a time when the truths of physical science were almost inaccessible. If the primary effect was to quicken the powers of expression, the secondary, but not less certain result, was to develop the habits of scientific thought. Not only the oratory of Demosthenês and Periklês, and the colloquial magic of Socratês, but also the philosophical speculation of Plato, and the systematic politics, rhetoric and logic of Aristotle, are traceable to the same general tendencies in the minds of the Grecian people. We find the germ of these expansive forces in the senate and agora of their legendary government. The poets, first epic and then lyric, were the precursors of the orators in their power of moving the feelings of an assembled crowd; whilst the Homeric poems—the general training-book of educated Greeks—constituted a treasury of direct and animated expression, full of concrete forms and rare in the use of abstractions, and thence better suited to the workings of oratory. The subsequent critics had no difficulty in selecting from the Iliad and Odyssey samples of eloquence in all its phases and varieties.

Its effects in stimulating intellectual development.

On the whole, then, the society depicted in the old Greek poems is loose and unsettled, presenting very little of legal restraint, and still less of legal protection—but concentrating such political power as does exist in the hands of a legitimate hereditary king, whose ascendency over the other chiefs is more or less complete according to his personal force and character. Whether that ascendency be greater or less, however, the mass of the people is in either case politically passive, and of little account. Though the Grecian freeman of the heroic age is above the degraded level of the Gallic *plebs* as described by Cæsar,[1] he is far from rivalling the fierce independence and sense of dignity combined with individual force, which characterise the Germanic tribes before their establishment in the Roman empire. Still less does his condition, or the society in which he moves, correspond to those pleasing dreams of spontaneous rectitude and innocence, in which Tacitus and Seneca indulge with regard to primitive man.[2]

[1] Cæsar, Bell. Gallic. vi. 12.

[2] Seneca, Epist. xc.; Tacitus, Annal. iii. 26. "Vetustissimi mortalium (says the latter), nullâ adhuc malâ libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine pœnâ aut coërcitione, agebant: neque præmiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem

2. The state of moral and social feeling, prevalent in legendary Greece, exhibits a scene in harmony with the rudimentary political fabrics just described. Throughout the long stream of legendary narrative on which the Greeks looked back as their past history, the larger social motives hardly ever come into play: either individual valour and cruelty, or the personal attachments and quarrels of relatives and war-companions, or the feuds of private enemies, are ever before us. There is no sense of obligation then existing, between man and man as such—and very little between each man and the entire community of which he is a member; such sentiments are neither operative in the real world, nor present to the imaginations of the poets. Personal feelings, either towards the gods, the king, or some near and known individual, fill the whole of a man's bosom: out of them arise all the motives to beneficence, and all the internal restraints upon violence, antipathy, or rapacity; and special communion, as well as special solemnities, are essential to their existence. The ceremony of an oath, so imposing, so paramount, and so indispensable in those days, illustrates strikingly this principle. And even in the case of the stranger suppliant—in which an apparently spontaneous sympathy manifests itself—the succour and kindness shown to him arise mainly from his having gone through the consecrated formalities of supplication, such as that of sitting down in the ashes by the sacred hearth, thus obtaining a sort of privilege of sanctuary.[1] That ceremony exalts him into something more than

Moral and social feeling in legendary Greece.

Omnipotence of personal feeling towards the king, or individuals.

cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur. At postquam exui æqualitas, et pro modestiâ et pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, provenêre dominationes, multosque apud populos æternum mansere," &c. Compare Strabo, vii. p. 301.

These are the same fancies so eloquently set forth by Rousseau in the last century. A far more sagacious criticism pervades the preface of Thucydidês.

[1] Seuthês, in the Anabasis of Xenophôn (vii. 2, 33), describes how, when an orphan youth, he formally supplicated Mêdokos the Thracian king to grant him a troop of followers, in order that he might recover his lost dominions—*ἐκαθεζόμην ἐνδίφριος αὐτῷ ἱκέτης δοῦναί μοι ἄνδρας.*

Thucydidês gives an interesting description of the arrival of the exiled Themistoklês, then warmly pursued by the Greeks on suspicion of treason, at the house of Admêtus, king of the Epirotic Molossians. The wife of Admêtus herself instructed the fugitive how to supplicate her husband in form: the child of Admêtus was placed in his arms, and he was directed to sit down in this guise close by the consecrated hearth, which was of the nature of an altar. While so seated, he addressed his urgent entreaties to Admêtus for protection: the latter raised him up from the ground and

a mere suffering man—it places him in express fellowship with the master of the house, under the tutelary sanctions of Zeus Hiketêsios. There is great difference between one form of supplication and another: the suppliant however in any form becomes more or less the object of a particular sympathy.

Effect of special ceremonies.

The sense of obligation towards the gods manifests itself separately in habitual acts of worship, sacrifice, and libations, or by votive presents, such as that of the hair of Achilles, which he has pledged to the river god Spercheius,[1] and such as the constant dedicated offerings, which men who stand in urgent need of the divine aid first promise and afterwards fulfil. But the feeling towards the gods also appears, and that not less frequently, as mingling itself with and enforcing obligations towards some

promised what was asked. "That (says the historian) was the most powerful form of supplication." Admêtus—*ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον κέτευμα ἦν τοῦτο* (Thuc. i. 136). So Têlephus, in the lost drama of Æschylus called *Μυσοί*, takes up the child Orestês. See Bothe's Fragm. 44: Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 305.

In the Odyssey, both Nausikaa and the goddess Athênê instruct Odysseus in the proper form of supplicating Alkinous: he first throws himself down at the feet of queen Arêtê, embracing her knees and addressing to her his prayer, and then without waiting for a reply, sits down among the ashes on the hearth—*ὣς εἰπὼν, κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσι*—Alkinous is dining with a large company: for some time both he and the guests are silent: at length the ancient Echenêus remonstrates with him on his tardiness in raising the stranger up from the ashes. At his exhortation, the Phæakian king takes Odysseus by the hand, and raising him up, places him on a chair beside him: he then directs the heralds to mix a bowl of wine, and to serve it to every one round, in order that all may make libations to Zeus Hiketêsios. This ceremony clothes the stranger with the full rights and character of a suppliant (Odyss. vi. 310; vii. 75, 141, 166); *κατὰ νόμους ἀφικτόρων*, Æschyl. Supplic. 242.

That the form counted for a great deal, we see evidently marked; but of course supplication is often addressed, and successfully addressed in circumstances where this form cannot be gone through.

It is difficult to accept the doctrine of Eustathius (ad Odyss. xvi. 424), that *ἱκέτης* is a *vox media* (like *ξεῖνος*), applied as well to the *ἱκεταδόχος* as to the *ἱκέτης* properly so-called: but the word *ἀλλήλοισιν*, in the passage just cited, does seem to justify his observation: yet there is no direct authority for such use of the word in Homer.

The address of Theoclymenos on first preferring his supplication to Telemachus is characteristic of the practice (Odyss. xv. 260); compare also Iliad, xvi. 574, and Hesiod. Scut. Hercul. 12—85.

The ideas of the *ξεῖνος* and the *ἱκέτης* run very much together. I can hardly persuade myself that the reading *ἱκέτευσε* (Odyss. xi. 520) is truly Homeric: implying as it does the idea of a pitiable sufferer, it is altogether out of place when predicated of the proud and impetuous Neoptolemus: we should rather have excepted *ἱκέλευσε*. (See Odyss. x. 15.)

The constraining efficacy of special formalities of supplication, among the Scythians, is powerfully set forth in the Toxaris of Lucian; the suppliant sits upon an ox-hide, with his hands confined behind him (Lucian, Toxaris, c. 48, vol. iii. p. 69, Tauch.)—the *μεγίστη ἱκετηρία* among that people.

[1] Iliad, xxiii. 142.

particular human person. The tie which binds a man to his father, his kinsman, his guest, or any special promise respecting which he has taken the engagement of an oath, is conceived in conjunction with the idea of Zeus, as witness and guarantee; and the intimacy of the association is attested by some surname or special appellation of the god.[1] Such personal feelings composed all the moral influences of which a Greek of that day was susceptible,—a state of mind which we can best appreciate by contrasting it with that of the subsequent citizen of historical Athens. In the view of the latter, the great impersonal authority called "The Laws" stood out separately both as guide and sanction, distinct from religious duty or private sympathies: but of this discriminated conception of positive law and positive morality,[2] the germ only can be detected in the Homeric poems. The appropriate Greek word for human laws never occurs. Amidst a very wavering phraseology,[3] we can detect a gradual transition from the primitive

Contrast with the feelings in historical Athens.

[1] Odyss. xiv. 389.—

Οὐ γὰρ τοῦνεκ' ἐγώ σ' αἰδέσσομαι, οὐδὲ φιλήσω,
Ἀλλὰ Δία ξένιον δείσας, αὐτὸν δ' ἐλεαίρων.

[2] Nägelsbach (Homerische Theologie, Abschn. v. s. 23) gives a just and well-sustained view of the Homeric ethics: "Es ist der charakteristische Standpunkt der Homerischen Ethik, dass die Sphären des Rechts, der Sittlichkeit, und Religiosität, bey dem Dichter, durchaus noch nicht auseinander fallen, so dass der Mensch z. B. *δίναιος* seyn konnte ohne *θεουδὴς* zu sein—sondern in unentwickelter Einheit beysammen sind".

[3] Νόμοι, *laws*, is not an Homeric word; *νόμος*, *law*, in the singular occurs twice in the Hesiodic Works and Days (276, 388).

The employment of the words *δίκη*, *δίκαι*, *θέμις*, *θέμιστες*, in Homer, is curious as illustrating the early moral associations, but would require far more space than can be given to it in a note; we see that the sense of each of these words was essentially fluctuating. *Themis*, in Homer, is sometimes decidedly a *person*, who exercises the important function of opening and closing the agora, both of gods and men (Iliad, xx. 4; Odyss. ii. 68), and who, besides that, acts and speaks (Iliad, xiv. 87—93); always the associate and companion of Zeus the highest god. In Hesiod (Theog. 901) she is the wife of Zeus; in Æschylus (Prometh. 209) she is the same as Γαῖα: even in Plato (Legg. xi. p. 936) witnesses swear (to want of knowledge of matters under inquest) by Zeus, Apollo, and Themis. Themis *as a person* is probably the oldest sense of the word: then we have the plural *θέμιστες* (connected with the verb *τίθημι*, like *θεσμός* and *τεθμός*), which are (not persons, but) special appurtenances or emanations of the Supreme God, or of a king acting under him, analogous to and joined with the sceptre. The sceptre, and the *θέμιστες* or the *δίκαι* constantly go together (Iliad, ii. 209; ix. 99): Zeus or the king is a judge, not a law-maker: he issues decrees or special orders to settle particular disputes, or to restrain particular men; and agreeable to the concrete forms of ancient language, the decrees are treated as if they were a collection of ready-made substantive things, actually in his possession, like the sceptre, and prepared for being delivered out when the proper occasion arose:—*δικασπόλοι, οἵτε θέμιστας Ἱρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται* (Il. i. 238), compared with the two passages last cited:—*Ἄφρονα τοῦτον ἀνέντας, ὃς οὔτινα οἶδε θέμιστα* (Il. v. 761),—*Ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας* (Odyss.

idea of a personal goddess Themis, attached to Zeus, first to his sentences or orders called Themistes, and next by a still farther remove to various established customs, which those sentences were believed to sanctify—the authority of religion and that of custom coalescing into one indivisible obligation.

Force of the family tie.

The family relations, as we might expect, are set forth in our pictures of the legendary world as the grand sources of lasting union and devoted attachment. The paternal authority is highly reverenced: the son who lives to years of maturity, repays by affection to his parents the charge of his maintenance in infancy, which the language notes by a special word; whilst, on the other hand, the Erinnys, whose avenging hand is put in motion by the curse of a father or mother, is an object of deep dread.[1]

Marriage—respect paid to the wife.

In regard to marriage, we find the wife occupying a station of great dignity and influence, though it was the practice for the husband to purchase her by valuable presents to her parents,—a practice extensively prevalent among early communities, and treated by Aristotle as an evidence of barbarism. She even seems to live less secluded and to enjoy a wider sphere of action than was allotted to her in historical Greece.[2] Concu-

ix. 215). The plural number *δίκαι* is more commonly used in Homer than the singular: *δίκη* is rarely used to denote Justice as an abstract conception; it more often denotes a special claim of right on the part of some given man (Il. xviii. 508). It sometimes also denotes, simply, established custom or the known lot—*δμώων δίκη, γερόντων, θείων βασιλήων, θεῶν* (see Damm's Lexicon *ad voc.*); *θέμις* is used in the same manner.

See upon this matter, Platner, De Notione Juris ap. Homerum, p. 81; and O. Müller, Prolegg. Mythol. p. 121.

[1] *Οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι Θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε* (Il. iv. 477): *θρέπτρα* or *θρεπτήρια* (compare Il. ix. 454; Odyss. ii. 134; Hesiod, Opp. Di. 186).

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 5, 11. The *ἕδνα*, or present given by the suitor to the father as an inducement to grant his daughter in marriage, are spoken of as very valuable,—*ἀπερείσια ἕδνα* (Il. xi. 244; xvii. 178; xxi. 472): to grant a daughter without *ἕδνα* was a high compliment to the intended son-in-law (Il. ix. 141; compare xiii. 366). Among the ancient Germans of Tacitus, the husband gave presents, not to his wife's father, but to herself (Tacit. Germ. c. 18): the customs of the early Jews were in this respect completely Homeric; see the case of Shechem and Dinah (Genesis xxxix. 12) and others, &c.; also Mr. Catlin's Letters on the North American Indians, vol. i. Lett. 26, p. 213.

The Greek *ἕδνα* correspond exactly to the *mundium* of the Lombard and Alemannic laws, which is thus explained by Mr. Price (Notes on the Laws of King Ethelbert, in the Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, translated and published by Mr. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 20): "The Longobardic law is the most copious of all the barbaric codes in its provisions respecting marriage, and particularly so on the subject of the Mund. From that law it appears that the Mundium was a sum paid over to the family of the bride, for transferring the tutelage which they possessed over her to the family of the husband:—'Si quis pro

bines are frequent with the chiefs, and occasionally the jealousy of the wife breaks out in reckless excess against her husband, as may be seen in the tragical history of Phœnix. The continence of Laërtês, from fear of displeasing his wife Antikleia, is especially noticed.[1] A large portion of the romantic interest which Grecian legend inspires is derived from the women: Penelopê, Andromachê, Helen, Klytæmnêstra, Eriphylê, Iokasta, Hekabê, &c., all stand in the foreground of the picture, either from their virtues, their beauty, their crimes, or their sufferings.

Not only brothers, but also cousins, and the more distant blood-relations and clansmen, appear connected together by a strong feeling of attachment, sharing among them universally the obligation of mutual self-defence and revenge in the event of injury to any individual of the race. The legitimate brothers divide between them by lot the paternal inheritance,—a bastard brother receiving only a small share; he is however commonly very well treated,[2] though the murder of Phokus by Telamon and Pêleus constitutes a flagrant exception. The furtive pregnancy of young women, often by a god, is one of the most frequently recurring incidents in the legendary narratives; and the severity with which such a fact, when discovered, is visited by the father, is generally extreme. As an extension of the family connexion, we read of larger unions called the phratry and the tribe, which are respectfully, but not frequently mentioned.[3]

Brothers and kinsmen.

mulière liberâ aut puellâ mundium dederit et ei tradita fuerit ad uxorem,' &c. (ed. Rotharis, c. 183). In the same sense in which the term occurs in these dooms, it is also to be met with in the Alemannic law: it was also common in Denmark and in Sweden, where the bride was called a mund-bought or mund-given woman."

According to the 77th Law of King Ethelbert (p. 23), this *mund* was often paid in cattle: the Saxon daughters were *πάρθενοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι* (Iliad, xviii. 593).

[1] Odyss. i. 430; Iliad. ix. 450; see also Terpstra, Antiquitas Homerica, capp. 17 and 18.

Polygamy appears to be ascribed to Priam, but to no one else (Iliad, xxi. 88).

[2] Odyss. xiv. 202—215; compare Iliad, xi. 102. The primitive German law of succession divided the paternal inheritance among the sons of a deceased father, under the implied obligation to maintain and portion out their sisters (Eichhorn, *Deutsches Privat-Recht*, sect. 330).

[3] Iliad, ii. 362.—

'Αφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,
Ὃς πολέμου ἔραται, &c. (Il. ix. 63.)

These three epithets include the three different classes of personal sympathy and obligation: 1. The Phratry, in which a man is connected with father, mother, brothers, cousins, brothers-in-law, clansmen, &c.; 2. the θέμιστες, whereby he is connected with his fellowmen who visit the same agora; 3. his Hestia or Hearth, whereby he

Hospitality.

The generous readiness with which hospitality is afforded to the stranger who asks for it,[1] the facility with which he is allowed to contract the peculiar connexion of guest with his host, and the permanence with which that connexion, when created by partaking of the same food and exchanging presents, is maintained even through a long period of separation, and even transmitted from father to son—these are among the most captivating features of the heroic society. The Homeric chief welcomes the stranger who comes to ask shelter in his house, first gives him refreshment, and then inquires his name and the purpose of his voyage.[2] Though not inclined to invite strangers to his house, he cannot repel them when they spontaneously enter it craving a lodging.[3]

Reception of the stranger and the suppliant.

The suppliant is also commonly a stranger, but a stranger under peculiar circumstances; who proclaims his own calamitous and abject condition, and seeks to place himself in a relation to the chief whom he solicits something like that in which men stand to the gods. Onerous as such special tie may become to him, the chief cannot decline it, if solicited in the proper form: the ceremony of supplication has a binding effect, and the Erinnyes punish the hardhearted person who disallows it. A conquered enemy may sometimes throw himself at the feet of his conqueror, and solicit mercy, but he cannot by doing so acquire the character and claims of a suppliant properly so called: the conqueror has free discretion either to kill him, or to spare him and accept a ransom.[4]

There are in the legendary narratives abundant examples of individuals who transgress in particular acts even the holiest of

becomes accessible to the ξεῖνος and the ἱκέτης:—

Τῷ δ' Ὀδυσεὺς ξίφος ὀξὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν,
Ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος· οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ
Γνώτην ἀλλήλοιιν. (Odyss. xxi. 34.)

Τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν
Ἄλλον γ' εἰ μὴ τῶνδ', οἳ δημιόεργοι ἔασιν, &c.;

which breathes the plain-spoken shrewdness of the Hesiodic Works and Days, v. 355.

[1] It must be mentioned, however, that when a chief received a stranger and made presents to him, he reimbursed to himself the value of the presents by collections among the people (Odyss. xiii. 14; xix. 197); ἀργαλέον γὰρ ἑνα προικὸς χαρίσασθαι, says Alkinous.

[2] Odyss. i. 123; iii. 70. &c.

[3] Odyss. xvii. 383.—

[4] See the illustrative case of Lykaon in vain craving mercy from Achilles (Iliad, xxi. 64—97. Ἀντί τοι εἰμ' ἱκέταο, &c.).

Menelaus is about to spare the life of the Trojan Adrastus, who clasps his knees and craves mercy, offering a large ransom—when Agamemnôn repels the idea of quarter, and kills

these personal ties, but the savage Cyclops is the only person described as professedly indifferent to them, and careless of that sanction of the gods which in Grecian belief accompanied them all.[1] In fact, the tragical horror which pervades the lineage of Athamas or Kadmus, and which attaches to many of the acts of Hêraklês, of Pêleus, and Telamôn, of Jasôn and Mêdea, of Atreus and Thyestês, &c., is founded upon a deep feeling and sympathy with those special obligations, which conspicuous individuals, under the temporary stimulus of the maddening Atê, are driven to violate. In such conflict of sentiments, between the obligation generally reverenced and the exceptional deviation in an individual otherwise admired, consists the pathos of the story.

Personal sympathies the earliest form of sociality.

These feelings—of mutual devotion between kinsmen and companions in arms—of generous hospitality to the stranger, and of helping protection to the suppliant—constitute the bright spots in a dark age. We find them very generally prevalent amongst communities essentially rude and barbarous—amongst the ancient Germans as described by Tacitus, the Druses in Lebanon,[2] the

Adrastus with his own hand: his speech to Menelaus displays the extreme of violent enmity, yet the poet says,—

Ὡς εἰπὼν, παρέπεισεν ἀδελφείου φρένας ἥρως,
Αἴσιμα παρειπὼν, &c.

Adrastus is not called an ἱκέτης, nor is the expression used in respect to Dolôn (Il. x. 456), nor in the equally striking case of Odysseus (Odyss. xiv. 279) when begging for his life.

[1] Odyss. ix. 112—275.

[2] Tacit. German. c. 21. "Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortunâ quisque apparatis epulis excipit: cum defecêre qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest—pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit." Compare Cæsar, B. G. vi. 22.

See about the Druses and Arabians, Volney, Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 76, Engl. Transl.; Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien, Copenh. 1772, p. 46—49.

Pomponius Mela describes the ancient Germans in language not inapplicable to the Homeric Greeks: "Jus in viribus habent, adeo ut ne latrocinii quidem pudeat: *tantum* hospitibus boni, mites, mitesque supplicibus" (iii. 3).

"The hospitality of the Indians is well-known. It extends even to strangers who take refuge among them. They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted. Whoever refuses relief to any one commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person. In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and inexorable, and when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. They are however remarkable for concealing their passions, and waiting for a convenient opportunity of gratifying them. But then their fury knows no bounds. If they cannot satisfy their resentment, they will even call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot cool their wrath, nor the most distant place of refuge afford security to their enemy" (Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians, Part I. ch. 2, p. 15).

"Charlevoix observes (says Dr.

Arabian tribes in the desert, and even the North American Indians.

They are the instinctive manifestations of human sociality, standing at first alone, and for that reason appearing to possess

Ferguson, Essay on Civil Society, Part II. § 2, p. 145), that the nations among whom he travelled in North America never mentioned acts of generosity or kindness under the notion of duty. They acted from affection, as they acted from appetite, without regard to its consequences. When they had done a kindness, they had gratified a desire; the business was finished and it passed from the memory. The spirit with which they give or receive presents is the same as that which Tacitus remarks among the ancient Germans: —'Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur'. Such gifts are of little consequence, except when employed as the seal of a bargain or a treaty."

Respecting the Morlacchi (Illyrian Sclavonians) the Abbé Fortis says (Travels in Dalmatia, p. 55—58):—

"The hospitality of the Morlachs is equally conspicuous among the poor as among the opulent. The rich prepares a roasted lamb or sheep, and the poor, with equal cordiality, gives his turkey, milk, honey—whatever he has. Nor is their generosity confined to strangers, but generally extends to all who are in want. . . . Friendship is lasting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point, and tie the sacred bond at the foot of the altar. The Sclavonian ritual contains a particular benediction, for the solemn union of two male or two female friends, in presence of the whole congregation. The male friends thus united are called Pobratimi, and the females Posestreme, which means half-brothers and half-sisters. The duties of the Pobratimi are, to assist each other in every case of need and danger, to revenge mutual wrongs, &c.: their enthusiasm is often carried so far as to risk, and even lose, their life. . . . But as the friendships of the Morlacchi are strong and sacred, so their quarrels are commonly unextinguishable. They pass from father to son, and the mothers fail not to put their children in mind of their duty to revenge their father if he has had the misfortune to be killed, and to show them often the bloody shirt of the deceased. . . . A Morlach is implacable if injured or insulted. With him revenge and justice have exactly the same meaning, and truly it is the primitive idea, and I have been told that in Albania the effects of revenge are still more atrocious and more lasting. There, a man of the mildest character is capable of the most barbarous revenge, believing it to be his positive duty. . . . A Morlach who has killed another of a powerful family is commonly obliged to save himself by flight, and keep out of the way for several years. If during that time he has been fortunate enough to escape the search of his pursuers, and has got a small sum of money, he endeavours to obtain pardon and peace. . . . It is the custom in some places for the offended party to threaten the criminal, holding all sorts of arms to his throat, and at last to consent to accept his ransom."

Concerning the influence of these two distinct tendencies—devoted personal friendship and implacable animosities—among the Illyrico-Sclavonian population, see Cyprien Robert, Les Slaves de la Turquie, ch. vii. p. 42—46, and Dr. Joseph Müller, Albanien, Rumelien, und die Œsterreichisch-Montenegrinische Gränze, Prag. 1844, p. 24—25.

"It is for the virtue of hospitality (observes Goguet, Origin of Laws, &c., vol. i., book vi., ch. iv.) that the primitive times are chiefly famed. But, in my opinion, hospitality was then exercised not so much from generosity and greatness of soul, as from necessity. Common interest probably gave rise to that custom. In remote antiquity, there were few or no public inns: they entertained strangers, in order that they might render them the same service, if they happened to travel into their country. Hospitality was reciprocal. When they received strangers into their houses they acquired a right of being received into theirs again. This right was regarded by the ancients as sacred and inviolable, and extended not only to those who had acquired it, but to their children and posterity. Besides, hospitality in these times could not be

a greater tutelary force than really belongs to them—beneficent, indeed, in a high degree, with reference to their own appropriate period, but serving as a very imperfect compensation for the impotence of the magistrate, and for the absence of any all-pervading sympathy or sense of obligation between man and man. We best appreciate their importance when we compare the Homeric society with that of barbarians like the Thracians, who tattooed their bodies, as the mark of a generous lineage—sold their children for export as slaves—considered robbery, not merely as one admissible occupation among others, but as the only honourable mode of life—agriculture being held contemptible—and above all, delighted in the shedding of blood as a luxury. Such were the Thracians in the days of Herodotus and Thucydidês: and the Homeric society forms a mean term between that which these two historians yet saw in Thrace, and that which they witnessed among their own civilised countrymen.[1]

When however among the Homeric men we pass beyond the influence of the private ties above enumerated, we find scarcely any other moralising forces in operation. The acts and adventures commemorated imply a community wherein neither the protection nor the restraints of law are practically felt, and wherein ferocity, rapine, and the aggressive propensities generally seem restrained by no internal counterbalancing scruples. Homicide, especially, is of frequent occurrence, sometimes by open violence, sometimes by fraud: expatriation for homicide is among the most constantly recurring acts of the Homeric poems: and savage brutalities are often ascribed, even to admired heroes, with apparent

Ferocious and aggressive passions unrestrained.

attended with much expense: men travelled but little. In a word, the modern Arabians prove that hospitality may consist with the greatest vices, and that this species of generosity is no decisive evidence of goodness of heart, or rectitude of manners."

The book of Genesis, amidst many other features of resemblance to the Homeric manners, presents that of ready and exuberant hospitality to the stranger.

[1] Respecting the Thracians, compare Herodot. v. 11; Thucydid. vii. 29—30. The expression of the latter historian is remarkable,—τὸ δὲ γένος τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσήσῃ, φονικώτατόν ἐστι.

Compare Herodot. viii. 116; the cruelty of the Thracian king of the Bisaltæ towards his own sons.

The story of Odysseus to Eumæus in the Odyssey (xiv. 210—226) furnishes a valuable comparison for this predatory disposition among the Thracians. Odysseus there treats the love of *living* by war and plunder as his own peculiar taste: he did not happen to like regular labour, but the latter is not treated as in any way mean or unbecoming a free-man:—

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἦεν
Οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἥ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, &c.

indifference. Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojan prisoners on the tomb of Patroklus, while his son Neoptolemus not only slaughters the aged Priam, but also seizes by the leg the child Astyanax (son of the slain Hector) and hurls him from one of the lofty towers of Troy.[1] Moreover, the celebrity of Autolykus, the maternal grandfather of Odysseus, in the career of wholesale robbery and perjury, and the wealth which it enabled him to acquire, are described with the same unaffected admiration as the wisdom of Nestôr or the strength of Ajax.[2] Achilles, Menelaus, Odysseus, pillage in person whenever they can find an opportunity, employing both force and stratagem to surmount resistance.[3] The vocation of a pirate is recognised as honourable, so that a host, when he asks his guest what is the purpose of his voyage, enumerates enrichment by indiscriminate maritime plunder as among those projects which may naturally enter into his contemplation.[4] Abduction of cattle, and expeditions for unprovoked

[1] Ilias Minor, Fragm. 7, p. 18, ed. Düntzer; Iliad, xxiii. 175. Odysseus is mentioned once as obtaining poison for his arrows (Odyss. i. 160), but no poisoned arrows are ever employed in either of the two poems.

The anecdotes recounted by the Scythian Toxaris in Lucian's work so entitled (vol. ii. c. 36, p. 544 *seqq.* ed. Hemst.) afford a vivid picture of this combination of intense and devoted friendship between individuals, with the most revolting cruelty of manners. "You Greeks live in peace and tranquillity," observes the Scythian—*παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ συνεχεῖς οἱ πόλεμοι, καὶ ἢ ἐπελαύνομεν ἄλλοις, ἢ ὑποχωροῦμεν ἐπιόντας, ἢ συμπεσόντες ὑπὲρ νομῆς ἢ λείας μαχόμεθα· ἔνθα μάλιστα δεῖ φίλων ἀγαθῶν*, &c.

[2] Odyss. xxi. 397; Pherekydês, Fragm. 63, ed. Didot; Autolykus, *πλείστα κλέπτων ἐθησαύριζεν*. The Homeric Hymn to Hermês (the great patron-god of Autolykus) is a farther specimen of the admiration which might be made to attach to clever thieving.

The *ἠμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ*, likely to rob the farm, is one great enemy against whom Hesiod advises precaution to be taken,—a sharp-toothed dog well-fed to serve as guard (Opp. Di. 604).

[3] Iliad, xi. 624; xx. 189. Odyss. iv. 81—90; ix. 40; xiv. 230; and the indirect revelation (Odyss. xix. 284), coupled with a compliment to the dexterity of Odysseus.

[4] Even in the century prior to Thucydides, undistinguishing plunder at sea, committed by Greek ships against ships not Greek, seems not to have been held discreditable. The Phokæan Dionysius, after the ill-success of the Ionic revolt, goes with his three ships of war to Sicily, and from thence plunders Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians (Herod. vi. 17),—*λῃΐστης κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενὸς, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν*. Compare the conduct of the Phokæan settlers at Athalia in Corsica, after the conquest of Ionia by Harpagus (Herodot. i. 166).

In the treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, made at some period subsequent to 509 B.C., it is stipulated—*Τοῦ Καλοῦ Ἀκρωτηρίου, Μαστίας, Ταρσηΐου, μὴ λῃΐζεσθαι ἐπέκεινα Ῥωμαίους, μηδ' ἐμπορεύεσθαι, μηδὲ πόλιν κτίζειν* (Polyb. iii. 24, 4). Plunder, commerce and colonisation are here assumed as the three objects which the Roman ships would pursue, unless they were under special obligation to abstain, in reference to foreigners. This morality approaches nearer to that of the Homeric age than to the state of sentiment which Thucydidês indicates as current in his days among the Greeks.

ravage as well as for retaliation, between neighbouring tribes, appear ordinary phænomena:[1] and the established inviolability of heralds seems the only evidence of any settled feeling of obligation between one community and another. While the house and property of Odysseus, during his long absence, enjoys no public protection,[2] those unprincipled chiefs, who consume his substance, find sympathy rather than disapprobation among the people of Ithaka. As a general rule, he who cannot protect himself finds no protection from society: his own kinsmen and immediate companions are the only parties to whom he can look with confidence for support. And in this respect, the representation given by Hesiod makes the picture even worse. In his emphatic denunciation of the fifth age, that poet deplores not only the absence of all social justice and sense of obligation among his contemporaries, but also the relaxation of the ties of family and hospitality.[3] There are marks of querulous exaggeration in the poem of the Works and Days; yet the author professes to describe the real state of things around him, and the features of his picture, soften them as we may, will still appear dark and calamitous. It is however to be remarked, that he contemplates a state of peace—thus forming a contrast with the Homeric poems. His copious catalogue of social evils scarcely mentions liability to plunder by a foreign enemy, nor does he compute the chances of predatory aggression as a source of profit.

Picture given by Hesiod still darker.

There are two special veins of estimable sentiment, on which it may be interesting to contrast heroic and historical Greece, and which exhibit the latter as an improvement on the former not less in the affections than in the intellect.

Contrast between heroic and historical Greece.

The law of Athens was peculiarly watchful and provident with respect both to the persons and the property of orphan minors; but

[1] See the interesting boastfulness of Nestôr, Iliad, xi. 670—700; also Odyss. xxi. 18; Odyss. iii. 71; Thucyd. i. 5.

[2] Odyss. iv. 165, among many other passages. Telemachus laments the misfortune of his race, in respect that himself, Odysseus, and Laërtês were all only sons of their fathers: there were no brothers to serve as mutual auxiliaries (Odyss. xvi. 118).

[3] Opp. Di. 182—199.

Οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίιος, οὐδέ τι παῖδες,
Οὐδὲ ξεῖνος ξεινοδόκῳ, καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ,
Οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,
Αἶψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας, &c.

the description given in the Iliad of the utter and hopeless destitution of the orphan boy, despoiled of his paternal inheritance and abandoned by all the friends of his father, whom he urgently supplicates, and who all harshly cast him off, is one of the most pathetic morsels in the whole poem.[1] In reference again to the treatment of the dead body of an enemy, we find all the Greek chiefs who come near (not to mention the conduct of Achilles himself) piercing with their spears the corpse of the slain Hectôr, while some of them even pass disgusting taunts upon it. We may add, from the lost epics, the mutilation of the dead bodies of Paris and Deiphobus by the hand of Menelaus.[2] But at the time of the Persian invasion, it was regarded as unworthy of a right-minded Greek to maltreat in any way the dead body of an enemy, even where such a deed might seem to be justified on the plea of retaliation. After the battle of Platæa, a proposition was made to the Spartan king Pausanias to retaliate upon the dead body of Mardonius the insults which Xerxês had heaped upon that of Leonidas at Thermopylæ. He indignantly spurned the suggestion, not without a severe rebuke, or rather a half-suppressed menace, towards the proposer: and the feeling of Herodotus himself goes heartily along with him.[3]

Orphans. Mutilation of dead bodies.

The different manner of dealing with homicide presents a third test, perhaps more striking yet, of the change in Grecian feelings and manners during the three centuries preceding the Persian invasion. That which the murderer in the Homeric times had to dread was not public prosecution and punishment, but the personal vengeance of the kinsmen and friends of the deceased, who were stimulated by the keenest impulses of honour and obligation to avenge the deed,

Mode of dealing with homicide

[1] Iliad, xxii. 487—500. Hesiod dwells upon injury to orphan children, however, as a heinous offence (Opp. Di. 330).

[2] Iliad, xxii. 371. οὔδ' ἄρα οἵ τις ἀνούτητί γε παρέστη. Argument of Iliad Minor, ap. Düntzer, Epp. Fragm. p. 17; Virgil, Æneid, vi. 520.

Both Agamemnôn and the Oiliad Ajax cut off the heads of slain warriors and send them rolling like a ball or like a mortar among the crowd of warriors (Iliad, xi. 147; xiii. 102).

The ethical maxim preached by Odysseus in the Odyssey, not to utter boastful shouts over a slain enemy (Οὐκ ὁσίη, κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι, xxii. 412), is abundantly violated in the Iliad.

[3] Herodot. ix. 78—79. Contrast this strong expression from Pausanias with the conduct of the Carthaginians towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, after their capture of Selinus in Sicily, where, after having put to death 16,000 persons, they mutilated the dead bodies—κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος (Diodôr. xiii. 57—86).

and were considered by the public as specially privileged to do so.[1] To escape from this danger, he is obliged to flee the country, unless he can prevail upon the incensed kinsmen to accept of a valuable payment (we must not speak of coined money in the days of Homer) as satisfaction for their slain comrade. They may, if they please, decline the offer, and persist in their right of revenge; but if they accept, they are bound to leave the offender unmolested, and he accordingly remains at home without further consequences. The chiefs in agora do not seem to interfere, except to insure payment of the stipulated sum.

Here we recognise once more the characteristic attribute of the Grecian heroic age—the omnipotence of private force tempered and guided by family sympathies, and the practical nullity of that collective sovereign afterwards called *The City*—who in historical Greece becomes the central and paramount source of obligation, but who appears yet only in the background, as a germ of promise for the future. And the manner in which, in the case of homicide, that germ was developed into a powerful reality, presents an interesting field of comparison with other nations.

For the practice, here designated, of leaving the party guilty of homicide to compromise by valuable payment with the relatives of the deceased, and also of allowing to the latter a free choice whether they would accept such compromise or enforce their right of personal revenge—has been remarked in many rude communities, and is particularly memorable among the early German tribes.[2] Among the many separate Teutonic establish-

[1] The Mosiac law recognises this habit and duty on the part of the relatives of the murdered man, and provides cities of refuge for the purpose of sheltering the offender in certain cases (Deuteron. xxxv. 13—14; Bauer, Handbuch der Hebräischen Alterthümer, sect. 51—52).

The relative who inherited the property of a murdered man was specially obliged to avenge his death (H. Leo, Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Jüdischen Staats.—Vorl. iii p. 35).

[2] "Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo pecorum armentorumque numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus." (Tacit. German. 21.) Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien, p. 32.

"An Indian feast (says Loskiel, Mission of the United Brethren in North America) is seldom concluded without bloodshed. For the murder of a man 100 yards of wampum, and for that of a woman 200 yards, must be paid by the murderer. If he is too poor, which is commonly the case, and his friends cannot or will not assist him, he must fly from the resentment of the relations."

Rogge (Gerichtswesen der Germanen, capp. 1, 2, 3), Grimm (Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, book v. cap. 1—2), and Eichhorn (Deutsches Privat-Recht,

ments which rose upon the ruins of the Western empire of Rome, the right as well as duty of private revenge, for personal injury or insult offered to any member of a family—and the endeavour to avert its effects by means of a pecuniary composition levied upon the offender, chiefly as satisfaction to the party injured, but partly also as perquisite to the king—was adopted as the basis of their legislation. This fundamental idea was worked out in elaborate detail as to the valuation of the injury inflicted, wherein one main circumstance was the rank, condition and power of the sufferer. The object of the legislator was to preserve the society from standing feuds, but at the same time to accord such full satisfaction as would induce the injured person to waive his acknowledged right of personal revenge—the full luxury of which as it presented itself to the mind of an Homeric Greek may be read in more than one passage of the Iliad.[1] The

sect. 48) have expounded this idea and the consequences deduced from it among the ancient Germans. The practice of blood-feud, here alluded to, is still prevalent in British India; not only among the ruder Western tribes, coolies and others, but also among the more civilized and polished Rajpoots.

Aristotle alludes, as an illustration of the extreme silliness of ancient Greek practices (*εὐήθη πάμπαν*), to a custom which he states to have still continued at the Æolic Kymê, in cases of murder. If the accuser produced in support of his charge a certain number of witnesses from his own kindred, the person was held peremptorily guilty—*οἷον ἐν Κύμῃ περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἔστιν, ἂν πλήθός τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν, ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φεύγοντα* (Polit. ii. 5, 12). This presents a curious parallel with the Old German institution of the Eideshelfer or conjurators, who, though most frequently required and produced in support of the party accused, were yet also brought by the party accusing. See Rogge, sect. 36, p. 186; Grimm, p. 862.

[1] The word *ποινή* indicates this *satisfaction by valuable payment* for wrong done, especially for homicide: that the Latin *pœna* originally meant the same thing may be inferred from the old phrases *dare pœnas, pendere pœnas*. The most illustrative passage in the Iliad is that in which Ajax, in the embassy undertaken to conciliate Achilles, censures by comparison the inexorable obstinacy of the latter in setting at naught the proffered presents of Agamemnôn (Il. ix. 627):—

Νηλής· καὶ μέν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονοιο
Ποινήν, ἢ οὗ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνειῶτος·
Καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἀποτίσας·
Τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ,
Ποινὴν δεξυμένου. . . . .

The *ποινή* is in its primitive sense a genuine payment in valuable commodities serving as compensation (Iliad, iii. 290; v. 266; xii. 659); but it comes by a natural metaphor to signify the death of one or more Trojans, as a satisfaction for that of a Greek warrior who had just fallen (or *vice versâ*, Iliad, xiv. 483; xvi. 398); sometimes even the notion of compensation generally (xvii. 207). In the representation on the shield of Achilles, the genuine proceeding about *ποινή* clearly appears: the question there tried is, whether the payment stipulated as satisfaction for a person slain, has really been made or not—*δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου*, &c. (xviii. 498).

The danger of an act of homicide is proportioned to the number and power of the surviving relatives of the slain; but even a small number is sufficient to necessitate flight (Odyss. xxiii. 120): on the other hand, a large body of relatives was the grand source of

German codes begin by trying to bring about the acceptance of a fixed pecuniary composition as a constant voluntary custom, and proceed ultimately to enforce it as a peremptory necessity: the idea of society is at first altogether subordinate, and its influence passes only by slow degrees from amicable arbitration into imperative control.

The Homeric society, in regard to this capital point in human progression, is on a level with that of the German tribes as described by Tacitus. But the subsequent course of Grecian legislation takes a direction completely different from that of the German codes. The primitive and acknowledged right of private revenge (unless where bought off by pecuniary payment), instead of being developed into practical working, is superseded by more comprehensive views of a public wrong requiring public intervention, or by religious fears respecting the posthumous wrath of the murdered person. In historical Athens, the right of private revenge was discountenanced and put out of sight, even so early as the Drakonian legislation, and at last restricted to a few extreme and special cases;[1] while the murderer came to be considered, first as having sinned against the gods, next as having deeply injured the society, and thus at once as requiring absolution and deserving punishment. On the first of

Appeased by valuable compensation (ποινή) to the kinsmen of the murdered man.

encouragement to an insolent criminal (Odyss. xviii. 141).

An old law of Tralles in Lydia, enjoining a nominal ποινή of a medimnus of beans to the relative of a murdered person belonging to a contemptible class of citizens, is noticed by Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 46, p. 303. Even in the century preceding Herodotus, too, the Delphians gave a ποινή as satisfaction for the murder of the fabulist Æsop; which ποινή was claimed and received by the grandson of Æsop's master (Herodot. ii. 134. Plutarch, Ser. Num. Vind. p. 556).

[1] See Lysias, De Cæde Eratosthen. Orat. i. p. 94; Plutarch, Solon, c. 23; Demosthen. cont. Aristocrat. p. 632—637.

Plato (De Legg. ix. p. 871—874), in his copious penal suggestions to deal with homicide, both intentional and accidental, concurs in general with the old Attic law (see Matthiæ, Miscellanea Philologica, vol. i. p. 171): and as he states with sufficient distinctness the grounds of his propositions, we see how completely the idea of a right to private or family revenge is absent from his mind. In one particular case, he confers upon kinsmen the privilege of avenging their murdered relative (p. 871); but generally, he rather seeks to enforce upon them strictly the duty of bringing the suspected murderer to trial before the court. By the Attic law, it was only the kinsmen of the deceased who had the right of prosecuting for murder—or the master, if the deceased was an οἰκέτης (Demosthen. cont. Euerg. et Mnesibul. c. 18); they might by forgiveness shorten the term of banishment for the unintentional murderer (Demosth. cont. Macart. p. 1069). They seem to have been regarded, generally speaking, as religiously obliged, but not legally compellable, to undertake this duty; compare Plato, Euthyphro, cap. 4 and 5.

these two grounds, he is interdicted from the agora and from all holy places, as well as from public functions, even while yet untried and simply a suspected person; for if this were not done, the wrath of the gods would manifest itself in bad crops and other national calamities. On the second ground, he is tried before the council of Areiopagus, and if found guilty, is condemned to death, or perhaps to disfranchisement and banishment.[1] The idea of a propitiatory payment to the relatives of the deceased has ceased altogether to be admitted: it is the protection of society which dictates, and the force of society which inflicts, a measure of punishment calculated to deter for the future.

Punished in historical Greece as a crime against society.

3. The society of legendary Greece includes, besides the chiefs, the general mass of freemen (λαοί), among whom stand out by special names certain professional men, such as the carpenter, the smith, the leather-dresser, the leech, the prophet, the bard, and the fisherman.[2] We have no means of appreciating their condition. Though lots of arable land were assigned in special property to

Condition, occupations, and professions of the Homeric Greeks.

[1] Lysias, cont. Agorat. Or xiii. p. 137. Antiphon. Tetralog. i. 1. p. 629. Ἀσύμφορον δ' ὑμῖν ἐστι τόνδε, μιαρὸν καὶ ἀναγνον ὄντα, εἰς τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν εἰσιόντα μιαίνειν τὴν ἀγνείαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς τραπέζας ἰόντα συγκαταπιμπλάναι τοὺς ἀναιτίους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων αἵ τε ἀφορίαι γίνονται, δυστυχεῖ τε θ' αἱ πράξεις καθίστανται.

The three Tetralogies of Antiphon are all very instructive respecting the legal procedure in cases of alleged homicide: as also the Oration De Cæde Herodis (see capp. 1 and 2)—τοῦ νόμου κειμένου, τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἀνταποθανεῖν, &c.

The case of the Spartan Drakontius (one of the Ten Thousand Greeks who served with Cyrus the younger, and permanently exiled from his country in consequence of an involuntary murder committed during his boyhood) presents a pretty exact parallel to the fatal quarrel of Patroklus at dice, when a boy, with the son of Amphidamas, in consequence of which he was forced to seek shelter under the roof of Pêleus (compare Iliad, xxiii. 85, with Xenoph. Anabas. iv. 8, 25).

[2] Odyss. xvii. 384; xix. 135. Iliad, iv. 187; vii. 221. I know nothing which better illustrates the idea of the Homeric δημιοεργοί—the herald, the prophet, the carpenter, the leech, the bard, &c.,—than the following description of the structure of an East Indian village (Mill's History of British India, b. ii. c. 5, p. 266): "A village politically considered resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of *officers and servants* consists of the following descriptions:—The potail, or head inhabitant, who settles disputes and collects the revenue, &c.; the curnum, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, &c.; the tallier; the boundary-man; the superintendent of tanks and water-courses; the Brahman, who performs the village worship; the schoolmaster; the calendar Brahman, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing or thrashing; the smith and carpenter; the potter; the washerman; the barber; the cowkeeper; the doctor; the dancing-girl, who attends at rejoicings; the musician and the poet".

Each of these officers and servants (δημιοεργοί) is remunerated by a definite perquisite—so much landed produce—out of the general crop of the village (p. 264).

individuals, with boundaries both carefully marked and jealously watched,[1] yet the larger proportion of surface was devoted to pasture. Cattle formed both the chief item in the substance of a wealthy man, the chief means of making payments, and the common ground of quarrels—bread and meat, in large quantities, being the constant food of every one.[2] The estates of the owners were tilled, and their cattle tended, mostly by bought slaves, but to a certain degree also by poor freemen called Thêtes, working for hire and for stated periods. The principal slaves, who were entrusted with the care of large herds of oxen, swine, or goats, were of necessity men worthy of confidence, their duties placing them away from their master's immediate eye.[3] They had other slaves subordinate to them, and appear to have been well treated: the deep and unshaken attachment of Eumæus the swineherd and Philœtius the neatherd, to the family and affairs of the absent Odysseus, is among the most interesting points in the ancient epic. Slavery was a calamity which in that period of insecurity might befal any one. The chief who conducted a freebooting expedition, if he succeeded, brought back with him a numerous troop of slaves, as many as he could seize[4]—if he failed, became very likely a slave himself: so that the slave was often by birth of equal dignity with his master—Eumæus was himself the son of a chief, conveyed away when a child by his nurse, and sold by Phœnician kidnappers to Laertês. A slave of this character, if he conducted himself well, might often expect to be enfranchised by his master, and placed in an independent holding.[5]

Slaves.

On the whole, the slavery of legendary Greece does not present itself as existing under a peculiarly harsh form, especially if we

[1] Iliad, xii. 421; xxi. 405.

[2] Iliad, i. 155; ix. 154; xiv. 122.

[3] Odysseus and other chiefs of Ithaka had oxen, sheep, mules, &c., on the continent and in Peloponnêsus, under the care of herdsmen (Odyss. iv. 636; xiv. 100).

Leukanor, king of Bosporus, asks the Scythian Arsakomas—Πόσα δὲ βοσκήματα, ἢ πόσας ἁμάξας ἔχεις, ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμεῖς πλουτεῖτε (Lucian, Toxaris, c. 45). The enumeration of the property of Odysseus would have placed the βοσκήματα in the front line.

[4] Δμωαὶ δ' ἂς Ἀχιλεὺς λητίσσατο (Iliad, xviii. 28: compare also Odyss. i. 397; xxiii. 357; particularly xvii. 441).

[5] Odyss. xiv. 64; xv. 412; see also xix. 78: Eurykleia was also of dignified birth (i. 426). The questions put by Odysseus to Eumæus, to which the speech above referred to is an answer, indicate the proximate causes of slavery: "Was the city of your father sacked? or were you seized by pirates when alone with your sheep and oxen?" (Odyss. xv. 385).

Eumæus had purchased a slave for himself (Odyss. xiv. 448).

consider that all the classes of society were then very much upon a level in point of taste, sentiment, and instruction.[1] In the absence of legal security or an effective social sanction, it is probable that the condition of a slave under an average master may have been as good as that of the free Thête. The class of slaves whose lot appears to have been the most pitiable were the females—more numerous than the males, and performing the principal work in the interior of the house. Not only do they seem to have been more harshly treated than the males, but they were charged with the hardest and most exhausting labour which the establishment of a Greek chief required—they brought in water from the spring, and turned by hand the house-mills, which ground the large quantity of flour consumed in his family.[2] This oppressive task was performed generally by female slaves, in historical as well as in legendary Greece.[3] Spinning and weaving was the constant occupation of women, whether free or slave, of every rank and station: all the garments worn both by men and women were fashioned at home, and Helen as well as Penelopê is expert and assiduous at the occupation.[4] The daughters of Keleos at Eleusis go to the well with their basins for water, and Nausikaa daughter of Alkinous[5] joins her female slaves in the business of washing her garments in the river. If

[1] Tacitus, Mor. Germ. 21. "Domi-num ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo, degunt," &c. (Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 167.)

[2] Odyss. vii. 104; xx. 116. Iliad, vi. 457; compare the Book of Genesis, ch. xi. 5. The expression of Telemachus, when he is proceeding to hang up the female slaves who had misbehaved, is bitterly contemptuous:—

Μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἑλοίμην
Τάων, &c. (Odyss. xxii. 464.)

The humble establishment of Hesiod's farmer does not possess a mill; he has nothing better than a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding or bruising the corn; both are constructed, and the wood cut from the trees by his own hand (Opp. Di. 423), though it seems that a professional carpenter ("the servant of Athênê") is required to put together the plough (v. 430). The Virgilian poem *Moretum* (v. 24) assigns a hand-mill even to the humblest rural establishment. The instructive article "Corn Mills" in Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions (vol. i. p. 227, Engl. transl.) collects all the information available about this subject.

[3] See Lysias, Or. 1, p. 93 (De Cæde Eratosthenis). Plutarch (Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum, c. 21, p. 1101)—Παχυσκελὴς ἀλετρὶς πρὸς μύλην κινουμένη—and Kallimachus (Hymn. ad Delum, 242)—μηδ' ὅθι δειλαὶ Δυστοκέες μογέουσιν ἀλετρίδες—notice the overworked condition of these women.

The "grinding slaves" (ἀλετρίδες) are expressly named in one of the Laws of Ethelbert king of Kent, and constitute the second class in point of value among the female slaves (Law xi. Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. i. p. 7).

[4] Odyss. iv. 131; xix. 235.

[5] Odyss. vi. 96; Hymn. ad Dêmêtr. 105.

we are obliged to point out the fierceness and insecurity of an early society, we may at the same time note with pleasure its characteristic simplicity of manners: Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro in the early Mosaic narrative, as well as the wife of the native Macedonian chief (with whom the Temenid Perdiccas, ancestor of Philip and Alexander, first took service on retiring from Argos) baking her own cakes on the hearth,[1] exhibit a parallel in this respect to the Homeric pictures.

We obtain no particulars respecting either the common freemen generally, or the particular class of them called Thêtes. These latter, engaged for special jobs, or at the harvest and other busy seasons of field labour, seem to have given their labour in exchange for board and clothing: they are mentioned in the same line with the slaves,[2] and were (as has been just observed) probably on the whole little better off. The condition of a poor freeman in those days, without a lot of land of his own, going about from one temporary job to another, and having no powerful family and no social authority to look up to for protection, must have been sufficiently miserable. When Eumæus indulged his expectation of being manumitted by his masters, he thought at the same time that they would give him a wife, a house, and a lot of land, near to themselves;[3] without which collateral advantages, simple manumission might perhaps have been no improvement in his condition. To be Thête in the service of a very poor farmer is selected by Achilles as the maximum of human hardship: such a person could not give to his Thête the same ample food, and good shoes and clothing, as the wealthy chief Eurymachus, while he would exact more severe labour.[4] It was probably among such smaller occupants, who could not advance the price necessary to purchase slaves, and were glad to save the cost of keep when they did not need service, that the Thêtes found employment: though we may conclude that the brave and strong amongst these poor freemen found it preferable to accompany some freebooting chief, and to

Thêtes.

[1] Herodot. viii. 137.

[2] Odyss. iv. 643.

[3] Odyss. xiv. 64.

[4] Compare Odyss. xi. 490, with xviii. 358. Klytæmnêstra, in the *Agamemnôn* of Æschylus, preaches a something similar doctrine to Kassandra,—how much kinder the ἀρχαιόπλουτοι δεσποταί were towards their slaves, than masters who had risen by unexpected prosperity (Agamemn. 1042).

live by the plunder acquired.[1] The exact Hesiod advises his farmer, whose work is chiefly performed by slaves, to employ and maintain the Thête during summer-time, but to dismiss him as soon as the harvest is completely got in, and then to take into his house for the winter, a woman "without any child"; who would of course be more useful than the Thête for the indoor occupations of that season.[2]

Limited commerce and navigation of the Homeric Greeks.

In a state of society such as that which we have been describing, Grecian commerce was necessarily trifling and restricted. The Homeric poems mark either total ignorance or great vagueness of apprehension respecting all that lies beyond the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor and the islands between or adjoining them. Libya and Egypt are supposed so distant as to be known only by name and hearsay: indeed when the city of Kyrênê was founded, a century and a half after the first Olympiad, it was difficult to find anywhere a Greek navigator who had ever visited the coast of Libya, or was fit to serve as guide to the colonists.[3] The mention of the Sikels in the Odyssey[4] leads us to conclude that Korkyra, Italy and Sicily were not wholly unknown to the poet. Among seafaring Greeks, the knowledge of the latter implied the

[1] Thucyd. i. 5. *ἐτράποντο πρὸς λῃστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων, κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς.*

[2] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 459—*ἐφορμηθῆναι, ὁμῶς δμῳές τε καὶ αὐτός*—and 603:—

. . . . Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ
Πάντα βίον κατάθηαι ἐπήρμενον ἔνδοθι οἴκου,
Θῆτά τ' ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄτεκνον ἔριθον
Δίζεσθαι κέλομαι· χαλεπὴ δ' ὑπόπορτις ἔριθος.

The two words *ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι* seem here to be taken together in the sense of "dismiss the Thête," or "make him houseless"; for when put out of his employer's house, he had no residence of his own. Göttling (*ad loc.*), Nitzsch (ad Odyss. iv. 643), and Lehrs (Quæst. Epic. p. 205) all construe *ἄοικον* with *θῆτα*, and represent Hesiod as advising that the houseless Thête should be at that moment *taken on*, just at the time when the summer's work was finished. Lehrs (and seemingly Göttling also), sensible that this can never have been the real meaning of the poet, would throw out the two lines as spurious. I may remark further that the translation of *θῆς* given by Göttling—*villicus*—is inappropriate: it includes the idea of superintendence over other labourers, which does not seem to have belonged to the Thête in any case.

There were a class of poor free-women who made their living by taking in wool to spin and perhaps to weave: the exactness of their dealing as well as the poor profit which they made, are attested by a touching Homeric simile (Iliad, xiii. 434). See Iliad, vi. 289; xxiii. 742. Odyss. xv. 414.

[3] Herodot. iv. 151. Compare Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, part i., p. 16—19.

[4] Odyss. xx. 383—xxiv. 210. The identity of the Homeric Scheria with Korkyra, and that of the Homeric Thrinakia with Sicily, appear to me not at all made out. Both Welcker and Klausen treat the Phæakians as purely mythical persons (see W. C. Müller, De Corcyræorum Republicâ, Götting. 1835, p. 9).

knowledge of the two former—since the habitual track, even of a well-equipped Athenian trireme during the Peloponnesian war, from Peloponnêsus to Sicily, was by Korkyra and the Gulf of Tarentum. The Phokæans, long afterwards, were the first Greeks who explored either the Adriatic or Tyrrhenian sea.[1] Of the Euxine sea no knowledge is manifested in Homer, who, as a general rule, presents to us the names of distant regions only in connexion with romantic or monstrous accompaniments. The Kretans, and still more the Taphians (who are supposed to have occupied the western islands off the coast of Akarnania), are mentioned as skilful mariners, and the Taphian Mentês professes to be conveying iron to Temesa to be there exchanged for copper;[2] but both Taphians and Kretans are more corsairs than traders.[3] The strong sense of the dangers of the sea, expressed by the poet Hesiod, and the imperfect structure of the early Grecian ship, attested by Thucydidês (who points out the more recent date of that improved shipbuilding which prevailed in his time), concur to demonstrate the then narrow range of nautical enterprise.[4]

Kretans, Taphians, Phœnicians.

Such was the state of the Greeks as traders, at a time when Babylon combined a crowded and industrious population with extensive commerce, and when the Phœnician merchant-ships visited in one direction the southern coast of Arabia, perhaps even the island of Ceylon—in another direction, the British isles.

The Phœnician, the kinsman of the ancient Jew, exhibits the type of character belonging to the latter—with greater enterprise and ingenuity, and less of religious exclusiveness, yet still different from, and even antipathetic to the character of the Greeks. In the Homeric poems, he appears somewhat like the Jew of the middle ages, a crafty trader turning to profit the violence and rapacity of others—bringing them ornaments, decorations, the finest and brightest products of the loom, gold, silver, electrum, ivory, tin, &c., in exchange for which he received landed produce, skins, wool and slaves, the only com-

[1] Herodot. i. 163.

[2] Nitzsch. ad Odyss. i. 181; Strabo, i. p. 6 The situation of Temesa, whether it is to be placed in Italy or in Cyprus, has been a disputed point among critics both ancient and modern.

[3] Odyss. xv. 426. Τάφιοι, λῃστῆρες ἀνδρες; and xvi. 426. Hymn to Dêmêtêr, v. 123.

[4] Hesiod. Opp. Di. 615—684; Thucyd. i. 13.

modities which even a wealthy Greek chief of those early times had to offer—prepared at the same time for dishonest gain, in any manner which chance might throw in his way.[1] He is however really a trader, not undertaking expeditions with the deliberate purpose of surprise and plunder, and standing distinguished in this respect from the Tyrrhenian, Kretan, or Taphian pirate. Tin, ivory, and electrum, all of which are acknowledged in the Homeric poems, were the fruit of Phœnician trade with the West as well as with the East.[2]

Nature of Phœnician trade as indicated by Homer

Thucydidês tells us that the Phœnicians and Karians, in very early periods, occupied many of the islands of the Ægean, and

[1] Odyss. xiv. 290: xv. 416.

Φοίνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδὼς,
Τρώκτης, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει.

The interesting narrative given by Eumæus, of the manner in which he fell into slavery, is a vivid picture of Phœnician dealing (compare Herodot. i. 2—4. Iliad, vi. 290; xxiii. 743). Paris is reported to have visited Sidon, and brought from thence women eminent for skill at the loom. The Cyprian Verses (see the Argument ap. Düntzer, p. 17) affirmed that Paris had landed at Sidon, and attacked and captured the city. Taphian corsairs kidnapped slaves at Sidon (Odyss. xv. 424).

The ornaments or trinkets (ἀθύρματα) which the Phœnician merchant carries with him, seem to be the same as the δαίδαλα πολλὰ, Ἥρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἕλικας, &c., which Hêphæstus was employed in fabricating (Iliad, xviii. 400) under the protection of Thetis.

"Fallacissimum esse genus Phœnicium omnia monumenta vetustatis atque omnes historiæ nobis prodiderunt." (Cicero, Orat. Trium. partes ineditæ, ed. Mai, 1815, p. 13.)

[2] Ivory is frequently mentioned in Homer, who uses the word ἐλέφας exclusively to mean that substance, not to signify the animal.

The art of dyeing, especially with the various shades of purple, was in after-ages one of the special excellencies of the Phœnicians: yet Homer, where he alludes in a simile to dyeing or staining, introduces a Mæonian or Karian woman as the performer of the process, not a Phœnician (Iliad, iv. 141).

What the *electrum* named in the Homeric poems really is cannot be positively determined. The word in antiquity meant two different things: 1. amber; 2. an impure gold, containing as much as one-fifth or more of silver (Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 4). The passages in which we read the word in the Odyssey do not positively exclude either of these meanings; but they present to us electrum so much in juxtaposition with gold and silver each separately, that perhaps the second meaning is more probable than the first. Herodotus understands it to mean *amber* (iii. 115): Sophoklês, on the contrary, employs it to designate a metal akin to gold (Antigone, 1033).

See the dissertation of Buttmann, appended to his collection of essays called *Mythologus*, vol. ii. p. 337; also Beckmann, History of Inventions, vol. iv p. 12, Engl. Transl. "The ancients (observes the latter) used as a peculiar metal a mixture of gold and silver, because they were not acquainted with the art of separating them, and gave it the name of *electrum*." Dr. Thirlwall (Hist. of Greece, vol. i. p. 241) thinks that the Homeric *electrum* is amber; on the contrary, Hüllmann thinks that it was a metallic substance (Handels-Geschichte der Griechen, p. 63—81).

Beckmann doubts whether the oldest κασσίτερος of the Greeks was really *tin*: he rather thinks that it was "the *stannum* of the Romans, the *work* of our smelting-houses,—that is, a mixture of lead, silver, and other accidental metals" (*ibid.* p. 20). The Greeks of Massalia procured tin from Britain, through Gaul, by the Seine, the Saone, and the Rhone (Diodôr. v. 22).

we know, from the striking remnant of their mining works which Herodotus himself saw in Thasus, off the coast of Thrace, that they had once extracted gold from the mountains of that island—at a period indeed very far back, since their occupation must have been abandoned prior to the settlement of the poet Archilochus.[1] Yet few of the islands in the Ægean were rich in such valuable products, nor was it in the usual course of Phœnician proceeding to occupy islands, except where there was an adjoining mainland with which trade could be carried on. The traffic of these active mariners required no permanent settlement. But as occasional visitors they were convenient, in enabling a Greek chief to turn his captives to account,—to get rid of slaves, or friendless Thêtes who were troublesome—and to supply himself with the metals, precious as well as useful.[2] The halls of Alkinous and Menelaus glitter with gold, copper, and electrum. Large stocks of yet unemployed metal—gold, copper, and iron—are stored up in the treasure chamber of Odysseus and other chiefs.[3] Coined money is unknown to the Homeric age—the trade carried on being one of barter. In reference also to the metals, it deserves to be remarked that the Homeric descriptions universally suppose copper, and not iron, to be employed for arms, both offensive and defensive. By what process the copper was tempered and hardened, so as to serve the purposes of the warrior, we do not know;[4] but the use of iron for these objects belongs to a later age, though the Works and Days of Hesiod suppose this change to have been already introduced.[5]

[1] Herodot. ii. 44; vi. 47. Archiloch. Fragm. 21—22, ed. Gaisf. Œnomaus, ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. vi. 7. Thucyd. i. 12.

The Greeks connected this Phœnician settlement in Thasus with the legend of Kadmus and his sister Eurôpa: Thasus, the eponymus of the island, was brother of Kadmus. (Herod. *ib.*)

[2] The angry Laomedôn threatens, when Poseidôn and Apollo ask from him (at the expiration of their term of servitude) the stipulated wages of their labour, to cut off their ears and send them off to some distant islands (Iliad, xxi. 454). Compare xxiv. 752. Odyss. xx. 383; xviii. 83.

[3] Odyss. iv. 73; vii. 85; xxi. 61. Iliad, ii. 226; vi. 47.

[4] See Millin, Minéralogie Homérique, p. 74. That there are, however, modes of tempering copper, so as to impart to it the hardness of steel, has been proved by the experiments of the Comte de Caylus.

The Massagetæ employed only copper—no iron—for their weapons (Herodot. i. 215).

[5] Hesiod, Opp. Dl. 150—420. The examination of the various matters of antiquity discoverable throughout the north of Europe, as published by the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, recognises a distinction of three suc-

Weapons and mode of fighting of the Homeric Greeks.

The mode of fighting among the Homeric heroes is not less different from the historical times, than the material of which their arms were composed. In historical Greece, the Hoplites, or heavy-armed infantry, maintained a close order and well-dressed line, charging the enemy with their spears protended at even distance, and coming thus to close conflict without breaking their rank: there were special troops, bowmen, slingers, &c., armed with missiles, but the hoplite had no weapon to employ in this manner. The heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey, on the contrary, habitually employ the spear as a missile, which they launch with tremendous force: each of them is mounted in his war-chariot drawn by two horses and calculated to contain the warrior and his charioteer; in which latter capacity a friend or comrade will sometimes consent to serve. Advancing in his chariot at full speed, in front of his own soldiers, he hurls his spear against the enemy: sometimes indeed he will fight on foot and hand to hand, but the chariot is usually near to receive him if he chooses, or to ensure his retreat. The mass of the Greeks and Trojans coming forward to the charge, without any regular step or evenly-maintained line, make their attack in the same way by hurling their spears. Each chief wears habitually a long sword and a short dagger, besides his two spears to be launched forward—the spear being also used, if occasion serves, as a weapon for thrust. Every man is protected by shield, helmet, breastplate and greaves: but the armour of

cessive ages:—1. Implements and arms of stone, bone, wood, &c.; little or no use of metals at all; clothing made of skins. 2. Implements and arms of copper and gold, or rather bronze and gold; little or no silver or iron. Articles of gold and electrum are found belonging to this age, but none of silver, nor any evidences of writing. 3. The age which follows this has belonging to it arms of iron, articles of silver, and some Runic inscriptions: it is the last age of northern paganism, immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity (Leitfaden zur Nordischen Alterthumskunde, pp. 31, 57, 63, Copenhagen, 1837.)

The Homeric age coincides with the second of these two periods. Silver is comparatively little mentioned in Homer, while both bronze and gold are familiar metals. Iron also is rare, and seems employed only for agricultural purposes—*Χρυσόν τε, χάλκον τε ἄλις, ἐσθῆτά θ' ὑφαντήν* (Iliad, vi. 48; Odyss. ii. 338; xiii. 136). The *χρυσοχόος* and the *χαλκεύς* are both mentioned in Homer, but workers in silver and iron are not known by any special name (Odyss. iii. 415—436).

"The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the saw, the square, and the compass." (Gillies, Hist. of Greece, chap. ii. p. 61.)

The Gauls known to Polybius, seemingly the Cisalpine Gauls only, possessed all their property in cattle and gold—*θρέμματα καὶ χρυσός*,—on account of the easy transportability of both (Polyb. ii. 17).

the chiefs is greatly superior to that of the common men, while they themselves are both stronger and more expert in the use of their weapons. There are a few bowmen, as rare exceptions, but the general equipment and proceeding is as here described.

Such loose array, immortalised as it is in the Iliad, is familiar to every one; and the contrast which it presents, with those inflexible ranks and that irresistible simultaneous charge which bore down the Persian throng at Platæa and Kunaxa,[1] is such as to illustrate forcibly the general difference between heroic and historical Greece. While in the former, a few splendid figures stand forward in prominent relief, the remainder being a mere unorganised and ineffective mass—in the latter, these units have been combined into a system, in which every man, officer and soldier, has his assigned place and duty, and the victory, when gained, is the joint work of all. Pre-eminent individual prowess is indeed materially abridged, if not wholly excluded—no man can do more than maintain his station in the line.[2] But on the other hand, the grand purposes, aggressive or defensive, for which alone arms are taken up, become more assured and easy; while long-sighted combinations of the general are rendered for the first time practicable, when he has a disciplined body of men to obey him.

Contrast with the military array of historical Greece.

In tracing the picture of civil society, we have to remark a similar transition—we pass from Hêraklês, Thêseus, Jasôn, Achilles, tǫ Solôn, Pythagoras and Periklês—from "the shepherd of his people" (to use the phrase in which Homer depicts the good side of the Heroic king), to the legislator who introduces, and the statesman who maintains, a preconcerted system by which willing citizens consent to bind themselves. If commanding individual talent is not always to be found, the whole community is so

Analogous change—in military array and in civil society.

[1] Tyrtæus, in his military expressions, seems to conceive the Homeric mode of hurling the spear as still prevalent—δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως βάλλοντες (Fragm. ix. Gaisford). Either he had his mind prepossessed with the Homeric array, or else the close order and conjunct spears of the hoplites had not yet been introduced during the second Messenian war.

Thiersch and Schneidewin would substitute πάλλοντες in place of βάλλοντες. Euripidês (Androm. 695) has a similar expression, yet it does not apply well to hoplites; for one of the virtues of the hoplite consisted in carrying his spear steadily: δοράτων κίνησις betokens a disorderly march and the want of steady courage and self-possession. See the remarks of Brasidas upon the ranks of the Athenians under Kleôn at Amphipolis. (Thucyd. v. 6).

[2] Euripid. Andromach. 696.

trained as to be able to maintain its course under inferior leaders; the rights as well as the duties of each citizen being predetermined in the social order, according to principles more or less wisely laid down. The contrast is similar, and the transition equally remarkable, in the civil as in the military picture. In fact, the military organization of the Grecian republics is an element of the greatest importance in respect to the conspicuous part which they have played in human affairs—their superiority over other contemporary nations in this respect being hardly less striking than it is in many others, as we shall have occasion to see in a subsequent stage of this history.

Fortification of towns.

Even at the most advanced point of their tactics, the Greeks could effect little against a walled city. Still less effective were the heroic weapons and array for such an undertaking as a siege. Fortifications are a feature of the age deserving considerable notice. There was a time, we are told, in which the primitive Greek towns or villages derived a precarious security, not from their walls, but merely from sites lofty and difficult of access. They were not built immediately upon the shore, or close upon any convenient landing-place, but at some distance inland, on a rock or elevation which could not be approached without notice or scaled without difficulty. It was thought sufficient at that time to guard against piratical or marauding surprise: but as the state of society became assured—as the chance of sudden assault comparatively diminished and industry increased—these uninviting abodes were exchanged for more convenient sites on the plain or declivity beneath; or a portion of the latter was enclosed within larger boundaries and joined on to the original foundation, which thus became the Acropolis of the new town. Thêbes, Athens, Argos, &c., belonged to the latter class of cities; but there were in many parts of Greece deserted sites on hill-tops, still retaining even in historical times the traces of former habitation, and some of them still bearing the name of the old towns. Among the mountainous parts of Krête, in Ægina and Rhodes, in portions of Mount Ida and Parnassus, similar remnants might be perceived.[1]

[1] Ἡ παλαιὰ πόλις in Ægina (Herodot. vi. 88); Ἀστυπάλαια in Samus (Polyæn. i. 23, 2; Etymol. Mag. v. Ἀστυπάλαια: it became seemingly the acropolis of the subsequent city). About the deserted sites in the lofty

Probably in such primitive hill villages, a continuous circle of wall would hardly be required as an additional means of defence, and would often be rendered very difficult by the rugged nature of the ground. But Thucydidês represents the earliest Greeks—those whom he conceives anterior to the Trojan war—as living thus universally in unfortified villages chiefly on account of their poverty, rudeness, and thorough carelessness for the morrow. Oppressed and held apart from each other by perpetual fear, they had not yet contracted the sentiment of fixed abodes—they were unwilling even to plant fruit-trees because of the uncertainty of gathering the produce—and were always ready to dislodge, because there was nothing to gain by staying, and a bare subsistence might be had anywhere. He compares them to the mountaineers of Ætolia and of the Ozolian Lokris in his own time, who dwelt in their unfortified hill villages with little or no inter-communication, always armed and fighting, and subsisting on the produce of their cattle and their woods[1]—clothed in undrest hides, and eating raw meat.

Earliest residences of the Greeks—hill villages lofty and difficult of access.

The picture given by Thucydidês, of these very early and unrecorded times, can only be taken as conjectural—the conjec-

regions of Krête, see Theophrastus, de Ventis, v. 13, ed. Schneider, p. 762.

The site of Παλαίσκηψις in Mount Ida,—*ἐπάνω Κέβρηνος κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἴδης* (Strabo, xiii. p. 607); *ὕστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἑξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκήψιν μετῳκίσθησαν.* Paphos in Cyprus was the same distance below the ancient Palæ-Paphos (Strabo, xiv. p. 683).

Near Mantineia in Arcadia was situated *ὄρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τὰ ἐρείπια ἔτι Μαντινείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις* (Pausan. viii. 12, 4). See a similar statement about the lofty sites of the ancient town of Orchomenus (in Arcadia, Paus. viii. 13, 2), of Nonakris (viii. 17, 5), of Lusi (viii. 18, 3), Lykoreia on Parnassus (Paus. x. 6, 2; Strabo, ix. p. 418).

Compare also Plato (Legg. iii. 2. p. 678—679), who traces these lofty and craggy dwellings, general among the earliest Grecian townships, to the commencement of human society after an extensive deluge, which had covered all the lower grounds and left only a few survivors.

[1] Thucyd. i. 2. *Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, βιαζόμενοι ὑπό τινων ἀεὶ πλειόνων· τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις, οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν, καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὂν ὅπότε τις ἐπελθὼν, καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων, ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον, οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.*

About the distant and unfortified villages and rude habits of the Ætolians and Lokrians, see Thucyd. iii. 94; Pausan. x. 38, 3: also of the Cisalpine Gauls, Polyb. ii. 17.

Both Thucydidês and Aristotle seem to have conceived the Homeric period as mainly analogous to the *βάρβαροι* of their own day—*Λύει δ' Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἀεὶ ποιεῖ Ὅμηρος οἷα ἦν τότε· ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα τὰ παλαιὰ οἱάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις* (Schol. Iliad. x. 151).

tures indeed of a statesman and a philosopher,—generalised, too, in part, from the many particular instances of contention and expulsion of chiefs which he found in the old legendary poems. The Homeric poems, however, present to us a different picture. They recognise walled towns; fixed abodes, strong local attachments, hereditary individual property in land, vineyards planted and carefully cultivated, established temples of the gods, and splendid palaces of the chiefs.[1] The description of Thucydidês belongs to a lower form of society, and bears more analogy to that which the poet himself conceives as antiquated and barbarous—to the savage Cyclopes who dwell on the tops of mountains, in hollow caves, without the plough, without vine or fruit culture, without arts or instruments—or to the primitive settlement of Dardanus son of Zeus, on the higher ground of Ida, while it was reserved for his descendants and successors to found the holy Ilium on the plain.[2] Ilium or Troy represents the perfection of Homeric society It is a consecrated spot, containing temples of the gods as well as the palace of Priam, and surrounded by walls which are the fabric of the gods; while the antecedent form of ruder society, which the poet briefly glances at, is the parallel of that which the theory of Thucydidês ascribes to his own early semi-barbarous ancestors.

Homeric society recognises walled towns, individual property, and strong local attachments.

Walled towns serve thus as one of the evidences, that a large part of the population of Greece had, even in the Homeric times, reached a level higher than that of the Ætolians and Lokrians of the days of Thucydidês. The remains of Mykênæ and Tiryns demonstrate the massy and Cyclopian style of architecture employed in those early days; but we may remark, that while modern observers seem inclined to treat the remains of the former as very imposing, and significant of a great princely family, Thucydidês, on the contrary, speaks of it as a small place, and labours to elude the inference, which might be deduced from its insignificant size, in

Means of defence superior to those of attack.

[1] Odyss. vi. 10; respecting Nausithous, past king of the Phæakians:

Ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους,
Καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.

The vineyard, olive-ground and garden of Laërtes, is a model of careful cultivation (Odyss. xxiv. 245); see also the shield of Achilles (Iliad, xviii. 541—580), and the Kalydonian plain (Iliad, ix. 575).

[2] Odyss. x. 106—115; Iliad, xx. 216.

disproof of the grandeur of Agamemnôn.[1] Such fortifications supplied a means of defence incomparably superior to those of attack. Indeed even in historical Greece, and after the invention of battering engines, no city could be taken except by surprise or blockade, or by ruining the country around, and thus depriving the inhabitants of their means of subsistence. And in the two great sieges of the legendary time, Troy and Thêbes, the former is captured by the stratagem of the wooden horse, while the latter is evacuated by its citizens, under the warning of the gods, after their defeat in the field.

This decided superiority of the means of defence over those of attack, in rude ages, has been one of the grand promotive causes both of the growth of civic life, and of the general march of human improvement. It has enabled the progressive portions of mankind not only to maintain their acquisitions against the predatory instincts of the ruder and poorer, and to surmount the difficulties of incipient organisation,—but ultimately, when their organisation has been matured, both to acquire predominance, and to uphold it until their own disciplined habits have in part passed to their enemies. The important truth here stated is illustrated not less by the history of ancient Greece, than by that of modern Europe during the middle ages. The Homeric chief, combining superior rank with superior force, and ready to rob at every convenient opportunity, greatly resembles the feudal baron of the middle ages; but circumstances absorb him more easily into a city life, and convert the independent potentate into the member of a governing aristocracy.[2] Traffic by sea continued to be beset with danger from pirates, long after it had become tolerably assured by land: the "wet ways" have always been the last resort of lawlessness and violence, and

Habitual piracy.

[1] Thucyd. i. 10. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα μὴ ἀξιοχρέων δοκεῖ εἶναι, &c.

[2] Nägelsbach, Homerische Theologie, Abschn. v. sect. 54. Hesiod strongly condemns robbery — Ἀὼς ἀγαθῇ, ἅρπαξ δὲ κακῇ, θανάτοιο δότειρα (Opp. Di. 356, comp. 320); but the sentiment of the Grecian heroic poetry seems not to go against it—it is looked upon as a natural employment of superior force—Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἵασιν (Athenæ. v. p. 178; comp. Pindar, Fragm. 48, ed. Dissen.): the long spear, sword and breastplate, of the Kretan Hybreas, constitute his wealth (Skolion 27, p. 877, Poet. Lyric. ed. Bergk), wherewith he ploughs and reaps—while the unwarlike, who dare not or cannot wield these weapons, fall at his feet, and call him The Great King. The feeling is different in the later age of Demêtrius Poliorkêtês (about 310 B.C.); in the Ithyphallic Ode addressed to him at his entrance into Athens, robbery is

the Ægean in particular has in all times suffered more than other waters under this calamity.

Aggressions of the sort here described were of course most numerous in those earliest times when the Ægean was not yet an Hellenic sea, and when many of the Cyclades were occupied, not by Greeks, but by Karians—perhaps by Phœnicians: the number of Karian sepulchres discovered in the sacred island of Delos seems to attest such occupation as an historical fact.[1] According to the legendary account, espoused both by Herodotus and by Thucydidês, it was the Kretan Minôs who subdued these islands and established his sons as rulers in them; either expelling the Karians, or reducing them to servitude and tribute.[2] Thucydidês presumes that he must of course have put down piracy, in order to enable his tribute to be remitted in safety, like the Athenians during the time of their hegemony.[3] Upon the legendary thalassocraty of Minôs I have already remarked in another place:[4]

treated as worthy only of Ætolians:—

Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἁρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας,
Νυνὶ δέ, καὶ πόρρω.—

(Poet. Lyr. xxv. p. 453, ed. Schneid.)

The robberies of powerful men, and even highway robbery generally, found considerable approving sentiment in the middle ages. "All Europe (observes Mr. Hallam, Hist. Mid. Ag. ch. viii. part 3, p. 247) was a scene of intestine anarchy during the middle ages; and though England was far less exposed to the scourge of private war than most nations on the continent, we should find, could we recover the local annals of every country, such an accumulation of petty rapine and tumult, as would almost alienate us from the liberty which served to engender it. . . . Highway robbery was from the earliest times a sort of national crime. . . . We know how long the outlaws of Sherwood lived in tradition; men who, like some of their betters, have been permitted to redeem by a few acts of generosity the just ignominy of extensive crimes. These indeed were the heroes of vulgar applause: but when such a judge as Sir John Fortescue could exult, that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in one year than French in seven—and that, *if an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so*,—it may be perceived how thoroughly these sentiments had pervaded the public mind."

The robberies habitually committed by the noblesse of France and Germany during the middle ages, so much worse than anything in England—and those of the Highland chiefs even in later times—are too well-known to need any references: as to France, an ample catalogue is set forth in Dulaure's Histoire de la Noblesse (Paris, 1792). The confederations of the German cities chiefly originated in the necessity of keeping the roads and rivers open for the transit of men and goods against the nobles who infested the high roads. Scaliger might have found a parallel to the λῃσταί of the heroic ages in the noblesse of la Rouergue as it stood even in the 16th century, which he thus describes:—"In Comitatu Rodez pessimi sunt: nobilitas ibi latrocinatur; nec possunt reprimi" (ap. Dulaure, c. 9).

[1] Thucyd. i. 4, 8. τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης.

[2] Herodot. i. 171; Thucyd. i. 4—8. Isokratês (Panathenaic. p. 241) takes credit to Athens for having finally expelled the Karians out of these islands at the time of the Ionic emigration.

[3] Thucyd. i. 4. τό τε ληστικὸν, ὡς εἰκὸς, καθῆρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ.

[4] See chap. xii.

it is sufficient here to repeat, that in the Homeric poems (long subsequent to Minôs in the current chronology) we find piracy both frequent and held in honourable estimation, as Thucydidês himself emphatically tells us—remarking moreover that the vessels of those early days were only half-decked, built and equipped after the piratical fashion,[1] in a manner upon which the nautical men of his time looked back with disdain. Improved and enlarged ship-building, and the trireme, or ship with three banks of oars, common for warlike purposes during the Persian invasion, began only with the growing skill, activity and importance of the Corinthians, three quarters of a century after the first Olympiad.[2] Corinth, even in the Homeric poems, is distinguished by the epithet of wealthy, which it acquired principally from its remarkable situation on the Isthmus, and from its two harbours of Lechæum and Kenchreæ, the one on the Corinthian, the other on the Sarônic gulf. It thus supplied a convenient connexion between Epirus and Italy on the one side, and the Ægean sea on the other, without imposing upon the unskilful and timid navigator of those days the necessity of circumnavigating Peloponnêsus.

Extended geographical knowledge in the Hesiodic poems, as compared with Homer.

The extension of Grecian traffic and shipping is manifested by a comparison of the Homeric with the Hesiodic poems; in respect to knowledge of places and countries—the latter being probably referable to dates between B.C. 740 and B.C. 640. In Homer, acquaintance is shown (the accuracy of such acquaintance however being exaggerated by Strabo and other friendly critics) with continental Greece and its neighbouring islands, with Krête and the principal islands of the Ægean, and with Thrace, the Troad, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor between Paphlagonia northward and Lykia southward The Sikels are mentioned in the Odyssey, and Sikania in the last book of that poem, but nothing is said to evince a knowledge of Italy or the realities of the western world. Libya, Egypt and Phœnike, are known by name and by vague hearsay, but the Nile is only mentioned as "the river Egypt": while the Euxine sea is not mentioned at all.[3] In the Hesiodic

[1] Thucyd. i. 10. τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα.

[2] Thucyd. i. 13.

[3] See Voelcker, Homerische Geographie, ch. iii. sect. 55—63. He has brought to bear much learning and ingenuity to identify the places visited by Odysseus with real lands, but the

poems, on the other hand, the Nile, the Ister, the Phasis and the Eridanus, are all specified by name ;[1] Mount Ætna, and the island of Ortygia near to Syracuse, the Tyrrhenians and Ligurians in the west, and the Scythians in the north, were also noticed.[2] Indeed within forty years after the first Olympiad, the cities of Korkyra and Syracuse were founded from Corinth—the first of a numerous and powerful series of colonies, destined to impart a new character both to the south of Italy and to Sicily.

Astronomy and physics.

In reference to the astronomy and physics of the Homeric Greek, it has already been remarked that he connected together the sensible phænomena which form the subject matter of these sciences by threads of religious and personifying fancy, to which the real analogies among them were made subordinate ; and that these analogies did not begin to be studied by themselves, apart from the religious element by which they had been at first overlaid, until the age of Thales, coinciding as that period did with the increased opportunities for visiting Egypt and the interior of Asia. The Greeks obtained access in both of these countries to an enlarged stock of astronomical observations, to the use of the gnomon or sun-dial,[3] and to a more exact determination of the length of the solar year [4] than

attempt is not successful. Compare also Ukert, Hom. Geog. vol. i. p. 14, and the valuable treatises of J. H. Voss, *Alte Weltkunde*, annexed to the second volume of his Kritische Blätter (Stuttgart, 1828), pp. 245—413. Voss is the father of just views respecting Homeric geography.

[1] Hesiod. Theog. 338—340.

[2] Hesiod. Theogon. 1016; Hesiod. Fragm. 190—194, ed. Göttling; Strabo, i. p. 16; vii. p. 300. Compare Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, i. p. 37.

[3] The Greeks learnt from the Babylonians πόλον καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυωκαίδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης (Herodot. ii. 109). The word πόλον means the same as *horologium*, the circular plate upon which the vertical gnomon projected its shadow, marked so as to indicate the hour of the day—twelve hours between sunrise and sunset: see Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, vol. i. p. 233. Respecting the opinions of Thales, see the same work, part ii. p. 18—57; Plutarch. de Placit. Philosophor. ii. c. 12; Aristot. de Cœlo, ii. 13. Costard, Rise and Progress of Astronomy among the Ancients, p. 99.

[4] We have very little information respecting the early Grecian mode of computing time, and we know that though all the different states computed by lunar periods, yet most, if not all, of them had different names of months as well as different days of beginning and ending their months. All their immediate computations however were made by months: the lunar period was their immediate standard of reference for determining their festivals and for other purposes, the solar period being resorted to only as a corrective, to bring the same months constantly into the same seasons of the year. Their original month had thirty days, and was divided into three decades, as it continued to be during the times of historical Athens (Hesiod. Opp. Di. 766). In order to bring this lunar period more nearly into harmony with the sun, they intercalated every second year an additional month: so that their years included alternately twelve

that which served as the basis of their various lunar periods. It is pretended that Thales was the first who predicted an eclipse of the sun—not indeed accurately, but with large limits of error as to the time of its occurrence—and that he also possessed so profound an acquaintance with meteorological phænomena and probabilities, as to be able to foretell an abundant crop of olives for the coming year, and to realise a large sum of money by an olive speculation.[1] From Thales downward we trace a succession of astronomical and physical theories, more or less successful, into which I do not intend here to enter. It is sufficient at present to contrast the father of the Ionic philosophy with the times preceding him, and to mark the first commencement of scientific prediction among the Greeks, however imperfect at the outset, as distinguished from the inspired dicta of prophets or oracles, and from those special signs of the purposes of the gods, which formed the habitual reliance of the Homeric man.[2] We shall see these two modes of anticipating the future—one based upon the philosophical, the other upon the religious appreciation of nature—running simultaneously on throughout Grecian history and sharing between them in unequal portions the empire of the Greek mind; the former acquiring both greater predominance and wider application among the intellectual men, and partially restricting, but never abolishing, the spontaneous employment of the latter among the vulgar.

months and thirteeen months, each month of thirty days. This period was called a Dietêris—sometimes a Trietêris. Solôn is said to have first introduced the fashion of months differing in length, varying alternately from thirty to twenty-nine days. It appears however that Herodotus had present to his mind the Dieteric cycle, or years alternating between thirteen months and twelve months (each month of thirty days), and no other (Herodot. i. 32; compare ii. 104). As astronomical knowledge improved, longer and more elaborate periods were calculated, exhibiting a nearer correspondence between an integral number of lunations and an integral number of solar years. First, we find a period of four years: next, the Octaëtêris, or period of eight years, or ninety-nine lunar months: lastly, the Metonic period of nineteen years, or 235 lunar months. How far any of these larger periods were ever legally authorised or brought into civil usage even at Athens, is matter of much doubt. See Ideler, Ueber die Astronomischen Beobachtungen der Alten, p. 175—195; Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 13.

[1] Herodot. i. 74; Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 5.

[2] Odyss. iii. 173.—

Ἠτέομεν δὲ θεὸν φαίνειν τέρας· αὐτὰρ ὁγ' ἡμῖν
Δεῖξε, καὶ ἠνώγει πέλαγος μέσον εἰς Εὔβοιαν
Τέμνειν, &c.

Compare Odyss. xx. 100; Iliad, i. 62; Eurip. Suppl. 216—230.

Coined money, writing, arts.

Neither coined money, nor the art of writing,[1] nor painting, nor sculpture, nor imaginative architecture, belong to the Homeric and Hesiodic times. Such rudiments of arts, destined ultimately to acquire great development in Greece, as may have existed in these early days, served only as a sort of nucleus to the fancy of the poet, to shape out for himself the fabulous creations ascribed to Hephæstus or Dædalus. No statues of the gods, not even of wood, are mentioned in the Homeric poems. All the many varieties, in Grecian music, poetry and dancing,—the former chiefly borrowed from Lydia and Phrygia—date from a period considerably later than the first Olympiad. Terpander, the earliest musician whose date is assigned—and the inventor of the harp with seven strings instead of that with four strings—does not come until the 26th Olympiad, or 676 B.C.: the poet Archilochus is nearly of the same date. The iambic and elegiac metres—the first deviations from the primitive epic strain and subject—do not reach up to the year 700 B.C.

Epic poetry.

It is this epic poetry which forms at once both the undoubted prerogative and the solitary jewel of the earliest æra of Greece. Of the many epic poems which existed in Greece during the eighth century before the Christian æra, none have been preserved except the Iliad and Odyssey: the Æthiopis of Arktinus, the Ilias Minor of Leschês, the Cyprian Verses, the capture of Œchalia, the Returns of the Heroes from Troy, the Thêbais and the Epigoni—several of them passing in antiquity under the name of Homer—have all been lost. But the two which remain are quite sufficient to demonstrate in the primitive Greeks, a mental organisation unparalleled in any other people, and powers of invention and expression which prepared, as well as foreboded, the future eminence of the nation in all the various departments to which thought and language can be applied. Great as the power of thought afterwards became among the Greeks, their power of expression was still greater; in the former, other nations have built upon their foundations and surpassed them—in the latter they still remain unrivalled. It is not too

[1] The σήματα λυγρά mentioned in Iliad. vi. 168, if they prove anything, are rather an evidence against, than for, the existence of alphabetical writing at the times when the Iliad was composed.

much to say that this flexible, emphatic and transparent character of the language as an instrument of communication—its perfect aptitude for narrative and discussion, as well as for stirring all the veins of human emotion without ever forfeiting that character of simplicity which adapts it to all men and all times—may be traced mainly to the existence and the wide-spread influence of the Iliad and Odyssey. To us these compositions are interesting as beautiful poems, depicting life and manners, and unfolding certain types of character, with the utmost vivacity and artlessness: to their original hearer, they possessed all these sources of attraction, together with others more powerful still, to which we are now strangers. Upon him they bore with the full weight and solemnity of history and religion combined, while the charm of the poetry was only secondary and instrumental. The poet was then the teacher and preacher of the community, not simply the amuser of their leisure hours; they looked to him for revelations of the unknown past and for expositions of the attributes and dispensations of the gods, just as they consulted the prophet for his privileged insight into the future. The ancient epic comprised many different poets and poetical compositions, which fulfilled this purpose with more or less completeness. But it is the exclusive prerogative of the Iliad and Odyssey, that after the minds of men had ceased to be in full harmony with their original design, they yet retained their empire by the mere force of secondary excellences; while the remaining epics—though serving as food for the curious, and as storehouses for logographers, tragedians, and artists—never seem to have acquired very wide popularity even among intellectual Greeks.

Its great and permanent influence on the Greek mind.

I shall, in the succeeding chapter, give some account of the epic cycle, of its relation to the Homeric poems, and of the general evidences respecting the latter, both as to antiquity and authorship.

CHAPTER XXI.

GRECIAN EPIC.—HOMERIC POEMS.

Two classes of epic poetry—Homeric—Hesiodic.

AT the head of the once abundant epical compositions of Greece, most of them unfortunately lost, stand the Iliad and Odyssey, with the immortal name of Homer attached to each of them, embracing separate portions of the comprehensive legend of Troy. They form the type of what may be called the heroic epic of the Greeks, as distinguished from the genealogical, in which latter species some of the Hesiodic poems—the Catalogue of Women, the Eoiai, and the Naupaktia—stood conspicuous. Poems of the Homeric character (if so it may be called, though the expression is very indefinite)—being confined to one of the great events or great personages of Grecian legendary antiquity, and comprising a limited number of characters all contemporaneous—made some approach, more or less successful, to a certain poetical unity; while the Hesiodic poems, tamer in their spirit and unconfined both as to time and as to persons, strung together distinct events without any obvious view to concentration of interest—without legitimate beginning or end.[1] Between these two extremes there were many gradations. Biographical poems, such as the Herakleia or Theseïs, recounting all the principal exploits performed by one single hero, present a character intermediate between the two, but bordering more closely on the Hesiodic. Even the hymns to the gods, which pass under the name of Homer, are epical fragments, narrating particular exploits or adventures of the god commemorated.

[1] Arist. Poet. c. 17—37. He points out and explains the superior structure of the Iliad and Odyssey, as compared with the semi-Homeric and biographical poems: but he takes no notice of the Hesiodic or genealogical.

Both the didactic and the mystico-religious poetry of Greece began in Hexameter verse—the characteristic and consecrated measure of the epic:[1] but they belong to a different species, and burst out from a different vein in the Grecian mind. It seems to have been the more common belief among the historical Greeks that such mystic effusions were more ancient than their narrative poems: and that Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Olên, Pamphus, and even Hesiod, &c., &c., the reputed composers of the former, were of earlier date than Homer. But there is no evidence to sustain this opinion, and the presumptions are all against it. Those compositions, which in the sixth century before the Christian æra passed under the name of Orpheus and Musæus, seem to have been unquestionably post-Homeric. We cannot even admit the modified conclusion of Hermann, Ulrici, and others, that the mystic poetry, as a genus (putting aside the particular compositions falsely ascribed to Orpheus and others) preceded in order of time the narrative.[2]

Didactic and mystic Hexameter poetry—later as a genus than the Epic.

Besides the Iliad and Odyssey, we make out the titles of about thirty lost epic poems, sometimes with a brief hint of their contents.

Concerning the legend of Troy there were five—the Cyprian Verses, the Æthiopis and the capture of Troy, both ascribed to Arktinus; the Lesser Iliad, ascribed to Leschês; the Returns (of the Heroes from Troy), to which the name of Hagias of Trœzên is attached; and the Telegonia, by Eugammôn, a continuation of the Odyssey. Two poems—the Thebaïs and the Epigoni (perhaps two parts of one and the same poem) were devoted to the legend of Thêbes—the two sieges of that city by the Argeians. Another poem called Œdipodia, had for its subject the tragical destiny of Œdipus and his family; and perhaps that which is cited as Eurôpia, or verses on Eurôpa, may have comprehended the tale of her brother Kadmus, the mythical founder of Thêbes.[3]

Lost epic poems.

[1] Aristot. Poetic. c. 41. He considers the Hexameter to be the *natural* measure of narrative poetry: any other would be unseemly.

[2] Ulrici, Geschichte des Griechischen Epos, 5te Vorlesung, pp. 96—108; G. Hermann, Ueber Homer und Sappho, in his Opuscula, *tom.* vi. p. 89.

The superior antiquity of Orpheus as compared with Homer passed as a received position to the classical Romans (Horat. Art. Poet. 392).

[3] Respecting these lost epics, see Düntzer, Collection of the Fragmenta

The exploits of Hêraklês were celebrated in two compositions, each called Hêrakleia, by Kinæthôn and Pisander—probably also in many others of which the memory has not been preserved. The capture of Œchalia by Hêraklês formed the subject of a separate epic. Two other poems, the Ægimius and the Minyas, are supposed to have been founded on other achievements of this hero—the effective aid which he lent to the Dorian king Ægimius against the Lapithæ, his descent to the under-world for the purpose of rescuing the imprisoned Thêseus, and his conquest of the city of the Minyæ, the powerful Orchomenus.[1]

Other epic poems—the Phorônis, the Danaïs, the Alkmæônis, the Atthis, the Amazonia[2]—we know only by name. We can just guess obscurely at their contents so far as the name indicates. The Titanomachia, the Gigantomachia, and the Corinthiaca, three compositions all ascribed to Eumêlus, afford by means of their titles an idea somewhat clearer of the matter which they comprised. The Theogony ascribed to Hesiod still exists, though partially corrupt and mutilated: but there seem to have been other poems, now lost, of the like import and title.

Of the poems composed in the Hesiodic style, diffusive and full of genealogical detail, the principal were, the Catalogue of Women and the Great Eoiai; the latter of which indeed seems to have been a continuation of the former. A large number of the celebrated women of heroic Greece were commemorated in these poems, one after the other, without any other than an arbitrary bond of connexion. The Marriage of Kêyx—the Melampodia—and a string of fables called Astronomia, are farther ascribed to Hesiod: and the poem above mentioned, called Ægimius, is also sometimes connected with his name, sometimes with that of Kekrops. The Naupaktian Verses (so called probably from the birth-place of their author), and the genealogies of Kinæthôn and Asius, were compositions of the same rambling character, as far as we can judge from the scanty fragments remaining.[3] The Orchomenian

Epicor. Græcorum; Wüllner, De Cyclo Epico, p. 43—66; and Mr. Fynes Clinton's Chronology, vol. iii. p. 349—359.

[1] Welcker, Der Epische Cyklus, p. 256—266; Apollodôr. ii. 7, 7; Diodôr. iv. 37; O. Müller, Dorians, i. 28.

[2] Welcker (Der Epische Cyklus, p. 209) considers the Alkmæônis as the same with the Epigoni, and the Atthis of Hegesinous the same with the Amazonia: in Suidas (v. Ὅμηρος) the latter is among the poems ascribed to Homer.

Leutsch (Thebaidos Cyclicæ Reliquiæ, p. 12—14) views the Thebaïs and the Epigoni as different parts of the same poem.

[3] See the Fragments of Hesiod, Eumêlus, Kinæthôn, and Asius, in the

epic poet Chersias, of whom two lines only are preserved to us by Pausanias, may reasonably be referred to the same category.[1]

Epic poets and their probable dates.

The oldest of the epic poets, to whom any date, carrying with it the semblance of authority, is assigned, is Arktinus of Milêtus, who is placed by Eusebius in the first Olympiad, and by Suidas in the ninth. Eugammôn, the author of the Telegonia, and the latest of the catalogue, is placed in the fifty-third Olympiad, B.C. 566. Between these two we find Asius and Leschês, about the thirtieth Olympiad,—a time when the vein of the ancient epic was drying up, and when other forms of poetry—elegiac, iambic, lyric and choric—had either already arisen, or were on the point of arising, to compete with it.[2]

Epic cycle

It has already been stated in a former chapter, that in the early commencements of prose-writing, Hekatæus, Pherekydês, and other logographers, made it their business to extract from the ancient fables something like a continuous narrative chronologically arranged. It was upon a principle somewhat analogous that the Alexandrine literati, about the second century before the Christian æra,[3] arranged the multitude of old epic poets into a series founded on the supposed order of time in the events narrated—beginning with the intermarriage of Uranus and Gæa, and the Theogony—and concluding with the death of Odysseus by the hands of his son Telegonus. This collection passed by the name of the Epic cycle, and the poets, whose compositions were embodied in it, were termed Cyclic poets. Doubtless the epical treasures of the Alexandrine

collections of Marktscheffel, Düntzer, Göttling, and Gaisford.

I have already, in going over the ground of Grecian legend, referred to all these lost poems in their proper places.

[1] Pausan. ix. 38, 6; Plutarch, Sept. Sap. Conv. p. 156.

[2] See Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, about the date of Arktinus, vol. i. p. 350.

[3] Perhaps Zenodotus, the superintendent of the Alexandrine library under Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the third century B.C.: there is a Scholion on Plautus, published not many years ago by Osann, and since more fully by Ritschl,—"Cæcius in commento Comœdiarum Aristophanis in Pluto—Alexander Ætolus, et Lycophron Chalcidensis, et Zenodotus Ephesius, impulsu regis Ptolemæi, Philadelphi cognomento, artis poetices libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt; Alexander tragœdias, Lycophron, comœdias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poemata et reliquorum illustrium poetarum". See Lange, Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter, p. 56 (Mainz, 1837); Welcker, Der Epische Cyklus, p. 8; Ritschl, Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken, p. 3 (Breslau, 1838).

Lange disputes the sufficiency of this passage as proof that Zenodotus was the framer of the Epic Cycle: his grounds are however unsatisfactory to me.

library were larger than had ever before been brought together and submitted to men both of learning and leisure; so that multiplication of such compositions in the same museum rendered it advisable to establish some fixed order of perusal, and to copy them in one corrected and uniform edition.[1] It pleased the critics to determine precedence neither by antiquity nor by excellence of the compositions themselves, but by the supposed sequence of narrative, so that the whole taken together constituted a readable aggregate of epical antiquity.

Much obscurity[2] exists, and many different opinions have been expressed, respecting this Epic Cycle: I view it, not as an exclusive canon, but simply as an all-comprehensive classification, with a new edition founded thereupon. It would include all the epic poems in the library older than the Telegonia, and apt for continuous narrative: it would exclude only two classes—first, the recent epic poets, such as Panyasis and Antimachus; next, the genealogical and desultory poems, such as the Catalogue of Women, the Eoiai, and others, which could not be made to fit in to any chronological sequence of events.[3] Both the Iliad and the Odyssey were comprised in the Cycle, so that the denomination of cyclic poet did not originally or designedly carry with it any association of contempt. But as the great and capital poems were chiefly spoken of by themselves, or by the title of their own separate authors, so the general name of *poets of the Cycle* came gradually

What the Epic cycle was—an arrangement of the poems according to continuity of narrative.

[1] That there existed a cyclic copy or edition of the Odyssey (ἡ κυκλικὴ) is proved by two passages in the Scholia (xvi. 195; xvii. 25), with Boeckh's remark in Buttmann's edition: this was the Odyssey copied or edited along with the other poems of the cycle.

Our word to *edit*—or *edition*—suggests ideas not exactly suited to the proceedings of the Alexandrine library, in which we cannot expect to find anything like what is now called *publication*. That magnificent establishment, possessing a large collection of epical manuscripts, and ample means of every kind at command, would naturally desire to have these compositions put in order and corrected by skilful hands, and then carefully copied for the use of the library. Such copy constitutes the cyclic *edition*: they might perhaps cause or permit duplicates to be made, but the ἔκδοσις or edition was complete without them.

[2] Respecting the great confusion in which the Epic Cycle is involved, see the striking declaration of Buttmann, Addenda ad Scholia in Odysseam, p. 575; compare the opinions of the different critics, as enumerated at the end of Welcker's treatise, Episch. Cyk. p. 420—453.

[3] Our information respecting the Epic Cycle is derived from Eutychius Proclus, a literary man of Sicca during the second century of the Christian æra, and tutor of Marcus Antoninus (Jul. Capitolin. Vit. Marc. c. 2)—not from Proclus, called Diadochus, the new-Platonic philosopher of the fifth century, as Heyne, Mr. Clinton, and others have imagined. The fragments from his work called Chrestomathia give arguments of several of the lost

to be applied only to the worst, and thus to imply vulgarity or common-place; the more so as many of the inferior compositions included in the collection seem to have been anonymous, and their authors in consequence describable only under some such common designation as that of the cyclic poets. It is in this manner that we are to explain the disparaging sentiment connected by Horace and others with the idea of a cyclic writer, though no such sentiment was implied in the original meaning of the Epic Cycle.

The poems of the Cycle were thus mentioned in contrast and antithesis with Homer,[1] though originally the Iliad and Odyssey

cyclic poems connected with the siege of Troy, communicating the important fact that the Iliad and Odyssey were included in the cycle, and giving the following description of the principle upon which it was arranged:—Διαλαμβάνει δὲ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐράνου καὶ Γῆς ὁμολογουμένης μίξεως . . . . καὶ περατοῦται ὁ ἐπικὸς κύκλος, ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος, μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσέως . . . . Δέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραγμάτων (ap. Photium, cod. 239).

This much-commented passage, while it clearly marks out the cardinal principle of the Epic Cycle (*ἀκολουθία πραγμάτων*), neither affirms nor denies anything respecting the excellence of the constituent poems. Proclus speaks of the taste common in his own time (*σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς*): there was not much relish in his time for these poems as such, but people were much interested in the sequence of epical events.

The abstracts, which he himself drew up in the form of arguments of several poems, show that he adapted himself to this taste. We cannot collect from his words that he intended to express any opinion of his own respecting the goodness or badness of the cyclic poems.

[1] The gradual growth of a contemptuous feeling towards the *scriptor cyclicus* (Horat. Ars Poetic. 136), which was not originally implied in the name, is well set forth by Lange (Ueber die Kyklisch. Dicht. p. 53—56).

Both Lange (p. 36—41) however and Ulrici (Geschichte des Griech. Epos, 9te Vorles. p. 418) adopt another opinion with respect to the cycle, which I think unsupported and inadmissible,—that the several constituent poems were not received into it entire (*i.e.* with only such changes as were requisite for a corrected text), but cut down and abridged in such manner as to produce an *exact* continuity of narrative. Lange even imagines that the cyclic Odyssey was thus dealt with. But there seems no evidence to countenance this theory, which would convert the Alexandrine literati from critics into logographers. That the cyclic Iliad and Odyssey were the same in the main (allowing for corrections of text) as the common Iliad and Odyssey, is shown by the fact, that Proclus merely names them in the series without giving any abstract of their contents: they were too well known to render such a process necessary. Nor does either the language of Proclus or that of Cæcius as applied to Zenodotus, indicate any transformation applied to the poets whose works are described to have been brought together and put into a certain order.

The hypothesis of Lange is founded upon the idea that the (*ἀκολουθία πραγμάτων*) continuity of narrated events must necessarily have been exact and without break, as if the whole constituted one work. But this would not be possible, let the framers do what they might: moreover, in the attempt, the individuality of all the constituent poets must have been sacrificed, in such manner that it would be absurd to discuss their separate merits.

The continuity of narrative in the Epic Cycle could not have been more than approximative,—as complete as the poems composing it would admit:

had both been included among them: and this alteration of the meaning of the word has given birth to a mistake as to the primary purpose of the classification, as if it had been designed especially to part off the inferior epic productions from Homer. But while some critics are disposed to distinguish the cyclic poets too pointedly from Homer, I conceive that Welcker goes too much into the other extreme, and identifies the cycle too closely with that poet. He construes it as a classification deliberately framed to comprise all the various productions of the Homeric epic, with its unity of action and comparative paucity both of persons and adventures—as opposed to the Hesiodic epic, crowded with separate persons and pedigrees, and destitute of central action as well as of closing catastrophe. This opinion does indeed coincide to a great degree with the fact, inasmuch as few of the Hesiodic epics appear to have been included in the Cycle. To say that *none* were included, would be too much, for we cannot venture to set aside either the Theogony or the Ægimius; but we may account for their absence perfectly well without supposing any design to exclude them, for it is obvious that their rambling character (like that of the Metamorphoses of Ovid) forbade the possibility of interweaving them in any continuous series. Continuity in the series of narrated events, coupled with a certain degree of antiquity in the poems, being the principle on which the arrangement called the Epic Cycle was based, the Hesiodic poems generally were excluded, not from any preconceived intention, but because they could not be brought into harmony with such orderly reading.

Relation of the epic cycle to Homer.

What were the particular poems which it comprised, we cannot now determine with exactness. Welcker arranges them as follows:—Titanomachia, Danaïs, Amazonia (or Atthis), Œdipodia, Thebaïs (or expedition of Amphiaraüs), Epigoni (or Alkmæônis), Minyas (or Phokaïs), Capture of Œchalia, Cyprian Verses, Iliad, Æthiopis, Lesser Iliad, Iliupersis or the Taking of Troy, Returns of the Heroes, Odyssey, and Telegonia. Wuellner, Lange, and Mr. Fynes

What poems were included in the cycle.

nevertheless it would be correct to say that the poems were arranged in series upon this principle and upon no other. The librarians might have arranged in like manner the vast mass of tragedies in their possession (if they had chosen to do so) upon the principle of sequence in the subjects: had they done so, the series would have formed a *Tragic Cycle*.

Clinton enlarge the list of cyclic poems still farther.[1] But all such reconstructions of the Cycle are conjectural and destitute of authority. The only poems which we can affirm on positive grounds to have been comprehended in it, are, first, the series respecting the heroes of Troy, from the Cypria to the Telegonia, of which Proclus has preserved the arguments, and which includes the Iliad and Odyssey—next, the old Thebaïs, which is expressly termed cyclic[2] in order to distinguish it from the poem of the same name composed by Antimachus. In regard to other particular compositions, we have no evidence to guide us, either for admission or exclusion, except our general views as to the scheme upon which the Cycle was framed. If my idea of that scheme be correct, the Alexandrine critics arranged therein *all* their old epical treasures, down to the Telegonia—the good as well as the bad; gold, silver, and iron—provided only they could be pieced in with the narrative series. But I cannot venture to include, as Mr. Clinton does, the Eurôpia, the Phorônis, and other poems of which we know only the names, because it is uncertain whether their contents were such as to fulfil that primary condition. Nor can I concur with him in thinking that, where there were two or more poems of the same title and subject, one of them must necessarily have been adopted into the Cycle to the exclusion of the others. There may have been two Theogonies, or two Herakleias, both comprehended in the Cycle; the purpose being (as I before remarked), not to sift the better from the worse, but to determine some fixed order, convenient for reading and reference, amidst a multiplicity of scattered compositions, as the basis of a new, entire, and corrected edition.

Whatever may have been the principle on which the cyclic poems were originally strung together, they are all now lost, except those two unrivalled diamonds, whose brightness, dimming all the rest, has alone sufficed to confer imperishable glory even upon the earliest phase of Grecian life. It has been the natural privilege of the Iliad and Odyssey, from the rise of Grecian philology down to the present day, to provoke an intense curiosity, which,

The Iliad and Odyssey are the only poems of the cycle preserved.

[1] Welcker, Der Epische Cyklus, p. 37—41; Wuellner, De Cyclo Epico, p. 43 *seq.*; Lange, Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter, p. 47; Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. p. 349.

[2] Schol. Pindar. Olymp. vi. 26: Athenæ. xi. p. 465.

even in the historical and literary days of Greece, there were no assured facts to satisfy. These compositions are the monuments of an age essentially religious and poetical, but essentially also unphilosophical, unreflecting, and unrecording. The nature of the case forbids our having any authentic transmitted knowledge respecting such a period; and the lesson must be learnt, hard and painful though it be, that no imaginable reach of critical acumen will of itself enable us to discriminate fancy from reality, in the absence of a tolerable stock of evidence. After the numberless comments and acrimonious controversies[1] to which the Homeric poems have given rise, it can hardly be said that any of the points originally doubtful have obtained a solution such as to command universal acquiescence. To glance at all these controversies, however briefly, would far transcend the limits of the present work. But the most abridged Grecian history would be incomplete without some inquiry respecting *the Poet* (so the Greek critics in their veneration denominated Homer), and the productions which pass now, or have heretofore passed, under his name.

Curiosity which these two poems provoke—no data to satisfy it.

Who or what was Homer? What date is to be assigned to him? What were his compositions?

A person, putting these questions to Greeks of different towns and ages, would have obtained answers widely discrepant and contradictory. Since the invaluable labours of Aristarchus and the other Alexandrine critics on the text of the Iliad and Odyssey, it has indeed been customary to regard those two (putting aside the Hymns and a few other minor poems) as being the only genuine Homeric compositions: and the literary men called Chorizontes, or the Separators, at the head of whom were Xenôn and Hellanikus, endeavoured still farther to reduce the number by disconnecting the Iliad and Odyssey, and pointing out that both could not be the work of the same author.

[1] It is a memorable illustration of that bitterness which has so much disgraced the controversies of literary men in *all* ages (I fear we can make no exception), when we find Pausanias saying that he had examined into the ages of Hesiod and Homer with the most laborious scrutiny, but that he knew too well the calumnious dispositions of contemporary critics and poets, to declare what conclusion he had come to (Paus. ix. 30, 2): Περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὁμήρου, πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὔ μοι γράφειν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθειστήκεσαν.

Throughout the whole course of Grecian antiquity, the Iliad and the Odyssey, and the Hymns, have been received as Homeric. But if we go back to the time of Herodotus, or still earlier, we find that several other epics also were ascribed to Homer—and there were not wanting[1] critics, earlier than the Alexandrine age, who regarded the whole Epic Cycle, together with the satirical poem called Margitês, the Batrachomyomachia, and other smaller pieces, as Homeric works. The cyclic Thebaïs and the Epigoni (whether they be two separate poems, or the latter a second part of the former) were in early days currently ascribed to Homer: the same was the case with the Cyprian Verses: some even attributed to him several other poems,[2] the Capture of Œchalia, the Lesser Iliad, the Phokaïs, and the Amazonia. The title of the poem called Thebaïs to be styled Homeric depends upon evidence more ancient than any which can be produced to authenticate the Iliad and the Odyssey: for Kallinus, the ancient elegiac poet (B.C. 640) mentioned Homer as the author of it—and his opinion was shared by many other competent judges.[3] From the remarkable description given by Herodotus of the expulsion of the rhapsodes from Sikyôn, by the despot Kleisthenês, in the time of Solôn (about B.C. 580), we may form a probable judgment that the Thebaïs and the Epigoni were then rhapsodised at Sikyôn as Homeric productions.[4] And it is clear from the language of

Different poems ascribed to Homer.

[1] See the extract of Proclus, in Photius, Cod. 239.

[2] Suidas, v. Ὅμηρος; Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. p. 330.

[3] Pausan. ix. 9, 3. The name of Kallinus in that passage seems certainly correct; Τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα (the Thebaïs) Καλλῖνος ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι· Καλλίνῳ δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐγνωσαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποίησιν ταύτην μετά γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδυσσείαν ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.

To the same purpose the author of the Certamen of Hesiod and Homer, and the pseudo-Herodotus (Vit. Homer. c. 9). The Ἀμφιαρέω ἐξελασία, alluded to in Suidas as the production of Homer, may be reasonably identified with the Thebaïs (Suidas, v. Ὅμηρος).

The cyclographer Dionysius, who affirmed that Homer had lived both in the Theban and the Trojan wars, must have recognised that poet as author of the Thebaïs as well as of the Iliad (ap. Procl. ad Hesiod. p. 3).

[4] Herodot. v. 67. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας—τοῦτο μὲν, ῥαψῳδοὺς ἔπαυσεν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τῶν Ὁμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέαται—τοῦτο δὲ, ἡρῷον γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. Herodotus then goes on to relate how Kleisthenês carried into effect his purpose of banishing the hero Adrastus: first, he applied to the Delphian Apollo for permission to do so directly and avowedly: next, on that permission being refused, he made application to the Thebans to allow him to introduce into Sikyôn their hero Melanippus, the bitter enemy of Adrastus in the old Theban legend; by their consent,

Herodotus, that in his time the general opinion ascribed to Homer both the Cyprian Verses and the Epigoni, though he himself dissents.[1] In spite of such dissent, however, that historian must have conceived the names of Homer and Hesiod to be nearly co-extensive with the whole of the ancient epic, otherwise he would hardly have delivered his memorable judgment, that they two were the framers of Grecian Theogony.

That many different cities laid claim to the birth of Homer (seven is rather below the truth, and Smyrna and Chios are the most prominent among them) is well known, and most of them had legends to tell respecting his romantic parentage,

he consecrated a chapel to Melanippus in the most commanding part of the Sikyonian agora, and then transferred to the newly-imported hero the rites and festivals which had before been given to Adrastus.

Taking into conjunction all the points of this very curious tale, I venture to think that the rhapsodes incurred the displeasure of Kleisthenês by reciting, not the Homeric Iliad, but the *Homeric Thebaïs and Epigoni*. The former does not answer the conditions of the narrative; the latter fulfils them accurately.

1. It cannot be said even by the utmost latitude of speech, that in the Iliad "Little else is sung except Argos and the Argeians"—("in illis ubique fere nonnisi Argos et Argivi celebrantur"—is the translation of Schweighäuser): Argos is rarely mentioned in it, and never exalted into any primary importance: the Argeians, as inhabitants of Argos separately, are never noticed at all: that name is applied in the Iliad, in common with *Achæans* and *Danaans*, only to the general body of Greeks—and even applied to them much less frequently than the name of *Achæans*.

2. Adrastus is twice, and only twice, mentioned in the Iliad, as master of the wonderful horse Areion and as father-in-law of Tydeus; but he makes no figure in the poem, and attracts no interest.

Wherefore, though Kleisthenês might have been ever so much incensed against Argos and Adrastus, there seems no reason why he should have interdicted the rhapsodes from reciting the Iliad. On the other hand, the Thebaïs and Epigoni could not fail to provoke him especially. For,

1. Argos and its inhabitants were the grand subject of the poem, and the proclaimed assailants in the expedition against Thêbes. Though the poem itself is lost, the first line of it has been preserved (Leutsch, Theb. Cycl. Reliq. p. 5; compare Sophoklês, Œd. Col. 380 with Scholia),—

Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεὰ, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες, &c.

2. Adrastus was king of Argos, and the chief of the expedition.

It is therefore literally true, that Argos and the Argeians were "the burden of the song" in these two poems.

To this we may add—

1. The rhapsodes would have the strongest motive to recite the Thebaïs and Epigoni at Sikyôn, where Adrastus was worshipped and enjoyed so vast a popularity, and where he even attracted to himself the choric solemnities which in other towns were given to Dionysus.

2. The means which Kleisthenês took to get rid of Adrastus indicates a special reference to the Thebaïs: he invited from Thêbes the hero Melanippus, the *Hector* of Thêbes in that very poem.

For these reasons I think we may conclude that the Ὁμήρεια ἔπη alluded to in this very illustrative story of Herodotus are the Thebaïs and the Epigoni, not the Iliad.

[1] Herodot. ii. 117; iv. 32. The words in which Herodotus intimates his own dissent from the reigning opinion are treated as spurious by F. A. Wolf; but vindicated by Schweighäuser: whether they be admitted or not, the general currency of the opinion adverted to is equally evident.

his alleged blindness, and his life of an itinerant bard acquainted with poverty and sorrow.[1] The discrepancies of statement respecting the date of his reputed existence are no less worthy of remark; for out of the eight different epochs assigned to him, the oldest differs from the most recent by a period of 460 years.

Nothing known, and endless diversity of opinion, respecting the person and date of Homer.

Thus conflicting would have been the answers returned in different portions of the Grecian world to any questions respecting the person of Homer. But there were a poetical gens (fraternity or guild) in the Ionic island of Chios, who, if the question had been put to them, would have answered in another manner. To them Homer was not a mere antecedent man, of kindred nature with themselves, but a divine or semi-divine eponymus and progenitor, whom they worshipped in their gentile sacrifices, and in whose ascendant name and glory the individuality of every member of

Poetical Gens of the Homêrids.

[1] The Life of Homer, which passes falsely under the name of Herodotus, contains a collection of these different stories: it is supposed to have been written about the second century after the Christian æra, but the statements which it furnishes are probably several of them as old as Ephorus (compare also Proclus ap. Photium, c. 239).

The belief in the blindness of Homer is doubtless of far more ancient date, since the circumstance appears mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, where the bard of Chios, in some very touching lines, recommends himself and his strains to the favour of the Delian maidens employed in the worship of Apollo. This hymn is cited by Thucydidês as unquestionably authentic, and he doubtless accepted the lines as a description of the personal condition and relations of the author of the Iliad and Odyssey (Thucyd. iii. 104): Simonidês of Keôs also calls Homer a Chian (Frag. 69, Schneidewin).

There were also tales which represented Homer as the contemporary, the cousin, and the rival in recited composition, of Hesiod, who (it was pretended) had vanquished him. See the Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi, annexed to the works of the latter (p. 314, ed. Göttling; and Plutarch, Conviv. Sept. Sapient. c. 10), in which also various stories respecting the life of Homer are scattered. The emperor Hadrian consulted the Delphian oracle to know who Homer was; the answer of the priestess reported him to be a native of Ithaca, the son of Telemachus and Epikastê, daughter of Nestôr (Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 314). The author of this Certamen tells us that the authority of the Delphian oracle deserves implicit confidence.

Hellanikus, Damastês, and Pherekydês traced both Homer and Hesiod up to Orpheus, through a pedigree of ten generations (see Sturz, Fragment. Hellanic. fr. 75—144; compare also Lobeck's remarks—*Aglaophamus*, p. 322—on the subject of these genealogies). The computations of these authors earlier than Herodotus are of value, because they illustrate the habits of mind in which Grecian chronology began: the genealogy might be easily continued backward to any length in the past. To trace Homer up to Orpheus, however, would not have been consonant to the belief of the Homêrids.

The contentions of the different cities which disputed for the birth of Homer, and indeed all the legendary anecdotes circulated in antiquity respecting the poet, are copiously discussed in Welcker, Der Epische Cyklus (p. 194—199).

the gens was merged. The compositions of each separate Homêrid, or the combined efforts of many of them in conjunction, were the works of Homer: the name of the individual bard perishes and his authorship is forgotten, but the common gentile father lives and grows in renown, from generation to generation, by the genius of his self-renewing sons.

Such was the conception entertained of Homer by the poetical gens called Homêridæ or Homêrids; and in the general obscurity of the whole case, I lean towards it as the most plausible conception. Homer is not only the reputed author of the various compositions emanating from the gentile members, but also the recipient of the many different legends and of the divine genealogy, which it pleases their imagination to confer upon him. Such manufacture of fictitious personality, and such perfect incorporation of the entities of religion and fancy with the real world, is a process familiar and even habitual in the retrospective vision of the Greeks.[1]

Homer, the superhuman Eponymus and father of this Gens.

It is to be remarked that the poetical gens here brought to view, the Homêrids, are of indisputable authenticity. Their existence and their considerations were maintained down to the historical times in the island of Chios.[2] If the Homêrids were still conspicuous even in the days of Akusilaus, Pindar, Hellanikus, and Plato, when their productive invention had ceased, and when they had become only guardians and distributors, in common with others, of the treasures bequeathed by their predecessors—far more exalted must their position have been three centuries before, while they were still inspired creators of epic novelty, and when the absence of writing assured to them the undisputed monopoly of their own compositions.[3]

[1] Even Aristotle ascribed to Homer a divine parentage: a damsel of the isle of Ios, pregnant by some God, was carried off by pirates to Smyrna at the time of the Ionic emigration, and there gave birth to the poet (Aristotel. ap. Plutarch. Vit. Homer. p. 1059).

Plato seems to have considered Homer as having been an itinerant rhapsode, poor and almost friendless (Republ. p. 600).

[2] Pindar, Nem. ii. 1, and Scholia; Akusilaus, Fragm. 31, Didot; Harpokration, v. Ὁμήριδαι: Hellanic. Fr. 55, Didot; Strabo, xiv. p. 645.

It seems by a passage of Plato (Phædrus, p. 252), that the Homêridæ professed to possess unpublished verses of their ancestral poet—ἔπη ἀποθέτα. Compare Plato, Republic. p. 599, and Isocrat. Helen. p. 218.

[3] Nitzsch (De Historiâ Homeri, Fascic. 1, p. 128, Fascic. 2, p. 71), and Ulrici (Geschichte der Episch. Poesie, vol. i. p. 240—381) question the antiquity of the Homêrid gens, and limit their

Homer, then, is no individual man, but the divine or heroic father (the ideas of worship and ancestry coalescing, as they constantly did in the Grecian mind) of the gentile Homêrids, and he is the author of the Thebaïs, the Epigoni, the Cyprian Verses, the Procems or Hymns, and other poems, in the same sense in which he is the author of the Iliad and Odyssey—assuming that these various compositions emanate, as perhaps they may, from different individuals numbered among the Homêrids. But this disallowance of the historical personality of Homer is quite distinct from the question, with which it has been often confounded, whether the Iliad and Odyssey are originally entire poems, and whether by one author or otherwise. To us the name of Homer means these two poems, and little else: we desire to know as much as can be learnt respecting their date, their original composition, their preservation, and their mode of communication to the public. All these questions are more or less complicated one with the other.

What may be the dates of the Iliad and Odyssey.

Concerning the date of the poems, we have no other information except the various affirmations respecting the age of Homer, which differ among themselves (as I have before observed) by an interval of 460 years, and which for the most part determine the date of Homer by reference to some other event, itself fabulous and unauthenticated—such as the Trojan war, the Return of the Hêrakleids, or

functions to simple reciters, denying that they ever composed songs or poems of their own. Yet these *gentes*, such as the Eunеidæ, the Lykomidæ, the Butadæ, the Talthybiadæ, the descendants of Cheirôn at Peliôn, &c., the Hesychidæ (Schol. Sophocl. Œdip. Col. 489) (the acknowledged parallels of the Homêridæ), may be surely all considered as belonging to the earliest known elements of Grecian history: rarely at least, if ever, can such gens, with its tripartite character of civil, religious and professional, be shown to have commenced at any recent period. And in the early times, composer and singer were one person: often at least, though probably not always, the bard combined both functions. The Homeric ἀοιδός sings his own compositions; and it is reasonable to imagine that many of the early Homêrids did the same.

See Niebuhr, Römisch. Gesch. vol. i. p. 324; and the treatise, Ueber die Sikeler in der Odyssee, in the Rheinisches Museum, 1828, p. 257; and Boeckh, in the Index of Contents to his Lectures of 1834.

"The Sage Vyasa (observes Professor Wilson, System of Hindu Mythology, Introd. p. lxii.) is represented, not as the author, but as the arranger and compiler of the Vedas and the Puránás. His name denotes his character, meaning *the arranger or distributor* (Welcker gives the same meaning to the name *Homer*); and the recurrence of many Vyasas,—many individuals who new modelled the Hindu scriptures,—has nothing in it that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labours are separated." Individual authorship and the thirst of personal distinction are in this case also buried under one great and common name, as in the case of Homer.

the Ionic migration. Kratês placed Homer earlier than the Return of the Hêrakleids and less than eighty years after the Trojan war: Eratosthenês put him 100 years after the Trojan war: Aristotle, Aristarchus, and Castor make his birth contemporary with the Ionic migration, while Apollodôrus brings him down to 100 years after that event, or 240 years after the taking of Troy. Thucydidês assigns to him a date much subsequent to the Trojan war.[1] On the other hand, Theopompus and Euphoriôn refer his age to the far more recent period of the Lydian king Gygês (Ol. 18—23, B.C. 708—688), and put him 500 years after the Trojan epoch.[2] What were the grounds of these various conjectures we do not know, though, in the statements of Kratês and Eratosthenês, we may pretty well divine. But the oldest dictum preserved to us respecting the date of Homer—meaning thereby the date of the Iliad and Odyssey—appears to me at the same time the most credible, and the most consistent with the general history of the ancient epic. Herodotus places Homer 400 years before himself; taking his departure, not from any fabulous event, but from a point of real and authentic time.[3] Four centuries anterior to Herodotus would be a period commencing with 800 B.C.: so that the composition of the Homeric poems would thus fall in a space between 850 and 800 B.C. We may gather from the language of Herodotus that this was his own judgment, opposed to a current opinion which assigned the poet to an earlier epoch.

Date assigned by Herodotus the most probable.

To place the Iliad and Odyssey at some periods between 850 B.C. and 776 B.C., appears to me more probable than any other

[1] Thucyd. i. 3.

[2] See the statements and citations respecting the age of Homer, collected in Mr. Clinton's Chronology, vol. i. p. 146. He prefers the view of Aristotle, and places the Iliad and Odyssey a century earlier than I am inclined to do,—940—927 B.C.

Kratês probably placed the poet anterior to the Return of the Hêrakleids, because the Iliad makes no mention of Dorians in Peloponnêsus: Eratosthenês may be supposed to have grounded his date on the passage of the Iliad which mentions the three generations descended from Æneas. We should have been glad to know the grounds of the very low date assigned by Theopompus and Euphoriôn.

The Pseudo-Herodotus, in his life of Homer, puts the birth of the poet 168 years after the Trojan war.

[3] Herodot. ii. 53. Herakleidês Ponticus affirmed that Lykurgus had brought into Peloponnêsus the Homeric poems, which had before been unknown out of Ionia. The supposed epoch of Lykurgus has sometimes been employed to sustain the date here assigned to the Homeric poems; but everything respecting Lykurgus is too doubtful to serve as evidence in other inquiries.

date, anterior or posterior—more probable than the latter, because we are justified in believing these two poems to be older than Arktinus, who comes shortly after the first Olympiad—more probable than the former, because the farther we push the poems back, the more do we enhance the wonder of their preservation, already sufficiently great, down from such an age and society to the historical times.

Probable date of the Iliad and Odyssey between 850 and 776 B.C.

The mode in which these poems, and indeed all poems, epic as well as lyric, down to the age (probably) of Peisistratus, were circulated and brought to bear upon the public, deserves particular attention. They were not read by individuals alone and apart, but sung or recited at festivals or to assembled companies. This seems to be one of the few undisputed facts with regard to the great poet: for even those who maintain that the Iliad and Odyssey were preserved by means of writing, seldom contend that they were read.

Epic poems recited to assembled companies, not read by individuals apart.

In appreciating the effect of the poems, we must always take account of this great difference between early Greece and our own times—between the congregation mustered at a solemn festival, stimulated by community of sympathy, listening to a measured and musical recital from the lips of trained bards or rhapsodes, whose matter was supposed to have been inspired by the Muse—and the solitary reader with a manuscript before him; such manuscript being, down to a very late period in Greek literature, indifferently written, without division into parts and without marks of punctuation. As in the case of dramatic performances in all ages, so in that of the early Grecian epic—a very large proportion of its impressive effect was derived from the talent of the reciter and the force of the general accompaniments, and would have disappeared altogether in solitary reading. Originally the bard sung his own epical narrative commencing with a proœmium or hymn to one of the gods:[1] his profession was

[1] The Homeric hymns are proœms of this sort, some very short, consisting only of a few lines—others of considerable length. The Hymn (or rather one of the two hymns) to Apollo is cited by Thucydidês as the Proœm of Apollo.

The Hymns to Aphroditê, Apollo, Hermês, Dêmêtêr, and Dionysus, are genuine epical narratives. Hermann (Præf. ad Hymn. p. lxxxix.) pronounces the Hymn to Aphroditê to be the oldest and most genuine; portions of the Hymn to Apollo (Herm. p. xx.) are also very old, but both that hymn and

separate and special, like that of the carpenter, the leech, or the prophet: his manner and enunciation must have required particular training no less than his imaginative faculty. His character presents itself in the Odyssey as one highly esteemed; and in the Iliad, even Achilles does not disdain to touch the lyre with his own hands, and to sing heroic deeds.[1] Not only did the Iliad and Odyssey, and the poems embodied in the Epic Cycle, produce all their impression and gain all their renown by this process of oral delivery, but even the lyric and choric poets who succeeded them were known and felt in the same way by the general public, even after the full establishment of habits of reading among lettered men. While in the case of the epic, the recitation or singing had been extremely simple and the measure comparatively little diversified, with no other accompaniment than that of the four-stringed harp—all the variations superinduced upon the original hexameter, beginning with the pentameter and iambus, and proceeding step by step to the complicated strophês of Pindar and the tragic writers, still left the general effect of the poetry greatly dependent upon voice and accompaniments and pointedly distinguished from mere solitary reading of the words. And in the dramatic poetry, the last in order of time, the declamation and gesture of the speaking actor alternated with the song and dance of the Chorus, and with the instruments of musicians, the whole being set off by imposing visible decorations. Now both dramatic effect and song are familiar in modern times, so that every man knows the difference between reading the words and hearing them under the appropriate circumstances: but poetry, as such, is, and has now long been, so exclusively enjoyed by reading, that it requires an especial memento to bring us back to the time when the Iliad and Odyssey were addressed only to the ear and feelings of a promiscuous and sympathising multitude. Readers there were

Lyric and choric poetry, intended for the ear.

the others are largely interpolated. His opinion respecting these interpolations, however, is disputed by Franke (Præfat. ad Hymn. Homeric. p. ix.-xix.); and the distinction between what is genuine and what is spurious depends upon criteria not very distinctly assignable. Compare Ulrici, Gesch. der Ep. Poesie, p. 385—391.

[1] Phemius, Demodokus and the nameless bard who guarded the fidelity of Klytæmnêstra, bear out this position (Odyss. i. 155; iii. 267; viii. 490; xxi. 330; Achilles in Iliad, ix. 190).

A degree of inviolability seems attached to the person of the bard as well as to that of the herald (Odyss. xxii. 355—357).

none, at least until the century preceding Solôn and Peisistratus: from that time forward, they gradually increased both in number and influence; though doubtless small, even in the most literary period of Greece, as compared with modern European society. So far as the production of beautiful epic poetry was concerned, however, the select body of instructed readers furnished a less potent stimulus than the unlettered and listening crowd of the earlier periods. The poems of Chœrilus and Antimachus, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, though admired by erudite men, never acquired popularity; and the Emperor Hadrian failed in his attempt to bring the latter poet into fashion at the expense of Homer.[1]

Of the class of rhapsodes, singers, and reciters.

It will be seen by what has been here stated, that that class of men, who formed the medium of communication between the verse and the ear, were of the highest importance in the ancient world, and especially in the earlier periods of its career—the bards and rhapsodes for the epic, the singers for the lyric, the actors and singers jointly with the dancers for the chorus and drama. The lyric and dramatic poets taught with their own lips the delivery of their compositions, and so prominently did this business of teaching present itself to the view of the public, that the name Didaskalia, by which the dramatic exhibition was commonly designated, derived from thence its origin.

Among the number of rhapsodes who frequented the festivals at a time when Grecian cities were multiplied and easy of access, for the recitation of the ancient epic, there must have been of course great differences of excellence; but that the more con-

[1] Spartian, Vit. Hadrian. p. 8; Dio Cass. lxix. 4; Plut. Tim. c. 36.

There are some good observations on this point in Näke's comments on Chœrilus, ch. viii. p. 59:—

"Habet hoc epica poesis, vera illa, cujus perfectissimam normam agnoscimus Homericam—habet hoc proprium, ut non in possessione virorum eruditorum, sed quasi viva sit et coram populo recitanda: ut cum populo crescat, et si populus Deorum et antiquorum heroum facinora, quod præcipuum est epicæ poeseos argumentum, audire et secum repetere dedidicerit, obmutescat. Id vero tum factum est in Græciâ, quum populus eâ ætate, quam pueritiam dicere possis, peractâ, partim ad res serias tristesque, politicas maxime—easque multo, quam antea, impeditiores—abstrahebatur: partim epicæ poeseos pertæsus, ex aliis poeseos generibus, quæ tum nascebantur, novum et diversum oblectamenti genus primo præsagire sibi, deinde haurire, cœpit."

Näke remarks too that the "splendidissima et propria Homericæ poeseos ætas, ea quæ sponte quasi suâ inter populum et quasi cum populo viveret," did not reach below Peisistratus. It did not, I think, reach even so low as that period.

siderable individuals of the class were elaborately trained and highly accomplished in the exercise of their profession, we may assume as certain. But it happens that Sokratês with his two pupils Plato and Xenophôn speak contemptuously of their merits, and many persons have been disposed, somewhat too readily, to admit this sentence of condemnation as conclusive, without taking account of the point of view from which it was delivered.[1] These philosophers considered Homer and other poets with a view to instruction, ethical doctrine, and virtuous practice: they analysed the characters whom the poet described, sifted the value of the lessons conveyed, and often struggled to discover a hidden meaning, where they disapproved that which was apparent. When they found a man like the rhapsode, who professed to impress the Homeric narrative upon an audience, and yet either never meddled at all, or meddled unsuccessfully, with the business of exposition, they treated him with contempt; indeed Sokratês depreciates the poets themselves much upon the same principle, as dealing with matters of which they could render no rational account.[2] It was also the habit of Plato and Xenophôn to disparage generally professional exertion of talent for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, contrasting it often in an indelicate manner with the gratuitous teaching and ostentatious poverty of their master. But we are not warranted in judging the rhapsodes

Rhapsodes condemned by the Socratic philosophers—undeservedly.

[1] Xenoph. Memorab. iv. 2, 10; and Sympos. iii. 6. Οἰσθά τι οὖν ἔθνος ἠλιθιώτερον ῥαψῳδῶν; . . . . Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται. Σὺ δὲ Στησιμβρότῳ τε καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας ἀργύριον, ὥστε οὐδέν σε τῶν πολλοῦ ἀξίων λέληθε.

These ὑπόνοιαι are the hidden meanings or allegories which a certain set of philosophers undertook to discover in Homer, and which the rhapsodes were no way called upon to study.

The Platonic dialogue called Iôn ascribes to Iôn the double function of a rhapsode or impressive reciter, and a critical expositor of the poet (Isokratês also indicates the same double character in the rhapsodes of his time—Panathenaic. p. 240); but it conveys no solid grounds for a mean estimate of the class of rhapsodes, while it attests remarkably the striking effect produced by their recitation (c. 6, p. 535). That this class of men came to combine the habit of expository comment on the poet with their original profession of reciting, proves the tendencies of the age; probably it also brought them into rivalry with the philosophers.

The grounds taken by Aristotle (Problem. xxx. 10; compare Aul. Gellius, xx. 14) against the actors, singers, musicians, &c., of his time are more serious, and have more the air of truth.

If it be correct in Lehrs (de Studiis Aristarchi, Diss. ii. p. 46) to identify those early glossographers of Homer, whose explanations the Alexandrine critics so severely condemned, with the rhapsodes, this only proves that the rhapsodes had come to undertake a double duty, of which their predecessors before Solôn would never have dreamt.

[2] Plato, Apolog. Socrat. p. 22, c. 7.

by such a standard. Though they were not philosophers or moralists, it was their province—and it had been so, long before the philosophical point of view was opened—to bring their poet home to the bosoms and emotions of an assembled crowd, and to penetrate themselves with his meaning so far as was suitable for that purpose, adapting to it the appropriate graces of action and intonation. In this their genuine task they were valuable members of the Grecian community, and seem to have possessed all the qualities necessary for success.

These rhapsodes, the successors of the primitive Aœdi or Bards, seem to have been distinguished from them by the discontinuance of all musical accompaniment. Originally the bard sung, enlivening the song with occasional touches of the simple four-stringed harp: his successor, the rhapsode, recited, holding in his hand nothing but a branch of laurel, and depending for effect upon voice and manner,—a species of musical and rhythmical declamation,[1] which gradually increased in vehement emphasis and gesticulation until it approached to that of the dramatic

[1] Aristotel. Poetic. c. 47; Welcker, Der Episch. Cyklus; Ueber den Vortrag der Homerischen Gedichte, pp. 340—406, which collects all the facts respecting the Aœdi and the rhapsodes. Unfortunately the ascertained points are very few.

The laurel branch in the hand of the singer or reciter (for the two expressions are often confounded) seems to have been peculiar to the recitation of Homer and Hesiod (Hesiod, Theog. 30; Schol. ad Aristophan. Nub. 1367; Pausan. x. 7, 2). "Poemata omne genus (says Apuleius, Florid. p. 122, Bipont.) apta *virgæ*, lyræ, socco, cothurno."

Not only Homer and Hesiod, but also Archilochus, were recited by rhapsodes (Athenæ. xii. 620; also Plato, Legg. ii. p. 658). Consult, besides, Nitzsch, De Historiâ Homeri, Fascic. 2, p. 114, *seq.*, respecting the rhapsodes; and O. Müller, History of the Literature of ancient Greece, ch. iv. s. 3.

The ideas of singing and speech are however often confounded, in reference to any verse solemnly and emphatically delivered (Thucydid. ii. 53)—φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ᾄδεσθαι, Ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ. And the rhapsodes are said to *sing* Homer (Plato, Eryxias, c. 13; Heysch. v. Βραυρωνίοις): Strabo (i. p. 18) has a good passage upon song and speech.

William Grimm (Deutsche Heldensage, p. 373) supposes the ancient German heroic romances to have been recited or declaimed in a similar manner with a simple accompaniment of the harp, as the Servian heroic lays are even at this time delivered.

Fauriel also tells us, respecting the French Carlovingian Epic (Romans de Chevalerie, Revue des Deux Mondes, xiii. p. 559): "The romances of the 12th and 13th centuries were really sung: the *jongleur* invited his audience to hear a *belle chanson d'histoire*,—'le mot chanter ne manque jamais dans la formule initiale,'—and it is to be understood literally; the music was simple and intermittent, more like a recitative; the jongleur carried a rebek, or violin with three strings, an Arabic instrument; when he wished to rest his voice, he played an air or retournelle upon this; he went thus about from place to place, and the romances had no existence among the people except through the aid and recitations of these jongleurs".

It appears that there had once been rhapsodic exhibitions at the festivals of Dionysus, but they were discontinued

actor. At what time this change took place, or whether the two different modes of enunciating the ancient epic may for a certain period have gone on simultaneously, we have no means of determining. Hesiod receives from the muses a branch of laurel, as a token of his ordination into their service, which marks him for a rhapsode; while the ancient bard with his harp is still recognised in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, as efficient and popular at the Panionic festivals in the island of Delos.[1] Perhaps the improvements made in the harps, to which three strings, in addition to the original four, were attached by Terpander (B.C. 660), and the growing complication of instrumental music generally, may have contributed to discredit the primitive accompaniment, and thus to promote the practice of recital: the story, that Terpander himself composed music not only for hexameter poems of his own, but also for those of Homer, seems to indicate that the music which preceded him was ceasing to find favour.[2] By whatever steps the change from the bard to the rhapsode took place, certain it is that before the time of Solôn, the latter was the recognised and exclusive organ of the old Epic; sometimes in short fragments before private companies, by single rhapsodes—sometimes several rhapsodes in continuous succession at a public festival.

Variations in the mode of reciting the ancient epic.

(Klearchus ap. Athenæ. vii. p. 275)—probably superseded by the dithyramb and the tragedy.

The etymology of ῥαψῳδός is a disputed point: Welcker traces it to ῥάβδος; most critics derive it from ῥάπτειν ἀοιδήν, which O. Müller explains "to denote the coupling together of verses without any considerable divisions or pauses,—the even, unbroken, continuous flow of the epic poem," as contrasted with the strophic or choric periods (*l. c.*).

[1] Homer, Hymn to Apollo, 170. The κίθαρις, ἀοιδή, ὀρχηθμός, are constantly put together in that hymn: evidently the instrumental accompaniment was essential to the hymns at the Ionic festival. Compare also the Hymn to Hermês (430), where the function ascribed to the Muses can hardly be understood to include non-musical recitation. The Hymn to Hermês is more recent than Terpander, inasmuch as it mentions the seven strings of the lyre. v. 50.

[2] Terpander — see Plutarch. de Musicâ, c. 3—4; the facts respecting him are collected in Plehn's Lesbiaca, pp. 140—160; but very little can be authenticated.

Stesander at the Pythian festivals sang the Homeric battles, with a harp accompaniment of his own composition (Athenæ. xiv. p. 368).

The principal testimonies respecting the rhapsodising of the Homeric poems at Athens chiefly at the Panathenaic festival, are Isokratês, Panegyric. p. 74; Lycurgus contra Leocrat. p. 161; Plato, Hipparch. p. 228; Diogen. Laërt. Vit. Solon. i. 57.

Inscriptions attest that rhapsodising continued in great esteem, down to a late period of the historical age, both at Chios and Teôs, especially the former: it was the subject of competition by trained youth, and of prizes for the victor, at periodical religious solemnities: see Corp. Inscript. Boeckh, No. 2214—3088.

Respecting the mode in which the Homeric poems were preserved, during the two centuries (or, as some think, longer interval) between their original composition and the period shortly preceding Solôn—and respecting their original composition and subsequent changes—there are wide differences of opinion among able critics. Were they preserved with, or without, being written? Was the Iliad originally composed as one poem, and the Odyssey in like manner, or is each of them an aggregation of parts originally self-existent and unconnected? Was the authorship of each poem single-headed or many-headed?

At what time the Homeric poems began to be written.

Either tacitly or explicitly, these questions have been generally coupled together and discussed with reference to each other, by inquiries into the Homeric poems; though Mr. Payne Knight's Prolegomena have the merit of keeping them distinct. Half a century ago, the acute and valuable Prolegomena of F. A. Wolf, turning to account the Venetian Scholia which had then been recently published, first opened philosophical discussion as to the history of the Homeric text. A considerable part of that dissertation (though by no means the whole) is employed in vindicating the position, previously announced by Bentley amongst others, that the separate constituent portions of the Iliad and Odyssey had not been cemented together into any compact body and unchangeable order until the days of Peisistratus, in the sixth century before Christ. As a step towards that conclusion, Wolf maintained that no written copies of either poem could be shown to have existed during the earlier times to which their composition is referred—and that without writing, neither the perfect symmetry of so complicated a work could have been originally conceived by any poet, nor, if realised by him, transmitted with assurance to posterity. The absence of easy and convenient writing, such as must be indispensably supposed for long manuscripts, among the early Greeks, was thus one of the points in Wolf's case against the primitive integrity of the Iliad and Odyssey. By Nitzsch and other leading opponents of Wolf, the connexion of the one with the other seems to have been accepted as he originally put it, and it has been considered incumbent on those, who defended the

Prolegomena of Wolf—raised new questions respecting the Homeric text—connected unity of authorship with poems written from the beginning.

ancient aggregate character of the Iliad and Odyssey, to maintain that they were written poems from the beginning.

The two questions not necessarily connected, though commonly discussed together. —Few traces of writing, long after the Homeric age.

To me it appears that the architectonic functions ascribed by Wolf to Peisistratus and his associates in reference to the Homeric poems are nowise admissible. But much would undoubtedly be gained towards that view of the question, if it could be shown that in order to controvert it we were driven to the necessity of admitting long written poems in the ninth century before the Christian æra. Few things, in my opinion, can be more improbable: and Mr. Payne Knight, opposed as he is to the Wolfian hypothesis, admits this no less than Wolf himself.[1] The traces of writing in Greece, even in the seventh century before the Christian æra, are exceedingly trifling. We have no remaining inscription earlier than the 40th Olympiad, and the early inscriptions are rude and unskilfully executed: nor can we even assure ourselves whether Archilochus, Simonidês of Amorgus, Kallinus, Tyrtæus, Xanthus, and the other early and elegiac lyric poets, committed their compositions to writing, or at what time the practice of doing so became familiar. The first positive ground, which authorises us to presume the existence of a manuscript of Homer, is in the famous ordinance of Solôn with regard to the rhapsodes

[1] Knight, Prolegom. Hom. c. xxxviii. xl. "Haud tamen ullum Homericorum carminum exemplar Pisistrati seculo antiquius extitisse, aut sexcentesimo prius anno ante C.N. scriptum fuisse, facile credam: rara enim et perdifficilis erat iis temporibus scriptura ob penuriam materiae scribendo idoneæ, quum literas aut lapidibus exarare, aut tabulis ligneis aut laminis metalli alicujus insculpere oporteret . . . . Atque ideo memoriter retenta sunt, et hæc et alia veterum poetarum carmina, et per urbes et vicos et in principum virorum ædibus, decantata a rhapsodis. Neque mirandum est, ea per tot sæcula sic integra conservata esse, quoniam—per eos tradita erant, qui ab omnibus Græciæ et coloniarum regibus et civitatibus mercede satis amplâ conducti, omnia sua studia in iis ediscendis, retinendis, et rite recitandis, conferebant." Compare Wolf, Prolegom. xxiv.-xxv.

The evidences of early writing among the Greeks, and of written poems even anterior to Homer, may be seen collected in Kreuser (Vorfragen über Homeros, p. 127-159, Frankfort, 1828). His proofs appear to me altogether inconclusive. Nitzsch maintains the same opinion (Histor. Homeri, Fasc. i. sect. xi. xvii. xviii.)—in my opinion, not more successfully: nor does Franz (Epigraphicê Græc. Introd. s. iv.) produce any new arguments.

I do not quite subscribe to Mr. Knight's language, when he says that *there is nothing wonderful* in the long preservation of the Homeric poems *unwritten*. It is enough to maintain that the existence and practical use of long manuscripts by all the rhapsodes, under the condition and circumstances of the 8th and 9th centuries among the Greeks, would be a greater wonder.

at the Panathenæa; but for what length of time previously manuscripts had existed we are unable to say.

Those who maintain the Homeric poems to have been written from the beginning rest their case, not upon positive proofs—nor yet upon the existing habits of society with regard to poetry, for they admit generally that the Iliad and Odyssey were not read, but recited and heard—but upon the supposed necessity that there must have been manuscripts,[1] to ensure the preservation of the poems,—the unassisted memory of reciters being neither sufficient nor trustworthy. But here we only escape a smaller difficulty by running into a greater; for the existence of trained bards, gifted with extraordinary memory, is far less astonishing than that of long manuscripts in an age essentially non-reading and non-writing, and when even suitable instruments and materials for the process are not obvious. Moreover, there is a strong positive reason for believing that the bard was under no necessity of refreshing his memory by consulting a manuscript. For if such had been the fact, blindness would have been a disqualification for the profession, which we know that it was not: as well from the example of Demodokus in the Odyssey, as from that of the blind bard of Chios, in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, whom Thucydidês, as well as the general tenor of Grecian legend, identifies with Homer himself.[2] The author of that Hymn, be he who he may, could never have described a blind man as attaining the utmost perfection in his art, if he had been conscious that the memory of the bard was only maintained by constant reference to the manuscript in his chest.

Bards or rhapsodes of adequate memory, less inconsistent with the conditions of the age than long MSS.

Blind bards.

Nor will it be found, after all, that the effort of memory required either from bards or rhapsodes, even for the longest of these old epic poems,—though doubtless great,—was at all super-

1 See this argument strongly put by Nitzsch, in the prefatory remarks at the beginning of his second volume of Commentaries on the Odyssey (p. x.-xxix.). He takes great pains to discard all idea that the poems were written in order to be read. To the same purpose Franz (Epigraphicê Græc. Introd. p. 32), who adopts Nitzsch's positions,—"Audituris enim, non lecturis, carmina parabant".

2 Odyss. vii. 65; Hymn. ad Apoll. 172; Pseudo-Herodot. Vit. Homer. c. 3; Thucyd. iii. 104.

Various commentators on Homer imagined that under the misfortune of Demodokus the poet in reality described his own (Schol. ad Odyss. 1, 1; Maxim. Tyr. xxxviii. 1).

human. Taking the case with reference to the entire Iliad and Odyssey, we know that there were educated gentlemen at Athens who could repeat both poems by heart:[1] but in the professional

[1] Xenoph. Sympos iii. 5. Compare, respecting the laborious discipline of the Gallic Druids, and the number of unwritten verses which they retained in their memories, Cæsar, B. G. vi. 14: Mela, iii. 2: also Wolf, Prolegg. s. xxiv. and Herod. ii. 77, about the prodigious memory of the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis.

I transcribe, from the interesting Discours of M. Fauriel (prefixed to his Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne, Paris, 1824), a few particulars respecting the number, the mnemonic power, and the popularity of those itinerant singers or rhapsodes who frequent the festivals or *paneghyris* of modern Greece: it is curious to learn that this profession is habitually exercised by *blind* men (p. xc. *seq.*).

"Les aveugles exercent en Grèce une profession qui les rend non seulement agréables, mais nécessaires; le caractère, l'imagination, et la condition du peuple, étant ce qu'ils sont: c'est la profession de chanteurs ambulans . . . . Ils sont dans l'usage, tant sur le continent que dans les îles, de la Grèce, d'apprendre par cœur le plus grand nombre qu'ils peuvent de chansons populaires de tout genre et de toute époque. Quelques-uns finissent par en savoir une quantité prodigieuse, et tous en savent beaucoup. Avec ce trésor dans leur mémoire, ils sont toujours en marche, traversent la Grèce en tout sens: ils s'en vont de ville en ville, de village en village, chantant à l'auditoire qui se forme aussitôt autour d'eux, partout où ils se montrent, celles de leurs chansons qu'ils jugent convenir le mieux, soit à la localité, soit à la circonstance, et reçoivent une petite rétribution qui fait tout leur revenu. Ils ont l'air de chercher de préférence, en tout lieu, la partie la plus inculte de la population, qui en est toujours la plus curieuse, la plus avide d'impressions, et la moins difficile dans le choix de celles qui leur sont offertes. Les Turcs seuls ne les écoutent pas. C'est aux réunions nombreuses, aux fêtes de village connues sous le nom de *Paneghyris*, que ces chanteurs ambulans accourent le plus volontiers. Ils chantent en s'accompagnant d'un instrument à cordes que l'on touche avec un archet, et qui est exactement l'ancienne lyre des Grecs, dont il a conservé le nom comme la forme.

"Cette lyre, pour être entière, doit avoir cinq cordes: mais souvent elle n'en a que deux ou trois, dont les sons, comme il est aisé de présumer, n'ont rien de bien harmonieux. Les chanteurs aveugles vont ordinairement isolés, et chacun d'eux chante à part des autres: mais quelquefois aussi ils se réunissent par groupes de deux ou de trois, pour dire ensemble les mêmes chansons . . . . Ces modernes rhapsodes doivent être divisés en deux classes. Les uns (et ce sont, selon toute apparence, les plus nombreux) se bornent à la fonction de recueillir, d'apprendre par cœur, et de mettre en circulation, des pièces qu'ils n'ont point composées. Les autres (et ce sont ceux qui forment l'ordre le plus distingué de leurs corps), à cette fonction de répétiteurs et de colporteurs de poésies d'autrui, joignent celle de poëtes, et ajoutent à la masse des chansons apprises d'autres chants de leur façon . . . . Ces rhapsodes aveugles sont les nouvellistes et les historiens, en même temps que les poëtes du peuple, en cela parfaitement semblables aux rhapsodes anciens de la Grèce."

To pass to another country—Persia, once the great rival of Greece:—"The Kurroglian rhapsodes are called *Kurroglou-Khans*, from *khaunden*, to sing. Their duty is to know by heart all the *mejjlisses* (meetings) of Kurroglou, narrate them, or sing them with the accompaniment of the favourite instrument of Kurroglou, the chungur or sitar, a three-stringed guitar. Ferdausi has also his *Shah-nama-Khans*, and the prophet Mahommed his *Koran-Khans*. The memory of those singers is truly astonishing. At every request they recite in one breath for some hours, without stammering, beginning the tale at the passage or verse pointed out by the hearers." (Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit Minstrel of Northern Persia, by Alexander Chodsko: London 1842. Introd. p. 13.)

"One of the songs of the Calmuck national bards sometimes lasts a whole day." (Ibid. p. 372.)

recitations we are not to imagine that the same person did go through the whole: the recitation was essentially a joint undertaking, and the rhapsodes who visited a festival would naturally understand among themselves which part of the poem should devolve upon each particular individual. Under such circumstances, and with such means of preparation beforehand, the quantity of verse which a rhapsode could deliver would be measured, not so much by the exhaustion of his memory, as by the physical sufficiency of his voice, having reference to the sonorous, emphatic, and rhythmical pronunciation required from him.[1]

Possibility of preserving the poems by memory, as accurately as in fact they were preserved.

But what guarantee have we for the exact transmission of the text for a space of two centuries by simply oral means? It may be replied that oral transmission would hand down the text as exactly as in point of fact it was handed down. The great lines of each poem—the order of parts—the vein of Homeric feeling and the general style of locution, and for the most part, the true words—would be maintained: for the professional training of the rhapsode, over and above the precision of his actual memory, would tend to Homerize his mind (if the expression may be permitted), and to restrain him within this magic circle. On the other hand, in respect to the details of the text, we should expect that there would be wide differences and numerous inaccuracies: and so there really were, as the records contained in the Scholia, together with the passages cited in ancient authors, but not found in our Homeric text, abundantly testify.[2]

Argument from the lost letter Digamma.

Moreover the state of the Iliad and Odyssey in respect to the letter called the Digamma affords a proof that they were recited for a considerable period before they were committed to writing, insomuch that the oral

[1] There are just remarks of Mr. Mitford on the possibility that the Homeric poems might have been preserved without writing (History of Greece, vol. i. pp. 135—137).

[2] Villoison, Prolegomen. pp. xxxiv.—lxi.; Wolf, Prolegomen. p. 37. Düntzer, in the Epicor. Græc. Fragm. p. 27—29, gives a considerable list of the Homeric passages cited by ancient authors, but not found either in the Iliad or Odyssey. It is hardly to be doubted, however, that many of these passages belonged to other epic poems which passed under the name of Homer. Welcker (Der Epische Cyklus, pp. 20—133) enforces this opinion very justly, and it harmonises with his view of the name of Homer as co-extensive with the whole Epic cycle.

pronunciation underwent during the interval a sensible change.[1] At the time when these poems were composed, the Digamma was an effective consonant, and figured as such in the structure of the verse: at the time when they were committed to writing, it had ceased to be pronounced, and therefore never found a place in any of the manuscripts—insomuch that the Alexandrine critics, though they knew of its existence in the much later poems of Alkæus and Sapphô, never recognised it in Homer. The hiatus, and the various perplexities of metre, occasioned by the loss of the Digamma, were corrected by different grammatical stratagems. But the whole history of this lost letter is very curious, and is rendered intelligible only by the supposition that the Iliad and Odyssey belonged for a wide space of time to the memory, the voice, and the ear exclusively.

When did the Homeric poems begin to be written?

At what period these poems, or indeed any other Greek poems, first began to be written, must be matter of conjecture, though there is ground for assurance that it was before the time of Solôn. If in the absence of evidence we may venture upon naming any more determinate period, the question at once suggests itself, what were the purposes which in that stage of society, a manuscript at its first commencement must have been intended to answer? For whom was a written Iliad necessary? Not for the rhapsodes; for with them it was not only planted in the memory, but also interwoven with the feelings, and conceived in conjunction with all those flexions and intonations of voice, pauses, and other oral artifices, which were required for emphatic delivery, and which the naked manuscript could never reproduce. Not for the general public—*they* were accustomed to receive it with its rhapsodic delivery, and with its accompaniments of a solemn and crowded festival. The only persons for whom the written Iliad would be suitable, would

[1] See this argument strongly maintained in Giese (Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt, sect. 14, p. 160 *seqq.*) He notices several other particulars in the Homeric language—the plenitude and variety of interchangeable grammatical forms—the numerous metrical licences, *set right* by appropriate oral intonations—which indicate a language as yet not constrained by the fixity of written authority.

The same line of argument is taken by O. Müller (History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, ch. iv. s. 5).

Giese has shown also, in the same chapter, that all the manuscripts of Homer, mentioned in the Scholia, were written in the Ionic alphabet (with H and Ω as marks for the long vowels, and no special mark for the rough breathing), in so far as the special citations out of them enable us to verify.

be a select few; studious and curious men—a class of readers, capable of analysing the complicated emotions which they had experienced as hearers in the crowd, and who would on perusing the written words realise in their imaginations a sensible portion of the impression communicated by the reciter.[1]

Incredible as the statement may seem in an age like the present, there is in all early societies, and there was in early Greece, a time when no such reading class existed. If we could discover at what time such a class first began to be formed, we should be able to make a guess at the time when the old Epic poems were first committed to writing. Now the period which may with the greatest probability be fixed upon as having first witnessed the formation even of the narrowest reading class in Greece, is the middle of the seventh century before the Christian æra (B.C. 660 to B.C. 630),—the age of Terpander, Kallinus, Archilochus, Simonidês of Amorgus, &c. I ground this supposition on the change then operated in the character and tendencies of Grecian poetry and music,—the elegiac and iambic measures having been introduced as rivals to the primitive hexameter, and poetical compositions having been transferred from the epical past to the affairs of present and real life. Such a change was important at a time when poetry was the only known mode

Reasons for presuming that they were first written about the middle of the seventh century B.C.

[1] Nitzsch and Welcker argue, that because the Homeric poems were *heard* with great delight and interest, therefore the first rudiments of the art of writing, even while beset by a thousand mechanical difficulties, would be employed to record them. I cannot adopt this opinion, which appears to me to derive all its plausibility from our present familiarity with reading and writing. The first step from the recited to the written poem is really one of great violence, as well as useless for any want then actually felt. I much more agree with Wolf when he says: "Diu enim illorum hominum vita et simplicitas nihil admodum habuit, quod scripturâ dignum videretur: in aliis omnibus occupati agunt illi, quæ posteri scribunt, vel (ut de quibusdam populis accepimus) etiam monstratam operam hanc spernunt tanquam indecori otii: carmina autem quæ pangunt, longo usu sic ore fundere et excipere consueverunt ut cantu et recitatione cum maxime vigentia deducere ad mutas notas, ex illius ætatis sensu nihil aliud esset, quam perimere ea et vitali vi ac spiritu privare". (Prolegom. s. xv. p. 59).

Some good remarks on this subject are to be found in William Humboldt's Introduction to his elaborate treatise *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache*, in reference to the oral tales current among the Basques. He too observes how great and repulsive a proceeding it is, to pass at first from verse sung or recited, to verse written; implying that the words are conceived detached from the *Vortrag*, the accompanying music and the surrounding and sympathising assembly. The Basque tales have no charm for the people themselves when put in Spanish words and read (Introduction, sect. xx. p. 258—259).

Unwritten prose tales, preserved in the memory and said to be repeated nearly in the same words from age to age, are mentioned by Mariner in the

of publication (to use a modern phrase not altogether suitable, yet the nearest approaching to the sense). It argued a new way of looking at the old epical treasures of the people, as well as a thirst for new poetical effect; and the men who stood forward in it may well be considered as desirous to study, and competent to criticise, from their own individual point of view, the written words of the Homeric rhapsodes, just as we are told that Kallinus both noticed and eulogised the Thebaïs as the production of Homer. There seems therefore ground for conjecturing, that (for the use of this newly-formed and important, but very narrow class) manuscripts of the Homeric poems and other old epics—the Thebaïs and the Cypria as well as the Iliad and the Odyssey—began to be compiled towards the middle of the seventh century B.C.:[1] and the opening of Egypt to Grecian commerce, which took place about the same period, would furnish increased facilities for obtaining the requisite papyrus to write upon. A reading class, when once formed, would doubtless slowly increase, and the number of manuscripts along with it; so that before the time of Solôn, fifty years afterwards, both readers and manuscripts, though still comparatively few, might have attained a certain recognised authority and formed a tribunal of reference, against the carelessness of individual rhapsodes.

Condition of the Iliad and Odyssey down to the reign of Peisistratus —theory of Wolf.

We may, I think, consider the Iliad and Odyssey to have been preserved without the aid of writing for a period near upon two centuries.[2] But is it true, as Wolf imagined, and as other able critics have imagined also, that the separate portions of which these two poems are composed were originally distinct epical ballads, each constituting a separate whole and intended for separate recitation? Is it true that they had not only no common author,

Tonga Islands (Mariner's Account, vol. ii. p. 377).

The Druidical poems were kept unwritten by design, after writing was in established use for other purposes (Cæsar, B. G. vi. 13).

[1] Mr. Fynes Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. p. 368—373) treats it as a matter of *certainty* that Archilochus and Alkman *wrote* their poems. I am not aware of any evidence for announcing this as positively known—except indeed an admission of Wolf, which is doubtless good as an *argumentum ad hominem*, but is not to be received as proof (Wolf, Proleg. p. 50). The evidences mentioned by Mr. Clinton (p. 368) certainly cannot be regarded as proving anything to the point.

Giese (Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt, p. 172) places the first writing of the separate rhapsodies composing the Iliad in the seventh century B.C.

[2] The songs of the Icelandic Skalds were preserved orally for a period longer than two centuries.—P. A.

but originally neither common purpose nor fixed order, and that their first permanent arrangement and integration was delayed for three centuries, and accomplished at last only by the taste of Peisistratus conjoined with various lettered friends?[1]

This hypothesis—to which the genius of Wolf first gave celebrity, but which has been since enforced more in detail by others, especially by William Müller and Lachmann—appears to me not only unsupported by any sufficient testimony, but also opposed to other testimony as well as to a strong force of internal probability. The authorities quoted by Wolf are Josephus, Cicero, and Pausanias:[2] Josephus mentions nothing about Peisistratus, but merely states (what we may accept as the probable fact) that the Homeric poems were originally unwritten, and preserved only in songs or recitations, from which they were at a subsequent period put into writing: hence many of the discrepancies in the text. On the other hand, Cicero and Pausanias go farther, and affirm that Peisistratus both collected,

Authorities quoted in its favour.

Müller thinks very much longer,—before they were collected or embodied in written story by Snorro and Sæmund (Lange, Untersuchungen über die Gesch. der Nordischen Heldensage, p. 98; also Introduct. p. xx.—xxviii.). He confounds, however, often, the preservation of the songs from old time—with the question whether they have or have not an historical basis.

And there were doubtless many old bards and rhapsodes in ancient Greece, of whom the same might be said which Saxo Grammaticus affirms of an Englishman named Lucas, that he was "literis quidem tenuiter instructus, sed historiarum scientiâ apprime eruditus" (Dahlmann, Historische Forschungen, vol. ii. p. 176).

[1] "Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment; the Iliad he made for the men, the Odysseis for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together into the form of an epic poem until 500 years after."

Such is the naked language in which Wolf's main hypothesis had been previously set forth by Bentley, in his "Remarks on a late Discourse of Freethinking, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," published in 1713: the passage remained unaltered in the seventh edition of that treatise published in 1737. See Wolf's Prolegg. xxvii. p. 115.

The same hypothesis may be seen more amply developed, partly in the work of Wolf's pupil and admirer, William Müller, *Homerische Vorschule* (the second edition of which was published at Leipsic, 1836, with an excellent introduction and notes by Baumgarten-Crusius, adding greatly to the value of the original work by its dispassionate review of the whole controversy), partly in two valuable Dissertations of Lachmann, published in the Philological Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1837 and 1841.

[2] Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 2; Cicero de Orator. iii. 34; Pausan. vii. 26, 6; compare the Scholion on Plautus in Ritschl, Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek, p. 4. Ælian (V. H. xiii. 14), who mentions both the introduction of the Homeric poems into Peloponnêsus by Lykurgus, and the compilation by Peisistratus, can hardly be considered as adding to the value of the testimony: still less Libanius and Suidas. What we learn is, that some literary and critical men of the Alexandrine age (more or fewer, as the case may be; but Wolf exaggerates when he talks of an *unanimous* conviction) spoke of Peisistratus as having first put together the fractional parts of the Iliad and Odyssey into entire poems.

and arranged in the existing order, the rhapsodies of the Iliad and Odyssey (implied as poems originally entire and subsequently broken into pieces), which he found partly confused and partly isolated from each other—each part being then remembered only in its own portion of the Grecian world. Respecting Hipparchus the son of Peisistratus, too, we are told in the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue which bears his name, that he was the first to introduce into Attica the poetry of Homer, and that he prescribed to the rhapsodes to recite the parts at the Panathenaic festival in regular sequence.[1]

Wolf and William Müller occasionally speak as if they admitted something like an Iliad and Odyssey as established aggregates prior to Peisistratus; but for the most part they represent him or his associates as having been the first to put together Homeric poems which were before distinct and self-existent compositions. And Lachmann, the recent expositor of the same theory, ascribes to Peisistratus still more unequivocally this original integration of parts in reference to the Iliad—distributing the first twenty-two books of the poem into sixteen separate songs, and treating it as ridiculous to imagine that the fusion of these songs into an order such as we now read, belongs to any date earlier than Peisistratus.[2]

Upon this theory we may remark, first, that it stands opposed to the testimony existing respecting the regulations of Solôn; who, before the time of Peisistratus, had enforced a fixed order of recitation on the rhapsodes of the Iliad at the Panathenaic festival: not only directing that they

Objections against it.

1 Plato, Hipparch. p. 228.

2 "Doch ich komme mir bald lächerlich vor, wenn ich noch immer die Möglichkeit gelten lasse, dass unsere Ilias in dem gegenwärtigen Zusammenhange der bedeutenden Theile, und nicht blos der wenigen bedeutendsten, jemals vor der Arbeit des Pisistratus gedacht worden sey." (Lachmann, Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias, sect. xxviii. p. 82; Abhandlungen Berlin. Academ. 1841.) How far this admission — that for the *few most important* portions of the Iliad there *did* exist an established order of succession prior to Peisistratus — is intended to reach, I do not know: but the language of Lachmann goes farther than either Wolf or William Müller. (See Wolf, Prolegomen. p. cxli.—cxlii., and W. Müller, Homerische Vorschule, Abschnitt vii. pp. 96, 98, 100, 102.) The latter admits that neither Peisistratus nor the Diaskeuasts could have made any considerable changes in the Iliad and Odyssey, either in the way of addition or of transposition; the poems as aggregates being too well-known, and the Homeric vein of invention too completely extinct, to admit of such novelties.

I confess I do not see how these last-mentioned admissions can be reconciled with the main doctrine of Wolf, in so far as regards Peisistratus.

should go through the rhapsodies *seriatim* and without omission or corruption, but also establishing a prompter or censorial authority to ensure obedience,[1]—which implies the existence (at the same time that it proclaims the occasional infringement) of an orderly aggregate, as well as of manuscripts professedly complete. Next,

[1] Diogen. Laërt. i. 57.—Τὰ δὲ Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε (Σόλων) ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἀρχόμενον, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς.

Respecting Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, the Pseudo-Plato tells us (in the dialogue so called, p. 228)—καὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑποληψέως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διιέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἴδε ποιοῦσι.

These words have provoked multiplied criticisms from all the learned men who have touched upon the theory of the Homeric poems—to determine what was the practice which Solôn found existing, and what was the change which he introduced. Our information is too scanty to pretend to certainty, but I think the explanation of Hermann the most satisfactory ("*Quid sit ὑποβολή et ὑποβλήδην*". —*Opuscula*, tom. v. p. 300, tom. vii. p. 162),

Ὑποβολεύς is the technical term for the prompter at a theatrical representation (Plutarch. Præcept. gerend. Reip. p. 813); ὑποβολή and ὑποβάλλειν have corresponding meanings, of aiding the memory of a speaker and keeping him in accordance with a certain standard, in possession of the prompter; see the words ἐξ ὑποβολῆς, Xenophon. Cyropæd. iii. 3, 37. Ὑποβολή therefore has no necessary connexion with a *series* of rhapsodes, but would apply just as much to one alone; although it happens in this case to be brought to bear upon several in succession. Ὑπόληψις, again, means "the taking up in succession of one rhapsode by another": though the two words, therefore, have not the same meaning, yet the proceeding described in the two passages in reference both to Solôn and Hipparchus appears to be in substance the same—*i.e.*, to ensure, by compulsory supervision, a correct and orderly recitation by the successive rhapsodes who went through the different parts of the poem.

There is good reason to conclude from this passage that the rhapsodes before Solôn were guilty both of negligence and of omission in their recital of Homer, but no reason to imagine either that they transposed the books, or that the legitimate order was not previously recognised.

The appointment of a systematic ὑποβολεύς or prompter plainly indicates the existence of complete manuscripts.

The direction of Solôn, that Homer should be rhapsodised under the security of a prompter with his manuscript, appears just the same as that of the orator Lykurgus in reference to Æschylus, Sophoklês, and Euripidês (Pseudo-Plutarch. Vit. X. Rhetor. Lycurgi Vit.)—εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους—ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐτὰς (ἄλλως) ὑποκρίνεσθαι. The word ἄλλως which occurs last but one is introduced by the conjecture of Grysar, who has cited and explained the above passage of the Pseudo-Plutarch in a valuable dissertation—*De Græcorum Tragœdiâ qualis fuit circa tempora Demosthenis* (Cologne, 1830). All the critics admit the text as it now stands to be unintelligible, and various corrections have been proposed, among which that of Grysar seems the best. From his Dissertation I transcribe the following passage, which illustrates the rhapsodising of Homer ἐξ ὑποβολῆς:—

"Quum histriones fabulis interpolandis ægre abstinerent, Lycurgus legem supra indicatam eo tulit consilio, ut recitationes histrionum cum publico illo exemplo omnino congruas redderet. Quod ut assequeretur, constituit, ut dum fabulæ in scenâ recitarentur, scriba publicus simul exemplum civitatis inspiceret, juxta sive in theatro sive in postscenio sedens. Hæc enim verbi παραναγινώσκειν est significatio, posita præcipue in præpositione παρά, ut idem sit, quod *contra* sive *juxta* legere; id quod faciunt ii, *qui lecta ab altero vel recitata cum suis conferre cupiunt.*" (Grysar, p. 7.)

the theory ascribes to Peisistratus a character not only materially different from what is indicated by Cicero and Pausanias—who represent him, not as having put together atoms originally distinct, but as the renovator of an ancient order subsequently lost—but also in itself unintelligible and inconsistent with Grecian habit and feeling. That Peisistratus should take pains to repress the licence, or make up for the unfaithful memory, of individual rhapsodes, and to ennoble the Panathenaic festival by the most correct recital of a great and venerable poem, according to the standard received among the best judges in Greece—this is a task both suitable to his position, and requiring nothing more than an improved recension, together with exact adherence to it on the part of the rhapsodes. But what motive had he to string together several poems, previously known only as separate, into one new whole? What feeling could he gratify by introducing the extensive changes and transpositions surmised by Lachmann, for the purpose of binding together sixteen songs which the rhapsodes are assumed to have been accustomed to recite, and the people to hear, each by itself apart? Peisistratus was not a poet, seeking to interest the public mind, by new creations and combinations, but a ruler desirous to impart solemnity to a great religious festival in his native city. Now such a purpose would be answered by selecting, amidst the divergencies of rhapsodes in different parts of Greece, that order of text which intelligent men could approve as a return to the pure and pristine Iliad; but it would be defeated if he attempted large innovations of his own, and brought out for the first time a new Iliad by blending together, altering, and transposing many old and well-known songs. A novelty so bold would have been more likely to offend than to please both the critics and the multitude. And if it were even enforced, by authority, at Athens, no probable reason can be given why all the other towns and all the rhapsodes throughout Greece should abnegate their previous habits in favour of it, since Athens at that time enjoyed no political ascendency such as she acquired during the following century. On the whole, it will appear that the character and position of Peisistratus himself go far to negative the function which Wolf and Lachmann put upon him. His interference presupposes a certain foreknown and ancient aggregate, the main lineaments of which were familiar to the Grecian

public, although many of the rhapsodes in their practice may have deviated from it both by omission and interpolation. In correcting the Athenian recitations conformably with such understood general type, he might hope both to procure respect for Athens and to constitute a fashion for the rest of Greece. But this step of "collecting the torn body of sacred Homer" is something generically different from the composition of a new Iliad out of pre-existing songs: the former is as easy, suitable, and promising, as the latter is violent and gratuitous.[1]

Other long epic poems beside the Iliad and Odyssey.

To sustain the inference, that Peisistratus was the first architect of the Iliad and Odyssey, it ought at least to be shown that no other long continuous poems existed during the earlier centuries. But the contrary of this is known to be the fact. The Æthiopis of Arktinus, which contained 9100 verses, dates from a period more than two centuries earlier than Peisistratus: several other of the lost cyclic epics, some among them of considerable length, appear during the century succeeding Arktinus; and it is important to notice that three or four at least of these poems passed currently under the name of Homer.[2] There is no greater intrinsic difficulty in supposing long epics to have begun with the Iliad and Odyssey

[1] That the Iliad or Odyssey were ever recited with all the parts entire, at any time anterior to Solôn, is a point which Ritschl denies (Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek. p. 67—70). He thinks that before Solôn, they were always recited in parts, and without any fixed order among the parts. Nor did Solôn determine (as he thinks) the order of the parts: he only checked a licence of the rhapsodes as to the recitation of the separate books; it was Peisistratus, who, with the help of Onomakritus and others, first settled the order of the parts and bound each poem into a whole, with some corrections and interpolations. Nevertheless he admits that the parts were originally composed by the same poet, and adapted to form a whole amongst each other: but the primitive entireness (he asserts) was only maintained as a sort of traditional belief, never realised in recitation, and never reduced to an obvious, unequivocal, and permanent fact—until the time of Peisistratus.

There is no sufficient ground, I think, for denying all entire recitation previous to Solôn, and we only interpose a new difficulty, both grave and gratuitous, by doing so.

[2] The Æthiopis of Arktinus contained 9100 verses, as we learn from the Tabula Iliaca: yet Proklus assigns to it only four books. The Ilias Minor had *four* books, the Cyprian verses *eleven*, though we do not know the number of lines in either.

Nitzsch states it as a certain matter of fact, that Arktinus recited his own poem *alone*, though it was too long to admit of his doing so without interruption. (See his Vorrede to the 2nd vol. of the Odyssey, p. xxiv.) There is no evidence for this assertion, and it appears to me highly improbable.

In reference to the Romances of the Middle Ages, belonging to the Cycle of the Round Table, M. Fauriel tells us that the German *Perceval* has nearly 25,000 verses (more than half as long again as the Iliad); the *Perceval* of Christian of Troyes probably more; the German *Tristan* of Godfrey of Strasburg has more than 23,000; sometimes the poem is begun by

than with the Æthiopis: the ascendency of the name of Homer, and the subordinate position of Arktinus, in the history of early Grecian poetry, tend to prove the former in preference to the latter.

Catalogue in the Iliad—essentially a part of a long poem—its early authority.

Moreover, we find particular portions of the Iliad, which expressly pronounce themselves, by their own internal evidence, as belonging to a large whole, and not as separate integers. We can hardly conceive the Catalogue in the second book except as a fractional composition, and with reference to a series of approaching exploits; for taken apart by itself, such a barren enumeration of names could have stimulated neither the fancy of the poet nor the attention of the listeners. But the Homeric Catalogue had acquired a sort of canonical authority even in the time of Solôn, insomuch that he interpolated a line into it, or was accused of doing so, for the purpose of gaining a disputed point against the Megarians, who on their side set forth another version.[1] No such established reverence could have been felt for this document, unless there had existed, for a long time prior to Peisistratus, the habit of regarding and listening to the Iliad as a continuous poem. And when the philosopher Xenophanês, contemporary with Peisistratus, noticed Homer as the universal teacher, and denounced him as an unworthy describer of the gods, he must have connected this great mental sway, not with a number of unconnected rhapsodies, but with an aggregate Iliad and Odyssey; probably with other poems also, ascribed to the same author, such as the Cypria, Epigoni, and Thebaïs.

We find, it is true, references in various authors to portions of the Iliad each by its own separate name, such as the Teichomachy, the Aristeia (pre-eminent exploits) of Diomedês or of Agamemnôn, the Doloneia or Night-expedition (of Dolôn as well as of Odysseus and Diomedês), &c., and hence it has been concluded that these portions originally existed as separate poems, before they were cemented together into an Iliad. But such references prove

one author and continued by another. (Fauriel, Romans de Chevalerie. Revue des Deux Mondes, t. xiii. p. 695—697.)

The ancient unwritten poems of the Icelandic Skalds are as much lyric as epic: the longest of them does not exceed 800 lines, and they are for the most part much shorter (Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Nordischen Heldensage, aus P. A. Müller's Sagabibliothek, von G. Lange, Frankf. 1832. Introduct. p. xlii.).

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 10.

nothing to the point; for until the Iliad was divided by Aristarchus and his colleagues into a given number of books or rhapsodies, designated by the series of letters in the alphabet, there was no method of calling attention to any particular portion of the poem except by special indication of its subject-matter.[1] Authors subsequent to Peisistratus, such as Herodotus and Plato, who unquestionably conceived the Iliad as a whole, cite the separate fractions of it by designations of this sort.

The foregoing remarks on the Wolfian hypothesis respecting the text of the Iliad, tend to separate two points which are by no means necessarily connected, though that hypothesis, as set forth by Wolf himself, by W. Müller, and by Lachmann, presents the two in conjunction. First, was the Iliad originally projected and composed by one author and as one poem, or were the different parts composed separately and by unconnected authors, and subsequently strung together into an aggregate? Secondly, assuming that the internal evidences of the poem negative the former supposition, and drive us upon the latter, was the construction of the whole poem deferred, and did the parts exist only in their separate state, until a period so late as the reign of Peisistratus? It is obvious that these two questions are essentially separate, and that a man may believe the Iliad to have been put together out of pre-existing songs, without recognising the age of Peisistratus as the period of its first compilation. Now whatever may be the steps through which the poem passed to its ultimate integrity, there is sufficient reason for believing that they had been accomplished long before that period: the friends of Peisistratus found an Iliad already existing, and already ancient in their time, even granting that the poem had not been originally born in a state of unity. Moreover, the Alexandrine critics, whose remarks are preserved in the Scholia, do not even notice the Peisistratic recension among the many manuscripts which they had before them: and Mr. Payne Knight justly infers from their silence that either they did not possess it, or it was in their eyes of no great authority;[2] which could never

Iliad and Odyssey were entire poems long anterior to Peisistratus, whether they were originally composed as entire or not.

[1] The Homeric Scholiast refers to Quintus Calaber ἐν τῇ Ἀμαζονομαχίᾳ, which was only one portion of his long poem (Schol. ad Iliad. ii. 220).

[2] Knight, Prolegg. Homer. xxxii. xxxvi. xxxvii. That Peisistratus caused a corrected MS. of the Iliad to be prepared, there seems good reason to

have been the case if it had been the prime originator of Homeric unity.

The line of argument, by which the advocates of Wolf's hypothesis negative the primitive unity of the poem, consists in exposing gaps, incongruities, contradictions, &c., between the separate parts. Now, if in spite of all these incoherencies, standing mementos of an antecedent state of separation, the compohent poems were made to coalesce so intimately as to appear as if they had been one from the beginning, we can better understand the complete success of the proceeding and the universal prevalence of the illusion, by supposing such coalescence to have taken place at a very early period, during the productive days of epical genius, and before the growth of reading and criticism. The longer the aggregation of the separate poems was deferred, the harder it would be to obliterate in men's minds the previous state of separation, and to make them accept the new aggregate as an original unity. The bards or rhapsodes might have found comparatively little difficulty in thus piecing together distinct songs, during the ninth or eighth century before Christ; but if we suppose the process to be deferred until the latter half of the sixth century—if we imagine that Solôn, with all his contemporaries and predecessors, knew nothing about any aggregate Iliad, but was accustomed to read and hear only those sixteen distinct epical pieces into which Lachmann would dissect the Iliad, each of the sixteen bearing a separate name of its own—no compilation then for the first time made by the friends of Peisistratus could have effaced the established habit, and planted itself in the general convictions of Greece as that primitive

believe, and the Scholion on Plautus edited by Ritschl (see Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek, p. 4) specifies the four persons (Onomakritus was one) employed on the task. Ritschl fancies that it served as a sort of Vulgate for the text of the Alexandrine critics, who named specially other MSS. (of Chios, Sinôpê, Massalia, &c.) only when they diverged from this Vulgate: he thinks also that it formed the original from whence those other MSS. were first drawn, which are called in the Homeric Scholia *αἱ κοιναί, κοινότεραι* (p. 59—60).

Welcker supposes the Peisistratic MS. to have been either lost or carried away when Xerxes took Athens (Der Epische Cyklus, p. 382—388).

Compare Nitzsch, Histor. Homer. Fasc. i. p. 165—167; also his commentary on Odyss. xi. 604, the alleged interpolation of Onomakritus; and Ulrici, Geschichte der Hellen. Poes. Part i. s. vii. p. 252—255.

The main facts respecting the Peisistratic recension are collected and discussed by Gräfenhan, Geschichte der Philologie, sect. 54—64, vol. i. p. 266—311. Unfortunately we cannot get beyond mere conjecture and possibility.

Homeric production. Had the sixteen pieces remained disunited and individualised down to the time of Peisistratus, they would in all probability have continued so ever afterwards; nor could the extensive changes and transpositions which (according to Lachmann's theory) were required to melt them down into our present Iliad, have obtained at that late period universal acceptance. Assuming it to be true that such changes and transpositions did really take place, they must at least be referred to a period greatly earlier than Peisistratus or Solôn.

No traces in the Homeric poems of ideas or customs belonging to the age of Peisistratus.

The whole tenor of the poems themselves confirms what is here remarked. There is nothing either in the Iliad or Odyssey which savours of *modernism*, applying that term to the age of Peisistratus; nothing which brings to our view the alterations, brought about by two centuries, in the Greek language, the coined money, the habits of writing and reading, the despotisms and republican governments, the close military array, the improved construction of ships, the Amphiktyonic convocations, the mutual frequentation of religious festivals, the Oriental and Egyptian veins of religion, &c., familiar to the latter epoch. These alterations Onomakritus and the other literary friends of Peisistratus could hardly have failed to notice even without design, had they then for the first time undertaken the task of piecing together many self-existent epics into one large aggregate.[1] Everything in the two great Homeric poems, both in substance and in language, belongs to an age two or three centuries earlier than Peisistratus. Indeed even the interpolations (or those passages which on the best grounds are pronounced to be such) betray no trace of the sixth century before Christ, and may well have been heard by Archilochus and Kallinus—in some cases even by Arktinus and Hesiod—as genuine Homeric matter.

[1] Wolf allows both the uniformity of colouring and the antiquity of colouring which pervade the Homeric poems, also the strong line by which they stand distinguished from the other Greek poets:—"Immo congruunt in iis omnia ferme in idem ingenium, in eosdem mores, in eandem formam sentiendi et loquendi". (Prolegom. p. cclxv.; compare p. cxxxviii.)

He thinks indeed that this harmony was *restored* by the ability and care of Aristarchus ("mirificum illum concentum revocatum Aristarcho imprimis debemus"). This is a very exaggerated estimate of the interference of Aristarchus: but at any rate the *concentus* itself was ancient and original, and Aristarchus only *restored* it when it had been spoiled by intervening accidents; at least, if we are to construe *revocatum* strictly, which perhaps is hardly consistent with Wolf's main theory.

As far as the evidences on the case, as well internal as external, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the Iliad and Odyssey were recited substantially as they now stand (always allowing for partial divergences of text and interpolations) in 776 B.C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian time. And this ancient date—let it be added—as it is the best authenticated fact, so it is also the most important attribute of the Homeric poems, considered in reference to Grecian history. For they thus afford us an insight into the ante-historical character of the Greeks—enabling us to trace the subsequent forward march of the nation, and to seize instructive contrasts between their former and their later condition.

Homeric poems—1. Whether by one author, or several? 2. Whether of one date and scheme?

Rejecting, therefore, the idea of compilation by Peisistratus, and referring the present state of the Iliad and Odyssey to a period more than two centuries earlier, the question still remains, by what process, or through whose agency, they reached that state? Is each poem the work of one author, or of several? If the latter, do all the parts belong to the same age? What ground is there for believing that any or all of these parts existed before as separate poems, and have been accommodated to the place in which they now appear by more or less systematic alteration?

The acute and valuable Prolegomena of Wolf, half a century ago, powerfully turned the attention of scholars to the necessity of considering the Iliad and Odyssey with reference to the age and society in which they arose, and to the material differences in this respect between Homer and more recent epic poets.[1] Since that time an elaborate study has been bestowed upon the early

[1] See Wolf, Prolegg. c. xii. p. xliii. "Nondum enim prorsus ejecta et explosa est eorum ratio, qui Homerum et Callimachum et Virgilium et Nonnum et Miltonum eodem animo legunt, nec quid uniuscujusque ætas ferat, expendere legendo et computare laborant," &c.

A similar and earlier attempt to construe the Homeric poems with reference to their age, is to be seen in the treatise called *Il Vero Omero* of Vico,—marked with a good deal of original thought, but not strong in erudition (Opere di Vico, ed. Milan, vol. v. p. 437—497).

An interesting and instructive review of the course of Homeric criticism during the last fifty years, comprising some new details on the gradual development of the theories both of Wolf and of Lachmann, will be found in a recent Dissertation published at Königsberg—"Die Homerische Kritik von Wolf bis Grote"—by Dr. Ludwig Friedländer, Berlin, 1853. Dr. Friedländer approves several of the opinions which I have ventured to advance respecting the probable structure of the Iliad, and sustains them by new reasons of his own.

manifestations of poetry (Sagenpoesie) among other nations; and the German critics especially, among whom this description of literature has been most cultivated, have selected it as the only appropriate analogy for the Homeric poems. Such poetry, consisting for the most part of short artless effusions, with little of deliberate or far-sighted combination, has been assumed by many critics as a fit standard to apply for measuring the capacities of the Homeric age; an age exclusively of speakers, singers, and hearers, not of readers or writers. In place of the unbounded admiration which was felt for Homer, not merely as a poet of detail, but as constructor of a long epic, at the time when Wolf wrote his Prolegomena, the tone of criticism passed to the opposite extreme, and attention was fixed entirely upon the defects in the arrangement of the Iliad and Odyssey. Whatever was to be found in them of symmetry or pervading system was pronounced to be decidedly post-Homeric. Under such preconceived anticipations Homer seems to have been generally studied in Germany during the generation succeeding Wolf, the negative portion of whose theory was usually admitted, though as to the positive substitute—what explanation was to be given of the history and present constitution of the Homeric poems—there was by no means the like agreement. During the last ten years, however, a contrary tendency has manifested itself; the Wolfian theory has been re-examined and shaken by Nitzsch, who, as well as O. Müller, Welcker, and other scholars, have revived the idea of original Homeric unity, under certain modifications. The change in Goethe's opinion, coincident with this new direction, is recorded in one of his latest works.[1] On the other hand, the original opinion of Wolf has also been reproduced within the last five years, and fortified with several new observations on the text, of the Iliad, by Lachmann.

Question raised by Wolf—Sagenpoesie—New standard applied to the Homeric poems.

Homeric unity—generally rejected by German critics in the last generation—now again partially revived.

The point is thus still under controversy among able scholars, and is probably destined to remain so. For in truth our means of knowledge are so limited, that no man can produce arguments

[1] In the 46th volume of his collected works, in the little treatise "*Homer, noch einmal*": compare G. Lange, Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter (Mainz, 1837), Preface, p. vi.

sufficiently cogent to contend against opposing preconceptions; and it creates a painful sentiment of diffidence when we read the expressions of equal and absolute persuasion with which the two opposite conclusions have both been advanced.[1] We have nothing to teach us the history of these poems except the poems themselves. Not only do we possess no collateral information respecting them or their authors, but we have no one to describe to us the people or the age in which they originated: our knowledge respecting contemporary Homeric society is collected exclusively from the Homeric compositions themselves. We are ignorant whether any other, or what other, poems preceded them or divided with them the public favour, nor have we anything better than conjecture to determine either the circumstances under which they were brought before the hearers, or the conditions which a bard of that day was required to satisfy. On all these points, moreover, the age of Thucydidês[2] and Plato seems to have been no

Scanty evidence—difficulty of forming any conclusive opinion.

[1] "Non esse totam Iliadem aut Odysseam unius poetæ opus, ita extra dubitationem positum puto, ut qui secus sentiat, eum non satis lectitasse illa carmina contendam." (Godf. Hermann, Præfat. ad Odysseam, Lips. 1825, p. iv.) See the language of the same eminent critic in his treatise "Ueber Homer und Sappho," Opuscula, vol. v. p. 74.

Lachmann, after having dissected the 2200 lines in the Iliad, between the beginning of the eleventh book and line 590 of the fifteenth, into four songs "in the highest degree different in their spirit" ("ihrem Geiste nach höchst verschiedene Lieder"), tell us that whosoever thinks this difference of spirit inconsiderable,—whosoever does not feel it at once when pointed out,—whosoever can believe that the parts as they stand now belong to one artistically constructed Epos,—"will do well not to trouble himself any more either with my criticisms or with epic poetry, because he is too weak to understand anything about it" ("weil er zu schwach ist etwas darin zu verstehen"): Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias: Abhandl. Berlin. Acad. 1841, p. 18, § xxiii.

On the contrary, Ulrici, after having shown (or tried to show) that the composition of Homer satisfies perfectly, in the main, all the exigencies of an artistic epic—adds, that this will make itself at once evident to all those who have any sense of artistical symmetry; but that for those to whom that sense is wanting, no conclusive demonstration can be given. He warns the latter, however, that they are not to deny the existence of that which their short-sighted vision cannot distinguish, for everything cannot be made clear to children, which the mature man sees through at a glance (Ulrici, Geschichte des Griechischen Epos, Part i. ch. vii. p. 260—261). Read also Payne Knight, Proleg. c. xxvii., about the insanity of the Wolfian School, obvious even to the "homunculus e trivio".

I have the misfortune to dissent from both Lachmann and Ulrici; for 't appears to me a mistake to put the Iliad and Odyssey on the same footing, as Ulrici does, and as is too frequently done by others.

[2] Plato, Aristotle, and their contemporaries generally, read the most suspicious portions of the Homeric poems as genuine (Nitzsch, Plan und Gang der Odyssee, in the Preface to his second vol. of Comments on the Odyssey, p. lx.—lxiv.).

Thucydidês accepts the Hymn to Apollo as a composition by the author of the Iliad.

better informed than we are, except in so far as they could profit by the analogies of the cyclic and other epic poems, which would doubtless in many cases have afforded valuable aid.

Nevertheless no classical scholar can be easy without *some* opinion respecting the authorship of these immortal poems. And the more defective the evidence we possess, the more essential is it that all that evidence should be marshalled in the clearest order, and its bearing upon the points in controversy distinctly understood beforehand. Both these conditions seem to have been often neglected, throughout the long-continued Homeric discussion.

To illustrate the first point:—Since two poems are comprehended in the problem to be solved, the natural process would be, first to study the easier of the two, and then to apply the conclusions thence deduced as a means of explaining the other. Now the Odyssey, looking at its aggregate character, is incomparably more easy to comprehend than the Iliad. Yet most Homeric critics apply the microscope at once, and in the first instance, to the Iliad.

To illustrate the second point:—What evidence is sufficient to negative the supposition that the Iliad or the Odyssey is a poem originally and intentionally one? Not simply particular gaps and contradictions, though they be even gross and numerous; but the preponderance of these proofs of mere unprepared coalescence over the other proofs of designed adaptation scattered throughout the whole poem. For the poet (or the co-operating poets, if more than one) may have intended to compose an harmonious whole, but may have realised their intention incompletely, and left partial faults; or perhaps the contradictory lines may have crept in through a corrupt text. A survey of the whole poem is necessary to determine the question; and this necessity, too, has not always been attended to.

Method of studying the question of Homeric unity.

If it had happened that the Odyssey had been preserved to us alone, without the Iliad, I think the dispute respecting Homeric unity would never have been raised. For the former is, in my judgment, pervaded almost from beginning to end by marks of designed adaptation; and the special faults which Wolf, W.

Müller, and B. Thiersch,[1] have singled out for the purpose of disproving such unity of intention, are so few and of so little importance, that they would have been universally regarded as mere instances of haste or unskilfulness on the part of the poet, had they not been seconded by the far more powerful battery opened against the Iliad. These critics, having laid down their general presumptions against the antiquity of the long epopee, illustrate their principles by exposing the many flaws and fissures in the Iliad, and then think it sufficient if they can show a few similar defects in the Odyssey—as if the breaking up of Homeric unity in the former naturally entailed a similar necessity with regard to the latter; and their method of proceeding, contrary to the rule above laid down, puts the more difficult problem in the foreground, as a means of solution for the easier. We can hardly wonder, however, that they have applied their observations in the first instance to the Iliad, because it is in every man's esteem the more marked, striking and impressive poem of the two—and the character of Homer is more intimately identified with it than with the Odyssey. This may serve as an explanation of the course pursued; but be the case as it may in respect to comparative poetical merit, it is not the less true, that as an aggregate, the Odyssey is more simple and easily understood, and therefore ought to come first in the order of analysis

Odyssey to be studied first, as of more simple and intelligible structure than the Iliad.

Now, looking at the Odyssey by itself, the proofs of a unity of design seem unequivocal and everywhere to be found. A premeditated structure, and a concentration of interest upon one prime hero under well-defined circumstances, may be traced from the first book to the twenty-third. Odysseus is always either directly or indirectly kept before the reader, as a warrior returning from the fulness of glory at Troy, exposed to manifold and protracted calamities during his return home, on which his whole soul is so bent that he refuses even the immortality offered by Calypsô;—a victim, moreover, even after his return, to mingled injury and insult from the suitors, who have long been plundering his property and dishonouring his house; but at length obtaining, by

Odyssey—evidences of one design throughout its structure.

[1] Bernhard Thiersch, Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer (Halberstadt, 1832), Einleitung, p. 4—18

valour and cunning united, a signal revenge which restores him to all that he had lost. All the persons and all the events in the poem are subsidiary to this main plot: and the divine agency, necessary to satisfy the feeling of the Homeric man, is put forth by Poseidôn and Athênê, in both cases from dispositions directly bearing upon Odysseus. To appreciate the unity of the Odyssey, we have only to read the objections taken against that of the Iliad—especially in regard to the long withdrawal of Achilles, not only from the scene, but from the memory—together with the independent prominence of Ajax, Diomêdês and other heroes. How far we are entitled from hence to infer the want of premeditated unity in the Iliad, will be presently considered; but it is certain that the constitution of the Odyssey in this respect everywhere demonstrates the presence of such unity. Whatever may be the interest attached to Penelopê, Telemachus, or Eumæus, we never disconnect them from their association with Odysseus. The present is not the place for collecting the many marks of artistical structure dispersed throughout this poem: but it may be worth while to remark, that the final catastrophe realised in the twenty-second book—the slaughter of the suitors in the very house which they were profaning—is distinctly and prominently marked out in the first and second books, promised by Teiresias in the eleventh, by Athênê in the thirteenth, and by Helen in the fifteenth, and gradually matured by a series of suitable preliminaries, throughout the eight books preceding its occurrence.[1] Indeed what is principally evident, and what has been often noticed, in the Odyssey, is, the equable flow both of the narrative and the events; the absence of that rise and fall of interest which is sufficiently conspicuous in the Iliad.

Exhibits very few marks of incoherence or contradiction.

To set against these evidences of unity, there ought at least to be some strong cases produced of occasional incoherence or contradiction. But it is remarkable how little of such counter-evidence is to be found, although the arguments of Wolf, W. Müller, and B. Thiersch stand so much in need of it. They have discovered only one instance of undeniable inconsistency in the parts—the number of days occupied by the absence of Telemachus at Pylus and

[1] Compare i. 295; ii. 145 (*νήποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὄλοισθε*); xi. 118; xiii. 395; xv. 178; also xiv. 162.

Sparta. That young prince, though represented as in great haste to depart, and refusing pressing invitations to prolong his stay, must nevertheless be supposed to have continued for thirty days the guest of Menelaus, in order to bring his proceedings into chronological harmony with those of Odysseus, and to explain the first meeting of father and son in the swine-fold of Eumæus. Here is undoubtedly an inaccuracy (so Nitzsch[1] treats it, and I think justly) on the part of the poet, who did not anticipate, and did not experience in ancient times, so strict a scrutiny; an inaccuracy certainly not at all wonderful; the matter of real wonder is, that it stands almost alone, and that there are no others in the poem.

Chronological reckoning in the Odyssey in one case.

Now this is one of the main points on which W. Müller and B. Thiersch rest their theory—explaining the chronological confusion by supposing that the journey of Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta constituted the subject of an epic originally separate (comprising the first four books and a portion of the fifteenth), and incorporated at second-hand with the remaining poem. And they conceive this view to be farther confirmed by the double assembly of the gods (at the beginning of the first book as well as of the fifth), which they treat as an awkward repetition, such as could not have formed part of the primary scheme of any epic poet. But here they only escape a small difficulty by running into another and a greater. For it is impossible to comprehend how the first four books and part of the fifteenth can ever have constituted a distinct epic; since the adventures of Telemachus have no satisfactory termination, except at the point of confluence with those of his father, when the

Inference erroneously drawn from hence, that the parts of the poem were originally separate.

[1] Nitzsch, Plan und Gang der Odyssee, p. xliii., prefixed to the second vol. of his Commentary on the Odysseis.

"At carminum primi auditores non adeo curiosi erant (observes Mr. Payne Knight, Prolegg. c. xxiii.), ut ejusmodi rerum rationes aut exquirerent aut exponderent: neque eorum fides e subtilioribus congruentiis omnino pendebat. Monendi enim sunt etiam atque etiam Homericorum studiosi, veteres illos ἀοιδοὺς non linguâ professoriâ inter viros criticos et grammaticos, aut alioquoscunque argutiarum captatores, carmina cantitasse, sed inter eos qui sensibus animorum libere, incaute, et effuse indulgerent," &c. Chap. xxii.—xxvii. of Mr. Knight's Prolegomena are valuable to the same purpose, showing the "homines rudes et agrestes" of that day as excellent judges of what fell under their senses and observation, but careless, credulous, and unobservant of contradiction, in matters which came only under the mind's eye.

unexpected meeting and recognition takes place under the roof of Eumæus—nor can any epic poem ever have described that meeting and recognition without giving some account how Odysseus came thither. Moreover the first two books of the Odyssey distinctly lay the ground, and carry expectation forward, to the final catastrophe of the poem—treating Telemachus as a subordinate person, and his expedition as merely provisional towards an ulterior result. Nor can I agree with W. Müller, that the real Odyssey might well be supposed to begin with the fifth book. On the contrary, the exhibition of the suitors and the Ithakesian agora, presented to us in the second book, is absolutely essential to the full comprehension of the books subsequent to the thirteenth. The suitors are far too important personages in the poem to allow of their being first introduced in so informal a manner as we read in the sixteenth book: indeed the passing allusions of Athênê (xiii. 310, 375) and Eumæus (xiv. 41, 81) to the suitors, presuppose cognizance of them on the part of the hearer.

Lastly, the twofold discussion of the gods, at the beginning of the first and fifth books, and the double interference of Athênê, far from being a needless repetition, may be shown to suit perfectly both the genuine epical conditions and the unity of the poem.[1] For although the final consummation, and the organisation of measures against the suitors, was to be accomplished by Odysseus and Telemachus jointly, yet the march and adventures of the two, until the moment of their meeting in the dwelling of Eumæus, were essentially distinct. But according to the religious ideas of the old epic, the presiding direction of Athênê was necessary for the safety and success of both of them. Her first interference arouses and inspires the son, her second produces the liberation of the father—constituting a point of union and common origination for two lines of adventures in both of which she takes earnest interest, but which are necessarily for a time kept apart in order to coincide at the proper moment.

Double start and double stream of events, ultimately into confluence, in the Odyssey.

[1] W. Müller is not correct in saying that in the first assembly of the gods, Zeus promises something which he does not perform: Zeus does not *promise* to send Hermês as messenger to Kalypsô, in the first book, though Athênê urges him to do so. Zeus indeed requires to be urged twice before he dictates to Kalypsô the release of Odysseus, but he had

It will thus appear that the twice-repeated agora of the gods in the Odyssey, bringing home as it does to one and the same divine agent that double start which is essential to the scheme of the poem, consists better with the supposition of premeditated unity than with that of distinct self-existent parts. And assuredly the manner in which Telemachus and Odysseus, both by different roads, are brought into meeting and conjunction, at the dwelling of Eumæus, is something not only contrived, but very skilfully contrived. It is needless to advert to the highly interesting character of Eumæus, rendered available as a rallying point, though in different ways, both to the father and the son, over and above the sympathy which he himself inspires.

Skill displayed in this point by the poet.

If the Odyssey be not an original unity, of what self-existent parts can we *imagine* it to have consisted? To this question it is difficult to imagine a satisfactory reply: for the supposition that Telemachus and his adventures may once have formed the subject of a separate epos, apart from Odysseus, appears inconsistent with the whole character of that youth as it stands in the poem, and with the events in which he is made to take part. We could better imagine the distribution of the adventures of Odysseus himself into two parts—one containing his wanderings and return, the other handling his ill-treatment by the suitors and his final triumph. But though either of these two subjects might have been adequate to furnish out a separate poem, it is nevertheless certain, that as they are presented in the Odyssey, the former cannot be divorced from the latter. The simple return of Odysseus, as it now stands in the poem, could satisfy no one as a final close, so long as the suitors remain in possession of his house and forbid his reunion with his wife. Any poem which treated his wanderings and return separately, must have represented his reunion with Penelopê and restoration to his house as following naturally upon his arrival in Ithaka—thus taking little or no notice of the suitors. But this would be a capital mutilation of the actual epical narrative, which considers the suitors at home as an essential portion of the destiny of the much-suffering hero,

Difficulty of imagining the Odyssey broken up into many pre-existing poems or songs.

already intimated in the first book that he felt great difficulty in protecting the hero, because of the wrath manifested against him by Poseidôn.

not less than his shipwrecks and trials at sea. His return (separately taken) is foredoomed, according to the curse of Polyphemus executed by Poseidôn, to be long-deferred, miserable, solitary, and ending with destruction in his house to greet him;[1] and the ground is thus laid, in the very recital of his wanderings, for a new series of events which are to happen to him after his arrival in Ithaka. There is no tenable halting-place between the departure of Odysseus from Troy and the final restoration to his house and his wife. The distance between these two events may indeed be widened, by accumulating new distresses and impediments, but any separate portion of it cannot be otherwise treated than as a fraction of the whole. The beginning and end are here the data in respect to epical genesis, though the intermediate events admit of being conceived as variables, more or less numerous: so that the conception of the whole may be said without impropriety both to precede and to govern that of the constituent parts.

The general result of a study of the Odyssey may be set down as follows:—1. The poem as it now stands exhibits unequivocally adaptation of parts and continuity of structure, whether by one or by several consentient hands: it may perhaps be a secondary formation, out of a pre-existing Odyssey of smaller dimensions; but if so, the parts of the smaller whole must have been so far recast as to make them suitable members of the larger, and are noway recognisable by us. 2. The subject-matter of the poem not only does not favour, but goes far to exclude, the possibility of the Wolfian hypothesis. Its events cannot be so arranged as to have composed several antecedent substantive epics, afterwards put together into the present aggregate. Its authors cannot have been mere compilers of pre-existing materials, such as Peisistratus and his friends: they must have been poets, competent to work such matter as they found into a new and enlarged design of their own. Nor can the age in which this long poem, of so many thousand lines, was turned out as a continuous aggregate, be separated from the ancient, productive, inspired age of Grecian epic.

Structure of the Odyssey—essentially one—cannot have been pieced together out of pre-existing epics.

[1] Odyss. ix. 534.—

'Ὀψὲ κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἀπὸ πάντας ἑταίρους,
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης, εὗροι δ' ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ—

'Ως ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος (the Cyclops to Poseidôn): τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Κυανοχαίτης.

Arriving at such conclusions from the internal evidence of the Odyssey,[1] we can apply them by analogy to the Iliad. We learn something respecting the character and capacities of that early age which he left no other mementos except these two poems. Long continuous epics (it is observed by those who support the views of Wolf), with an artistical structure, are inconsistent with the capacities of a rude and non-writing age. Such epics (we may reply) are *not inconsistent* with the early age of the Greeks, and the Odyssey is a proof of it; for in that poem the integration of the whole, and the composition of the parts, must have been simultaneous. The analogy of the Odyssey enables us to rebut that preconception under which many ingenious critics sit down to the study of the Iliad, and which induces them to explain all the incoherences of the latter by breaking it up into smaller unities, as if short epics were the only manifestation of poetical power which the age admitted. There ought to be no reluctance in admitting a presiding scheme and premeditated unity of parts, in so far as the parts themselves point to such a conclusion.

Analogy of the Odyssey shows that long and premeditated epical composition consists with the capacities of the early Greek mind.

That the Iliad is not so essentially one piece as the Odyssey, every man agrees. It includes a much greater multiplicity of events, and, what is yet more important, a greater multiplicity of prominent personages: the very indefinite title which it bears, as contrasted with the speciality of the name *Odyssey*, marks the difference at once. The parts stand out more conspicuously from the whole, and admit more readily of being felt and appreciated in detached recitation. We may also add, that it is of more unequal execution than the Odyssey—often rising to a far higher pitch of grandeur, but also occasionally tamer: the story does not move on continuously; incidents occur without plausible motive, nor can we shut our eyes to evidences of incoherence and contradiction.

Iliad—much less coherent and uniform than the Odyssey.

[1] Wolf admits, in most unequivocal language, the compact and artful structure of the Odyssey. Against this positive internal evidence he sets the general presumption, that no such constructive art can possibly have belonged to a poet of the age of Homer:—"De Odysseâ maxime, cujus admirabilis summa et compages pro præclarissimo monumento Græci ingenii habenda est. . . . Unde fit ut Odysseam nemo, cui omnino priscus vates placeat, nisi perlectam e manu deponere queat. At illa ars id ipsum est, quod *vix ac ne vix quidem cadere* videtur in vatem, singulas tantum rhapsodias decantantem," &c. (Prolegomena, p. cxviii.—cxx.; compare cxxii.).

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To a certain extent, the Iliad is open to all these remarks, though Wolf and William Müller, and above all Lachmann, exaggerate the case in degree. And from hence has been deduced the hypothesis which treats the parts in their original state as separate integers, independent of and unconnected with each other, and forced into unity only by the afterthought of a subsequent age; or sometimes not even themselves as integers, but as aggregates grouped together out of fragments still smaller —short epics formed by the coalescence of still shorter songs. Now there is some plausibility in these reasonings, so long as the discrepancies are looked upon as the whole of the case. But in point of fact they are not the whole of the case: for it is not less true, that there are large portions of the Iliad which present positive and undeniable evidences of coherence as antecedent and consequent, though we are occasionally perplexed by inconsistencies of detail. To deal with these latter is a portion of the duties of a critic. But he is not to treat the Iliad as if inconsistency prevailed everywhere throughout its parts; for coherence of parts —symmetrical antecedence and consequence is discernible throughout the larger half of the poem.

Incoherence prevails only in parts of the poem—manifest coherence in other parts.

Now the Wolfian theory explains the gaps and contradictions throughout the narrative, but it explains nothing else. If (as Lachmann thinks) the Iliad originally consisted of sixteen songs or little substantive epics (Lachmann's sixteen songs cover the space only as far as the 22nd book or the death of Hectôr, and two more songs would have to be admitted for the 23rd and 24th books)—not only composed by different authors, but by each [1] without any view to conjunction with the rest—we have then no right to expect any intrinsic continuity between them; and all that continuity which we now find must be of extraneous origin. Where are we to look for the origin? Lachmann follows Wolf in ascrib-

Wolfian theory explains the former, but not the latter.

[1] Lachmann seems to admit one case in which the composer of one song manifests cognizance of another song, and a disposition to give what will form a sequel to it. His fifteenth song (the Patrokleia) lasts from xv. 592 down to the end of the 17th book: the sixteenth song (including the four next books, from 18 to 22 inclusive) is a continuation of the fifteenth, but by a different poet. (Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias, Abhandl. Berlin. Acad. 1841, sect. xxvi. xxviii. xxix. pp. 24, 34, 42.)

This admission of premeditated adaptation to a certain extent breaks up the integrity of the Wolfian hypothesis.

ing the whole constructive process to Peisistratus and his associates, at a period when the creative epical faculty is admitted to have died out. But upon this supposition Peisistratus (or his associates) must have done much more than omit, transpose, and interpolate, here and there; he must have gone far to rewrite the whole poem. A great poet might have recast pre-existing separate songs into one comprehensive whole, but no mere arrangers or compilers would be competent to do so: and we are thus left without any means of accounting for that degree of continuity and consistence which runs through so large a portion of the Iliad, though not through the whole. The idea that the poem as we read it grew out of atoms not originally designed for the places which they now occupy, involves us in new and inextricable difficulties when we seek to elucidate either the mode of coalescence or the degree of existing unity.[1]

Admitting then premeditated adaptation of parts to a certain extent as essential to the Iliad, we may yet inquire whether it was produced all at once or gradually enlarged—whether by one author or by several; and if the parts be of different age, which is the primitive kernel, and which are the additions.

Welcker, Lange, and Nitzsch[2] treat the Homeric poems as representing a second step in advance in the progress of popular poetry. First comes the age of short narrative songs; next, when these have become numerous, there arise constructive minds

[1] The advocates of the Wolfian theory appear to feel difficulties which beset it; for their language is wavering in respect to these supposed primary constituent atoms. Sometimes Lachmann tells us, that the original pieces were much finer poetry than the Iliad as we now read it; at another time, that it cannot be now discovered what they originally were: nay, he further admits (as remarked in the preceding note) that the poet of the sixteenth song had cognizance of the fifteenth.

But if it be granted that the original constituent songs were so composed, though by different poets, as that the more recent were adapted to the earlier, with more or less dexterity and success, this brings us into totally different conditions of the problem. It is a virtual surrender of the Wolfian hypothesis, which however Lachmann both means to defend, and does defend with ability; though his vindication of it has, to my mind, only the effect of exposing its inherent weakness by carrying it out into something detailed and positive. I will add, in respect to his Dissertations, so instructive as a microscopic examination of the poem, —1. That I find myself constantly dissenting from that critical feeling, on the strength of which he cuts out parts as interpolations, and discovers traces of the hand of distinct poets; 2. that his objections against the continuity of the narrative are often founded upon lines which the ancient scholiasts and Mr. Payne Knight had already pronounced to be interpolations; 3. that such of his objections as are founded upon lines undisputed, admit in many cases of a complete and satisfactory reply.

[2] Lange, in his letter to Goethe, Ueber die Einheit der Iliade, p. 33 (1826); Nitzsch, Historia Homeri, Fasciculus 2, Præfat. p. x.

who recast and blend together many of them into a larger aggregate conceived upon some scheme of their own. The age of the epos is followed by that of the epopee —short spontaneous effusions preparing the way, and furnishing materials, for the architectonic genius of the poet. It is farther presumed by the above-mentioned authors that the pre-Homeric epic included a great abundance of such smaller songs,—a fact which admits of no proof, but which seems countenanced by some passages in Homer, and is in itself noway improbable. But the transition from such songs, assuming them to be ever so numerous, to a combined and continuous poem, forms an epoch in the intellectual history of the nation, implying mental qualities of a higher order than those upon which the songs themselves depend. Nor is it to be imagined that the materials pass unaltered from their first state of isolation into their second state of combination. They must of necessity be recast, and undergo an adapting process, in which the genius of the organising poet consists; nor can we hope, by simply knowing them as they exist in the second stage, ever to divine how they stood in the first. Such, in my judgment, is the right conception of the Homeric epoch,—an organising poetical mind, still preserving that freshness of observation and vivacity of details which constitutes the charm of the ballad.

Theory of Welcker, Lange, and Nitzsch.—Age of the Epos preparatory to that of the Epopee.

Nothing is gained by studying the Iliad as a congeries of fragments once independent of each other: no portion of the poem can be shown to have ever been so, and the supposition introduces difficulties greater than those which it removes. But it is not necessary to affirm that the whole poem as we now read it belonged to the original and preconceived plan.[1] In this respect the Iliad produces upon my mind an im-

Iliad essentially an organised poem—but the original scheme does not comprehend the whole poem.

[1] Even Aristotle, the great builder-up of the celebrity of Homer as to epical aggregation, found some occasions (it appears) on which he was obliged to be content with simply excusing, without admiring, the poet (Poet. 44, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ ποιητὴς ἠδύνων ἀφανίζει τὸ ἄτοπον).

And Hermann observes justly, in his acute treatise De Interpolationibus Homeri (Opuscula, tom. v. p. 53),—"Nisi admirabilis illa Homericorum carminum suavitas lectorum animos quasi incantationibus quibusdam captos teneret, non tam facile delitesceret, quæ accuratius considerata, et multo minus apte quam quis jure postulet composita esse apparere necesse est".

This treatise contains many criticisms on the structure of the Iliad, some of them very well founded, though there are many from which I dissent.

pression totally different from the Odyssey. In the latter poem, the characters and incidents are fewer, and the whole plot appears of one projection, from the beginning to the death of the suitors: none of the parts look as if they had been composed separately and inserted by way of addition into a pre-existing smaller poem. But the Iliad, on the contrary, presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow and subsequently enlarged by successive additions. The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second inclusive, seem to form the primary organisation of the poem, then properly an Achillêis: the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books are, perhaps, additions at the tail of this primitive poem, which still leave it nothing more than an enlarged Achillêis. But the books from the second to the seventh inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem from an Achillêis into an Iliad.[1] The primitive frontispiece, inscribed with the anger of Achilles and its direct consequences, yet remains after it has ceased to be coextensive with the poem. The parts added, however, are not necessarily inferior in merit to the original poem: so far is this from being the case, that amongst them are comprehended some of the noblest efforts of the Grecian epic. Nor are they more recent in date than the original; strictly speaking, they must be a little more recent, but they belong to the same generation and state of society as the primitive Achillêis. These qualifications are necessary to keep apart different questions which, in discussions of Homeric criticism, are but too often confounded.

Iliad originally an Achillêis built upon a narrower plan, then enlarged.

If we take those portions of the poem which I imagine to have constituted the original Achillêis, it will be found that the sequence of events contained in them is more rapid, more unbroken, and more intimately knit together in the way of cause and effect, than in the other books. Heyne and Lachmann indeed, with other objecting critics, complain of the action in them as being too much crowded and hurried, since one day lasts

[1] In reference to the books from the second to the seventh inclusive, I agree with the observations of William Müller, Homerische Vorschule, Abschnitt. viii. p. 116—118.

from the beginning of the eleventh book to the middle of the eighteenth, without any sensible halt in the march throughout so large a portion of the journey. Lachmann likewise admits that those separate songs, into which he imagines that the whole Iliad may be dissected, cannot be severed with the same sharpness, in the books subsequent to the eleventh, as in those before it.[1]

Parts which constitute the primitive Achillêis exhibit a coherent sequence of events.

There is only one real halting-place from the eleventh book to the twenty-second—the death of Patroclus; and this can never be conceived as the end of a separate poem,[2] though it is a capital step in the development of the Achillêis, and brings about that entire revolution in the temper of Achilles which was essential for the purpose of the poet. It would be a mistake to imagine that there could ever have existed a separate poem called Patrocleia, though a part of the Iliad was designated by that name. For Patroclus has no substantive position; he is the attached friend and second of Achilles, but nothing else,—standing to the latter in a relation of dependence resembling that of Telemachus to Odysseus. And the way in which Patroclus is dealt with in the Iliad is (in my judgment) the most dexterous and artistical contrivance in the poem—that which approaches nearest to the neat tissue of the Odyssey.[3]

[1] Lachmann, Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias, Abhandlungen Berlin. Acad. 141, p. 4.

After having pointed out certain discrepancies which he maintains to prove different composing hands, he adds,—"Nevertheless, we must be careful not to regard the single constituent songs in this part of the poem as being distinct and separable in a degree equal to those in the first half; for they all with one accord harmonise in one particular circumstance, which with reference to the story of the Iliad is not less important even than the anger of Achilles, viz. that the three most distinguished heroes, Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, all become disabled throughout the whole duration of the battles".

Important for the story of the *Achillêis*, I should say, not for that of the *Iliad*. This remark of Lachmann is highly illustrative for the distinction between the original and the enlarged poem.

[2] I confess my astonishment that a man of so much genius and power of thought as M. Benjamin Constant, should have imagined the original Iliad to have concluded with the death of Patroclus, on the ground that Achilles then becomes reconciled with Agamemnôn. See the review of B. Constant's work, De la Religion, &c., by O. Müller, in the Kleine Schriften of the latter, vol. ii. p. 74.

[3] He appears as the mediator between the insulted Achilles and the Greeks, manifesting kindly sympathies for the latter without renouncing his fidelity to the former. The wounded Machaôn, an object of interest to the whole camp, being carried off the field by Nestôr—Achilles, looking on from his distant ship, sends Patroclus to inquire whether it be really Machaôn; which enables Nestor to lay before Patroclus the deplorable state of the Grecian host, as a motive to induce him and Achilles again to take arms. The compassionate feelings of Patroclus being powerfully touched, he is hastening to enforce upon Achilles the urgent

The great and capital misfortune which prostrates the strength of the Greeks and renders them incapable of defending themselves without Achilles, is the disablement by wounds of Agamemnôn, Diomêdês, and Odysseus: so that the defence of the wall and of the ships is left only to heroes of the second magnitude (Ajax alone excepted), such as Idomeneus, Leonteus, Polypœtês, Merionês, Menelaus, &c. Now it is remarkable that all these three first-rate chiefs are in full force at the beginning of the eleventh book: all three are wounded in the battle which that book describes, and at the commencement of which Agamemnôn is full of spirits and courage.

Disablement of Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, all in the battle of the eleventh book.

Nothing can be more striking than the manner in which Homer concentrates our attention in the first book upon Achilles as the hero, his quarrel with Agamemnôn, and the calamities to the Greeks which are held out as about to ensue from it, through the intercession of Thetis with Zeus. But the incidents dwelt upon from the beginning of the second book down to the combat between Hectôr and Ajax in the seventh, animated and interesting as they are, do nothing to realise this promise. They are a splendid picture of the Trojan war generally, and eminently suitable to that larger title under which the poem has been immortalised—but the consequences of the anger of Achilles do not appear until the eighth book. The tenth book, or Doloneia, is also a portion of the Iliad, but not of the Achillêis; while the ninth book appears to me a subsequent addition, nowise harmonising with that main stream

The first book concentrates attention upon Achilles, and upon the distress which the Greeks are to incur in consequence of the injury done to him.—Nothing done to realise this expectation until the eighth book.

necessity of giving help, when he meets Eurypylus crawling out of the field, helpless with a severe wound, and imploring his succour. He supports the wounded warrior to his tent, and ministers to his suffering; but before this operation is fully completed, the Grecian host has been totally driven back, and the Trojans are on the point of setting fire to the ships: Patroclus then hurries to Achilles to proclaim the desperate peril which hangs over them all, and succeeds in obtaining his permission to take the field at the head of the Myrmidons. The way in which Patroclus is kept present to the hearer, as a prelude to his brilliant but short-lived display when he comes forth in arms,—the contrast between his characteristic gentleness and the ferocity of Achilles,—and the natural train of circumstances whereby he is made the vehicle of reconciliation on the part of his offended friend, and rescue to his imperilled countrymen,—all these exhibit a degree of epical skill, in the author of the primitive Achillêis, to which nothing is found parallel in the added books of the Iliad.

of the Achillêis which flows from the eleventh book to the twenty-second. The eighth book ought to be read in immediate connexion with the eleventh, in order to see the structure of what seems the primitive Achillêis; for there are several passages in the eleventh and the following books,[1] which prove that the poet who composed

Primitive Achillêis includes books i. viii. xi. to xxii.

[1] Observe, for example, the following passages:—

1. Achilles, standing on the prow of his ship, sees the general army of Greeks undergoing defeat by the Trojans, and also sees Nestôr conveying in his chariot a wounded warrior from the field. He sends Patroclus to find out who the wounded man is: in calling forth Patroclus, he says (xi. 607),—

Δῖε Μενοιτιάδη, τῷ 'μῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,
Νῦν οἷῳ περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι 'Αχαιοὺς
Δισσομένους· χρείω γὰρ ἱκάνεται οὔκετ' ἀνεκτός.

Heyne, in his comment, asks the question, not unnaturally, "Pœnituerat igitur asperitatis erga priorem legationem, an homo arrogans expectaverat alteram ad se missam iri?" I answer—neither one nor the other: the words imply that he had received *no embassy* at all. He is still the same Achilles who in the first book paced alone by the sea-shore, devouring his own soul under a sense of bitter affront, and praying to Thetis to aid his revenge: this revenge is now about to be realised, and he hails its approach with delight. But if we admit the embassy of the ninth book to intervene, the passage becomes a glaring inconsistency: for that which Achilles anticipates as future, and even yet as contingent, *had actually occurred* on the previous evening; the Greeks *had* supplicated at his feet,—they *had proclaimed* their intolerable need,—and he had spurned them. The Scholiast, in his explanation of these lines, after giving the plain meaning, that "Achilles shows what he has long been desiring, to see the Greeks in a state of supplication to him"—seems to recollect that this is in contradiction to the ninth book, and tries to remove the contradiction by saying "that he had been previously mollified by conversation with Phœnix"—ἤδη δὲ προμαλαχθεὶς ἦν ἐκ τῶν Φοίνικος λόγων—a supposition neither countenanced by any thing in the poet, nor sufficient to remove the difficulty.

2. The speech of Poseidôn (xiii. 115) to encourage the dispirited Grecian heroes, in which, after having admitted the injury done to Achilles by Agamemnôn, he recommends an effort to heal the sore, and intimates "that the minds of good men admit of this healing process" (Ἀλλ' ἀκεώμεθα θᾶσσον· ἀκέσται τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν), is certainly not very consistent with the supposition that this attempt to heal *had been made* in the best possible way, and that Achilles had manifested a mind implacable in the extreme on the evening before—while the mind of Agamemnôn was already brought to proclaimed humiliation and needed no farther healing.

3. And what shall we say to the language of Achilles and Patroclus at the beginning of the sixteenth book, just at the moment when the danger has reached its maximum, and when Achilles is about to send forth his friend?

Neither Nestôr, when he invokes and instructs Patroclus as intercessor with Achilles (xi. 654—790), nor Patroclus himself, though in the extreme of anxiety to work upon the mind of Achilles, and reproaching him with hardness of heart—ever bring to remembrance the ample atonement which had been tendered to him; while Achilles himself repeats the original ground of quarrel, the wrong offered to him in taking away Briseis, continuing the language of the first book: then without the least allusion to the atonement and restitution since tendered, he yields to his friend's proposition just like a man whose wrong remained unredressed, but who was nevertheless forced to take arms by necessity (xvi. 52—63):—

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν, οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν
Ἀσπερχὲς κεχολῶσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσίν· ἦτοι ἔφην γε

them could not have had present to his mind the main event of the ninth book,—the outpouring of profound humiliation by the Greeks, and from Agamemnôn especially, before Achilles, coupled with formal offers to restore Brisêis and pay the amplest compen-

Οὐ πρὶν μηνιθμὸν καταπαύσεμεν, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν δὴ
Νῆας ἐμὰς ἀφίκηται ἀϋτή τε πτόλεμός τε.

I agree with the Scholiast and Heyne in interpreting ἐφην γε as equivalent to διενοήθην—not as referring to any express antecedent declaration.

Again, further on in the same speech, "The Trojans (Achilles says) now press boldly forward upon the ships, for they no longer see the blaze of my helmet: but if Agamemnôn *were favourably disposed towards me*, they would presently run away and fill the ditches with their dead bodies" (71):—

. . . . τάχα κεν φεύγοντες ἐναύλους
Πλήσειαν νεκύων, εἴ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἤπια εἰδείη· νῦν δὲ στράτον ἀμφιμάχονται.

Now here again, if we take our start from the first book, omitting the ninth, the sentiment is perfectly just. But assume the ninth book, and it becomes false and misplaced; for Agamemnôn is then a prostrate and repentant man, not merely "favourably disposed" towards Achilles, but offering to pay any price for the purpose of appeasing him.

4. Again, a few lines further, in the same speech, Achilles permits Patroclus to go forth, in consideration of the extreme peril of the fleet, but restricts him simply to avert this peril and do nothing more: "Obey my words, so that you may procure *for me honour* and glory from *the body of Greeks*, and that they may send back to me the damsel, giving me ample presents besides: when you have driven the Trojans from the ships, come back again":—

Ὡς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο
Πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν· ἀτὰρ οἱ περικαλλέα κούρην
Ἄψ ἀπονάσσωσι, προρὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόρωσιν·
Ἐκ νηῶν ἐλάσας, ἰέναι πάλιν (84-87).

How are we to reconcile this with the ninth book, where Achilles declares that he does not care for being honoured by the Greeks, ix. 604? In the mouth of the affronted Achilles of the first book such words are apt enough: he will grant succour, but only to the extent necessary for the emergency, and in such a way as to ensure redress for his own wrong,—which redress he has no reason as yet to conclude that Agamemnôn *is* willing to grant. But the ninth book *has actually* tendered to him everything which he here demands and even more (the daughter of Agamemnôn in marriage, without the price usually paid for a bride, &c.): Brisêis, whom now he is so anxious to re-possess, was then offered in restitution, and he disdained the offer. Mr. Knight in fact strikes out these lines as spurious; partly because they contradict the ninth book, where Achilles has actually rejected what he here thirsts for ("Dona cum puellâ jam antea oblata aspernatus erat")—partly because he thinks that they express a sentiment unworthy of Achilles; in which latter criticism I do not concur.

5. We proceed a little farther to the address of Patroclus to the Myrmidons, as he is conducting them forth to the battle: "Fight bravely, Myrmidons, that we may bring honour to Achilles; and that the wide-ruling Agamemnôn may know the mad folly which he committed, when he dishonoured the bravest of the Greeks".

To impress this knowledge upon Agamemnôn was no longer necessary. The ninth book records his humiliating confession of it, accompanied by atonement and reparation. To teach him the lesson a second time is to break the bruised reed,—to slay the slain. But leave out the ninth book, and the motive is the natural one,—both for Patroclus to offer, and for the Myrmidons to obey: Achilles still remains a dishonoured man, and to humble the rival who has dishonoured him is the first of all objects, as well with his friends as with himself.

6. Lastly, the time comes when Achilles, in deep anguish for the death of Patroclus, looks back with aversion and repentance to the past. To what point should we expect that his repentance would naturally turn? Not to

sation for past wrong. The words of Achilles (not less than those of Patroclus and Nestôr) in the eleventh and in the following books, plainly imply that the humiliation of the Greeks before him, for which he thirsts, is as yet future and contingent; that

his primary quarrel with Agamemnôn, in which he had been undeniably wronged—but to the scene in the ninth book, where the maximum of atonement for the previous wrong is tendered to him and *scornfully* rejected. Yet when we turn to xviii. 108, and xix. 65, 68, 270, we find him reverting to the primitive quarrel in the first book, just as if it had been the last incident in his relations with Agamemnôn: moreover Agamemnôn (xix. 86), in *his* speech of reconciliation, treats the past just in the same way,—deplores his original insanity in wronging Achilles.

7. When we look to the prayers of Achilles and Thetis, addressed to Zeus in the first book, we find that the consummation prayed for is,—honour to Achilles,—redress for the wrong offered to him,—victory to the Trojans until Agamemnôn and the Greeks shall be made bitterly sensible of the wrong which they have done to their bravest warrior (i. 409—509). Now this consummation is brought about in the ninth book. Achilles can get no more, nor does he ultimately get more, either in the way of redress to himself or remorseful humiliation of Agamemnôn, than what is here tendered. The defeat which the Greeks suffer in the battle of the eighth book (Κόλος Μάχη) has brought about the consummation. The subsequent and much more destructive defeats which they undergo are thus causeless: yet Zeus is represented as inflicting them reluctantly, and only because they are necessary to honour Achilles (xiii. 350; xv. 75, 235, 598; compare also viii. 372 and 475).

If we reflect upon the constitution of the poem, we shall see that the fundamental sequence of events in it is, a series of misfortunes to the Greeks, brought on by Zeus for the special purpose of procuring atonement to Achilles and bringing humiliation on Agamemnôn: the introduction of Patroclus superadds new motives of the utmost interest, but it is most harmoniously worked into the fundamental sequence. Now the intrusion of the ninth book breaks up the scheme of the poem by disuniting this sequence: Agamemnôn is on his knees before Achilles, entreating pardon and proffering reparation, yet the calamities of the Greeks become more and more dreadful. The atonement of the ninth book comes at the wrong time and in the wrong manner.

There are four passages (and only four, so far as I am aware) in which the embassy of the ninth book is alluded to in the subsequent books; one in xviii. 444—456, which was expunged as spurious by Aristarchus (see the Scholia and Knight's commentary *ad loc.*); and three others in the following book, wherein the gifts previously tendered by Odysseus as the envoy of Agamemnôn are noticed as identical with the gifts actually given in the nineteenth book. I feel persuaded that these passages (vv. 140—141, 192—195, and 243) are specially inserted for the purpose of establishing a connexion between the ninth book and the nineteenth. The four lines (192—195) are decidedly better away: the first two lines (140—141) are noway necessary; while the word χθιζός (which occurs in both passages) is only rendered admissible by being stretched to mean *nudius tertius* (Heyne *ad loc.*).

I will only further remark with respect to the ninth book, that the speech of Agamemnôn (17—28), the theme for the rebuke of Diomêdês and the obscure commonplace of Nestôr, is taken verbatim from his speech in the second book, in which place the proposition, of leaving the place and flying, is made, not seriously, but as a stratagem (ii. 110, 118, 140).

The length of this note can only be excused by its direct bearing upon the structure of the Iliad. To show that the books from the eleventh downwards are composed by a poet who has no knowledge of the ninth book, is, in my judgment, a very important point of evidence in aiding us to understand what the original Achilléis was. The books from the second to the seventh inclusive are insertions into Achilléis and lie apart from its plot, but do not violently contradict it, except in regard to the agora of the gods at the beginning of the fourth

no plenary apology has yet been tendered, nor any offer made of restoring Brisêis; while both Nestôr and Patroclus, with all their wish to induce him to take arms, never take notice of the offered atonement and restitution, but view him as one whose ground for quarrel stands still the same as it did at the beginning. Moreover, if we look at the first book—the opening of the Achillêis—we shall see that this prostration of Agamemnôn and the chief Grecian heroes before Achilles would really be the termination of the whole poem; for Achilles asks nothing more from Thetis, nor Thetis anything more from Zeus, than that Agamemnôn and the Greeks may be brought to know the wrong that they have done to their capital warrior, and humbled in the dust in expiation of it. We may add, that the abject terror, in which Agamemnôn appears in the ninth book when he sends the supplicatory message to Achilles, as it is not adequately accounted for by the degree of calamity which the Greeks have experienced in the preceding (eighth) book, so it is inconsistent with the gallantry and high spirit with which he shines at the beginning of the eleventh.[1] The situation of the Greeks only becomes desperate when the three great chiefs, Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, are disabled by wounds;[2] this is the irreparable calamity which works upon Patroclus, and through him upon Achilles. The ninth book as it now stands seems to me an addition, by a different hand, to the original Achillêis, framed so as both to forestall and to spoil the nineteenth book, which is the real reconciliation of the two inimical heroes: I will venture to add that it carries the pride and egotism of Achilles beyond even the largest exigencies of insulted honour, and is shocking to that sentiment of Nemesis which was so deeply seated in the Grecian mind. We *forgive* any excess of fury against the Trojans and Hectôr, after the death

Ninth book an unsuitable addition.

book, and the almost mortal wound of Sarpêdôn in his battle with Tlepolemus. But the ninth book overthrows the fundamental scheme of the poem.

[1] Helbig (Sittl. Zustände des Heldenalters, p. 30) says, "The consciousness in the bosom of Agamemnôn that he has offered atonement to Achilles strengthens his confidence and valour," &c. This is the idea of the critic, not of the poet. It does not occur in the Iliad, though the critic not unnaturally imagines that it *must* occur. Agamemnôn never says—"I was wrong in provoking Achilles, but you see I have done everything which man could do to beg his pardon". Assuming the ninth book to be a part of the original conception, this feeling is so natural, that we could hardly fail to find it at the beginning of the eleventh book, numbered among the motives of Agamemnôn.

[2] Iliad. xi. 659; xiv. 128; xvi. 25.

of Patroclus; but that he should remain unmoved by restitution, by abject supplications, and by the richest atoning presents, tendered from the Greeks, indicates an implacability such as neither the first book, nor the books between the eleventh and the seventeenth, convey.[1]

Transition from the Achillêis into the Iliad in the beginning of the second book.

It is with the Grecian agora in the beginning of the second book that the Iliad (as distinguished from the Achillêis) commences,—continued through the Catalogue, the muster of the two armies, the single combat between Menelaus and Paris, the renewed promiscuous battle caused by the arrow of Pandarus, the (Epipôlêsis or) personal circuit of Agamemnôn round the army, the Aristeia or brilliant exploits of Diomêdês, the visit of Hectôr to Troy for purposes of sacrifice, his interview with Andromachê, and his combat with Ajax—down to the seventh book. All these are beautiful poetry, presenting to us the general Trojan war and its conspicuous individuals under different points of view, but leaving no room in the reader's mind for the thought of Achilles. Now the difficulty for an enlarging poet was, to pass from the Achillêis in the first book to the Iliad in the second, and it will accordingly be found that here is an awkwardness in the structure of the poem which counsel on the poet's behalf (ancient or modern) do not satisfactorily explain.

In the first book, Zeus has promised Thetis that he will punish the Greeks for the wrong done to Achilles: in the beginning of the second book, he deliberates how he shall fulfil the promise, and sends down for that purpose "mischievous Oneirus" (the Dream-God) to visit Agamemnôn in his sleep, to assure him that the gods have now with one accord consented to put Troy into his hands, and to exhort him forthwith to the assembling of his army for the attack. The ancient commentators were here perplexed by the circumstance that Zeus puts a falsehood into the mouth of Oneirus. But there seems no more difficulty in explaining this than in the narrative of the book of 1 Kings (chap. xxii. 20), where

[1] In respect to the ninth book of the Iliad, Friedlander (Die Homerische Kritik von Wolf bis Grote, p. 37) cites a passage from Kaiser (De Interpretatione Homericâ, p. 11) to the following effect—"Nonum librum a sextodecimo deo discrepare in gravissimis rebus quæ pro cardine totius Iliadis habentur, ut unius poetæ Πρεσβεία et Πατροκλεία esse nequeant. Recentior autem, ni magnopere fallor, Πρεσβεία." He also alludes to a similar expression of opinion by Nägelsbach in the Münchner Gelehrten Anzeigen, 1842, p. 814.

Jehovah is mentioned to have put a lying spirit into the mouth of Ahab's prophets—the real awkwardness is, that Oneirus and his falsehood produce no effect. For in the first place Agamemnôn takes a step very different from that which his dream recommends —and in the next place, when the Grecian army is at length armed and goes forth to battle, it does not experience defeat (which would be the case if the exhortation of Oneirus really proved mischievous), but carries on a successful day's battle, chiefly through the heroism of Diomêdês. Instead of arming the Greeks forthwith, Agamemnôn convokes first a council of chiefs, and next an agora of the host. And though himself in a temper of mind highly elate with the deceitful assurances of Oneirus, he deliberately assumes the language of despair in addressing the troops, having previously prepared Nestôr and Odysseus for his doing so—merely in order to try the courage of the men, and with formal instructions given to these two other chiefs that they are to speak in opposition to him. Now this intervention of Zeus and Oneirus, eminently unsatisfactory when coupled with the incidents which now follow it and making Zeus appear, but only appear, to realise his promise of honouring Achilles as well as of hurting the Greeks,—forms exactly the point of junction between the Achillêis and the Iliad.[1]

The freak which Agamemnôn plays off upon the temper of his army, though in itself childish, serves a sufficient purpose, not only because it provides a special matter of interest to be submitted to the Greeks, but also because it calls forth the splendid description, so teeming with vivacious detail, of the sudden breaking up of the assembly after Agamemnôn's harangue, and of the decisive interference of Odysseus to bring the men back, as well as to put down Thersitês. This picture of the Greeks in agora, bringing out the two chief speaking and counselling heroes, was so important a part of the general Trojan war, that the poet has permitted himself to introduce it by assuming an inexplicable folly on the part of Agamemnôn; just as he has ushered in another fine scene in the third book—the Teichoskopy

[1] The intervention of Oneirus ought rather to come as an immediate preliminary to book viii. than to book ii. The first forty-seven lines of book ii. would fit on and read consistently at the beginning of book viii., the events of which book form a proper sequel to the mission of Oneirus.

or conversation between Priam and Helen on the walls of Troy—by admitting the supposition that the old king in the tenth year of the war did not know the persons of Agamemnôn and the other Grecian chiefs. This may serve as an explanation of the delusion practised by Agamemnôn towards his assembled host; but it does not at all explain the tame and empty intervention of Oneirus.[1]

Transition from the Iliad back into the Achillêis at the end of the seventh book.

If the initial incident of the second book, whereby we pass out of the Achillêis into the Iliad, is awkward, so also the final incident of the seventh book, immediately before we come back into the Achillêis, is not less unsatisfactory—I mean the construction of the wall and ditch round the Greek camp. As the poem now stands, no plausible reason is assigned why this should be done. Nestôr proposes it without any constraining necessity: for the Greeks are in a career of victory, and the Trojans are making offers of compromise which imply conscious weakness—while Diomêdês is so confident of the approaching ruin of Troy, that he dissuades his comrades from receiving even Helen herself if the surrender should be tendered. "Many Greeks have been slain," it is true,[2] as Nestôr observes; but an equal or greater number of Trojans have been slain, and all the Grecian heroes are yet in full force: the absence of Achilles is not even adverted to.

Now this account of the building of the fortification seems to

[1] O. Müller (History of Greek Literature, ch. v. § 8) doubts whether the beginning of the second book was written "by the ancient Homer, or by one of the latter Homêrids": he thinks the speech of Agamemnôn, wherein he plays off the deceit upon his army, is "a copious parody (of the same words used in the ninth book) composed by a later Homêrid, and inserted in the room of an originally shorter account of the arming of the Greeks". He treats the scene in the Grecian agora as "an entire mythical comedy, full of fine irony and with an amusing plot, in which the deceiving and deceived Agamemnôn is the chief character".

The comic or ironical character which is here ascribed to the second book appears to me fanciful and incorrect; but Müller evidently felt the awkwardness of the opening incident, though his way of accounting for it is not successful. The second book seems to my judgment just as serious as any part of the poem.

I think also that the words alluded to by O. Müller in the ninth book are a transcript of those in the second, instead of the reverse, as he believes—because it seems probable that the ninth book is an addition made to the poem after the books between the first and the eighth had been already inserted—it is certainly introduced after the account of the fortification, contained in the seventh book, had become a part of the poem: see ix. 349. The author of the Embassy to Achilles fancied that that hero had been too long out of sight and out of mind,—a supposition for which there was no room in the original Achillêis; when the eighth and eleventh books followed in immediate succession to the first, but which offers itself naturally to any one on reading our present Iliad.

[2] Iliad, vii. 327.

be an after-thought, arising out of the enlargement of the poem beyond its original scheme. The original Achillêis, passing at once from the first to the eighth,[1] and from thence to the eleventh book, migh: well assume the fortification—and talk of it as a thing existing, without adducing any special reason why it was erected. The hearer would naturally comprehend and follow the existence of a ditch and wall round the ships, as a matter of course, provided there was nothing in the previous narrative to make him believe that the Greeks had originally been without these bulwarks. And since the Achillêis, immediately after the promise of Zeus to Thetis at the close of the first book, went on to describe the fulfilment of that promise and the ensuing disasters of the Greeks, there was nothing to surprise any one in hearing that their camp was fortified. But the case was altered when the first and the eighth books were parted asunder in order to make room for descriptions of temporary success and glory on the part of the besieging army. The brilliant scenes sketched in the books from the second to the seventh, mention no fortification, and even imply its non-existence; yet since notice of it occurs amidst the first description of Grecian disasters in the eighth book, the hearer who had the earlier books present to his memory might be surprised to find a fortification mentioned immediately afterwards, unless the construction of it were specially announced to have intervened. But it will at once appear, that there was some difficulty in finding a good reason why the Greeks should begin to fortify at this juncture, and that the poet who discovered the gap might not be enabled to fill it up with success. As the Greeks have got on up to this moment without the wall, and as we have heard nothing but tales of their

Fortification of the Grecian camp.

[1] Heyne treats the eighth book as decidedly a separate song or epic; a supposition which the language of Zeus and the agora of the gods at the beginning are alone sufficient to refute, in my judgment (Excursus I. ad lib. xi. vol. vi. p. 269). This Excursus, in describing the sequence of events in the Iliad, passes at once and naturally from book viii. to book xi.

And Mr. Payne Knight, when he defends book xi. against Heyne, says, "Quæ in undecimâ rhapsodiâ Iliadis narrata sunt, haud minus ex ante narratis pendent: neque rationem pugnæ commissæ, neque rerum in eâ gestarum nexum atque ordinem, quisquam intelligere posset, nisi *iram et secessum* Achillis et *victoriam* quam Trojani inde consecuti erant, antea cognosset". (Prolegom. c. xxix.)

Perfectly true: to understand the eleventh book, we must have before us the first and the eighth (which are those that describe the anger and withdrawal of Achilles, and the defeat which the Greeks experience in consequence of it); we may dispense with the rest.

success, why should they now think farther laborious precautions for security necessary? We will not ask, why the Trojans should stand quietly by and permit a wall to be built, since the truce was concluded expressly for burying the dead.[1]

The tenth book (or Doloneia) was considered by some of the ancient scholiasts,[2] and has been confidently set forth by the modern Wolfian critics, as originally a separate poem, inserted by Peisistratus into the Iliad. How it can ever have been a separate poem, I do not understand. It is framed with great specialty for the antecedent circumstances under which it occurs, and would suit for no other place; though capable of being separately recited, inasmuch as it has a definite beginning and end, like the story of Nisus and Euryalus in the Æneid. But while distinctly presupposing and resting upon the incidents in the eighth book, and in line 88 of the ninth (probably, the appoint-

[1] O. Müller (Hist. Greek Literat. ch. v. § 6) says about this wall,—"Nor is it until the Greeks are *taught by the experience of the first day's fighting*, that the Trojans *can* resist them in open battle, that the Greeks build the wall round their ships . . . . This appeared to Thucydidês so little conformable to historical probability, that without regard to the authority of Homer, he placed the building of these walls immediately after the landing."

It is to be lamented, I think, that Thucydidês took upon him to determine the point at all as a matter of history; but when he once undertook this, the account in the Iliad was not of a nature to give him much satisfaction, nor does the reason assigned by Müller make it better. It is implied in Müller's reason that before the first day's attle the Greeks did not believe that the Trojans *could* resist them in open battle: the Trojans (according to him) never had maintained the field so long as Achilles was up and fighting on the Grecian side, and therefore the Greeks were quite astonished to find now, for the first time, that they *could* do so.

Now nothing can be more at variance with the tenor of the second and following books than this supposition. The Trojans come forth readily and fight gallantly: neither Agamemnôn, nor Nestôr, nor Odysseus consider them as enemies who cannot hold front; and the circuit of exhortation by Agamemnôn (Epipôlêsis), so strikingly described in the fourth book, proves that *he* does not anticipate a very easy victory. Nor does Nestôr, in proposing the construction of the wall, give the smallest hint that the power of the Trojans to resist in the open field was to the Greeks an unexpected discovery.

The reason assigned by Müller, then, is a fancy of his own, proceeding from the same source of mistake as others among his remarks; because he tries to find, in the books between the first and eighth, a governing reference to Achilles (the point of view of the Achillêis), which those books distinctly refuse. The Achillêis was a poem of Grecian disasters up to the time when Achilles sent forth Patroclus: and during those disasters, it might suit the poet to refer by contrast to the past time when Achilles was active, and to say that *then* the Trojans did not dare even to present themselves in battle array in the field, whereas *now* they were assailing the ships. But the author of books ii. to vii. has no wish to glorify Achilles; he gives us a picture of the Trojan war generally, and describes the Trojans not only as brave and equal enemies, but well known by the Greeks themselves to be so.

The building of the Grecian wall, as it now stands described, is an unexplained proceeding which Müller's ingenuity does not render consistent.

[2] Schol. ad Iliad. x. i.

ment of sentinels on the part of the Greeks as well as of the Trojans formed the close of the battle described in the eighth book), it has not the slightest bearing upon the events of the eleventh or the following books: it goes to make up the general picture of the Trojan war, but lies quite apart from the Achillêis. And this is one mark of a portion subsequently inserted—that though fitted on to the parts which precede, it has no influence on those which follow.

Zeus in the fourth book, or Iliad, different from Zeus in the first and eighth, or Achillêis.

If the proceedings of the combatants on the plain of Troy, between the first and the eighth book, have no reference either to Achilles or to an Achillêis, we find Zeus in Olympus still more completely putting that hero out of the question, at the beginning of the fourth book. He is in this last-mentioned passage the Zeus of the Iliad, not of the Achillêis. Forgetful of his promise to Thetis in the first book he discusses nothing but the question of continuance or termination of the war, and manifests anxiety only for the salvation of Troy, in opposition to the miso-Trojan goddesses, who prevent him from giving effect to the victory of Menelaus over Paris and the stipulated restitution of Helen—in which case of course the wrong offered to Achilles would remain unexpiated. An attentive comparison will render it evident that the poet who composed the discussion among the gods, at the beginning of the fourth book, has not been careful to put himself in harmony either with the Zeus of the first book or with the Zeus of the eighth.

Continuous Achillêis—from the eleventh book onward.

So soon as we enter upon the eleventh book, the march of the poem becomes quite different. We are then in a series of events, each paving the way for that which follows, and all conducing to the result promised in the first book—the reappearance of Achilles, as the only means of saving the Greeks from ruin—preceded by ample atonement,[1] and followed by the maximum both of glory and revenge. The intermediate career of Patroclus introduces new elements, which however are admirably woven into the scheme of the poem as disclosed in the first book. I shall not deny that

[1] Agamemnôn, after deploring the misguiding influence of Atê, which induced him to do the original wrong to Achilles, says (xix. 88—137),—

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην καί μευ φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς,
Ἄψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι, δόμεναί τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, &c.

there are perplexities in the detail of events, as described in the battles at the Grecian wall and before the ships, from the eleventh to the sixteenth books, but they appear only cases of partial confusion, such as may be reasonably ascribed to imperfections of text: the main sequence remains coherent and intelligible. We find no considerable events which could be left out without breaking the thread, nor any incongruity between one considerable event and another. There is nothing between the eleventh and twenty-second books which is at all comparable to the incongruity between the Zeus of the fourth book and the Zeus of the first and eighth. It may perhaps be true that the shield of Achilles is a superadded amplification of that which was originally announced in general terms—because the poet, from the eleventh to the twenty-second books, has observed such good economy of his materials, that he is hardly likely to have introduced one particular description of such disproportionate length, and having so little connexion with the series of events. But I see no reason for believing that it is an addition materially later than the rest of the poem.

It must be confessed that the supposition here advanced, in reference to the structure of the Iliad, is not altogether free from difficulties, because the parts constituting the original Achillêis[1] have been more or less altered or interpolated to suit the additions made to it, particularly in the eighth book. But it presents fewer difficulties than any other supposition, and it is the only means, so far as I know, of explaining the difference between one part of the Iliad and another; both the continuity of structure, and the conformity to the opening promise, which

Supposition of an enlarged Achillêis is the most consonant to all the parts of the poem as it stands.

[1] The supposition of a smaller original Iliad, enlarged by successive additions to the present dimensions, and more or less interpolated (we must distinguish *enlargement* from *interpolation*,—the insertion of a new rhapsody from that of a new line), seems to be a sort of intermediate compromise, towards which the opposing views of Wolf, J. H. Voss, Nitzsch, Hermann, and Boeckh all converge. Baumgarten-Crusius calls this smaller poem an Achilleis.

Wolf, Preface to the Göschen edit. of the Iliad, p. xii.—xxiii.; Voss, Anti-Symbolik, part ii. p. 234; Nitzsch, Histor. Homeri, Fasciculus i. p. 111; and Vorrede to the second volume of his Comments on the Odyssey, p. xxvi.: "In the Iliad (he there says) many single portions may very easily be imagined as parts of another whole, or as having been once separately sung". (See Baumgarten-Crusius, Preface to his edition of W. Müller's Homerische Vorschule, p. xlv.—xlix.)

Nitzsch distinguishes the Odyssey from the Iliad, and I think justly, in respect to this supposed enlargement. The reasons which warrant us in ap-

are manifest when we read the books in the order i. viii. xi. to xxii., as contrasted with the absence of these two qualities in books ii. to vii., ix. and x. An entire organisation, preconceived from the beginning, would not be likely to produce any such disparity, nor is any such visible in the Odyssey;[1] still less would

plying this theory to the Iliad have no bearing upon the Odyssey. If there ever was an Ur-Odyssee, we have no means of determining what it contained.

[1] The remarks of O. Müller on the Iliad (in his History of Greek Literature) are highly deserving of perusal: with much of them I agree, but there is also much which seems to me unfounded. The range of combination, and the far-fetched narrative stratagem which he ascribes to the primitive author are in my view inadmissible (chap. v. § 5—11):—

"The internal connexion of the Iliad (he observes, § 6) rests upon the union of certain parts; and neither the interesting introduction describing the defeat of the Greeks up to the burning of the ship of Protesilaus, nor the turn of affairs brought about by the death of Patroclus, nor the final pacification of the anger of Achilles, could be spared from the Iliad, when the fruitful seed of such a poem had once been sown in the soul of Homer and had begun to develop its growth. But the plan of the Iliad is certainly very much extended beyond what was actually necessary; and in particular the preparatory part, consisting of the *attempts* on the part of *the other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles*, has, it must be owned, been drawn out to a disproportionate length, so that the suspicion that there were later insertions of importance applies with greater probability to the first than to the last books . . . . A design manifested itself at an early period to make this poem complete in itself, so that all the subjects, descriptions, and actions, which could alone give interest to a poem *on the entire war*, might find a place within the limits of its composition. For this purpose it is not improbable that many lays of earlier bards, who had sung single adventures of the Trojan war, were laid under contribution, and the finest parts of them incorporated in the new poem."

These remarks of O. Müller intimate what is (in my judgment) the right view, inasmuch as they recognise an extension of the plan of the poem beyond its original limit, manifested by insertions in the first half; and it is to be observed that in his enumeration of those parts the union of which is necessary to the internal connexion of the Iliad, nothing is mentioned except what is comprised in books i. viii. xi. to xxii. or xxiv. But his description of "*the preparatory part*," as "*the attempts of the other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles*," is noway borne out by the poet himself. From the second to the seventh book, Achilles is scarcely alluded to; moreover the Greeks do perfectly well without him. This portion of the poem displays not "the *insufficiency* of all the other heroes without Achilles," as Müller had observed in the preceding section, but the perfect *sufficiency* of the Greeks under Diomêdês, Agamemnôn, &c., to make head against Troy; it is only in the eighth book that their *insufficiency* begins to be manifested, and only in the eleventh book that it is consummated by the wounds of the three great heroes. Diomêdês is in fact exalted to a pitch of glory in regard to contests with the gods, which even Achilles himself never obtains afterwards, and Helenus the Trojan puts him above Achilles (vi. 99) in terrific prowess. Achilles is mentioned two or three times as absent, and Agamemnôn in his speech to the Grecian agora regrets the quarrel (ii. 377), but we never hear any such exhortation as "Let us do our best to make up for the absence of Achilles,"—not even in the Epipôlêsis of Agamemnôn, where it would most naturally be found. "Attempts to compensate for the absence of Achilles" must therefore be treated as the idea of the critic, not of the poet.

Though O. Müller has glanced at the distinction between the two parts of the poem (an original part, having chief reference to *Achilles and the Greeks*; and a superinduced part, having reference to *the entire war*), he had not conceived it clearly, nor carried it out consistently. If we are to distinguish these two points of view at all, we

the result be explained by supposing integers originally separate and brought together without any designed organisation. And it is between these three suppositions that our choice has to be made. A scheme, and a large scheme too, must unquestionably be admitted as the basis of any sufficient hypothesis. But the Achillêis would have been a long poem, half the length of the present Iliad, and probably not less compact in its structure than the Odyssey. Moreover being parted off only by an imaginary line from the boundless range of the Trojan war, it would admit of enlargement more easily, and with greater relish to hearers,

ought to draw the lines at the end of the first book and at the beginning of the eighth, thus regarding the intermediate six books as belonging to the picture of *the entire war* (or the Iliad as distinguished from the Achillêis); the point of view of the Achillêis, dropt at the end of the first book, is resumed at the beginning of the eighth. The natural fitting together of these two parts is noticed in the comment of Heyne ad viii., 1: "Cæterum *nunc* Jupiter aperte solvit Thetidi promissa, dum reddit causam Trojanorum bello superiorem, ut Achillis desiderium Achivos, et pœnitentia injuriæ ei illatæ Agamemnonem incessat (cf. i. 5). Nam quæ *adhuc* narrata sunt, partim continebantur in fortunâ belli utrinque tentatâ . . . . partim valebant ad narrationem variandam," &c. The first and the eighth books belong to one and the same point of view, while *all* the intermediate books belong to the other. But O. Müller seeks to prove that a portion of these intermediate books belongs to one common point of view with the first and eighth, though he admits that they have been enlarged by insertions. Here I think he is mistaken. Strike out anything which can be reasonably allowed for enlargement in the books between the first and eighth, and the same difficulty will still remain in respect to the remainder; for *all* the incidents between those two points are brought out in a spirit altogether indifferent to Achilles or his anger. The Zeus of the fourth book, as contrasted with Zeus in the first or eighth, marks the difference; and this description of Zeus is absolutely indispensable as the connecting link between book iii. on the one side, and books iv. and v. on the other. Moreover the attempt of O. Müller, to force upon the larger portion of what is between the first and eighth books the point of view of the Achillêis, is never successful: the poet does not exhibit in those books "insufficient efforts of other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles," but a general and highly interesting picture of the Trojan war, with prominent reference to the original ground of quarrel. In this picture the duel between Paris and Menelaus forms naturally the foremost item—but how far-fetched is the reasoning whereby O. Müller brings that striking recital within the scheme of the Achillêis! "The Greeks and Trojans are for the first time struck by an idea, which might have occurred in the previous nine years, if the Greeks, *when assisted by Achilles*, had not, from *confidence in their superior strength*, considered every compromise as unworthy of them,—namely, to decide the war by a single combat between the authors of it." Here the causality of Achilles is dragged in by main force, and unsupported either by any actual statement in the poem or by any reasonable presumption; for it is *the Trojans* who propose the single combat, and we are not told that they had ever proposed it before—though they would have had stronger reasons for proposing it during the presence of Achilles than during his absence.

O. Müller himself remarks (§ 7), "that from the second to the seventh book Zeus appears as it were to have forgotten his resolution and his promise to Thetis". In other words, the poet during this part of the poem drops the point of view of the Achillêis to take up that of the more comprehensive Iliad: the Achillêis reappears in book viii.—again disappears in book x.—and is resumed from book xi. to the end of the poem.

than the adventures of one single hero; while the expansion would naturally take place by adding new Grecian victory—since the original poem arrived at the exaltation of Achilles only through a painful series of Grecian disasters. That the poem under these circumstances should have received additions, is no very violent hypothesis: in fact when we recollect that the integrity both of the Achillêis and of the Odyssey was neither guarded by printing nor writing, we shall perhaps think it less wonderful that the former was enlarged,[1] than that the latter was not. Any relaxation of the laws of epical unity is a small price to pay for that splendid poetry, of which we find so much between the first and the eighth books of our Iliad.

Question of one or many authors difficult to decide.

The question respecting unity of authorship is different, and more difficult to determine, than that respecting consistency of parts, and sequence in the narrative. A poem conceived on a comparatively narrow scale may be enlarged afterwards by its original author, with a greater or less coherence and success: the Faust of Goethe affords an example even in our own generation. On the other hand, a systematic poem may well have been conceived and executed by pre-arranged concert between several poets; among whom probably one will be the governing mind, though the rest may be effective, and perhaps equally effective, in respect to execution of the parts. And the age of the early Grecian epic was favourable to such fraternisation of poets, of which the Gens called Homêrids probably exhibited many specimens. In the recital or singing of a long unwritten poem, many bards must have conspired together,

[1] This tendency to insert new homogeneous matter by new poets into poems already existing, is noticed by M. Fauriel in reference to the *Romans* of the Middle Ages:—

"C'est un phénomène remarquable dans l'histoire de la poésie épique, que cette disposition, cette tendance constante du goût populaire, à amalgamer, à lier en une seule et même composition le plus possible des compositions diverses,—cette disposition persiste chez un peuple, tant que la poésie conserve un reste de vie; tant qu'elle s'y transmet par la tradition et qu'elle y circule à l'aide du chant ou des récitations publiques. Elle cesse partout où la poésie est une fois fixée dans les livres, et n'agit plus que par la lecture,—cette dernière époque est, pour ainsi dire, celle de la propriété poétique—celle où chaque poëte prétend à une existence, à une gloire, personnelles; et où la poésie cesse d'être une espèce de trésor commun dont le peuple jouit et dispose à sa manière, sans s'inquiéter des individus qui le lui ont fait." (Fauriel, Sur les Romans Chevaleresques, leçon 5me, Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. xiii. p. 707.)

M. Fauriel thinks that the Shah Nameh of Ferdusi was an amalgamation of epic poems originally separate, and that probably the Mahabharat was so also (*ib.* p. 708).

and in the earliest times the composer and the singer were one and the same person.[1] Now the individuals comprised in the Homêrid Genus, though doubtless very different among themselves in respect of mental capacity, were yet homogeneous in respect of training, means of observation and instruction, social experience, religious feelings and theories, &c., to a degree much greater than individuals in modern times. Fallible as our inferences are on this point, where we have only internal evidence to guide us, without any contemporary points of comparison, or any species of collateral information respecting the age, the society, the poets, the hearers, or the language—we must nevertheless in the present case take coherence of structure, together with consistency in the tone of thought, feeling, language, customs, &c., as presumptions of one author; and the contrary as presumptions of severalty; allowing as well as we can for that inequality of excellence which the same author may at different times present.

Odyssey all by one author, Iliad probably not.

Now the case made out against single-headed authorship of the Odyssey appears to me very weak; and those who dispute it are guided more by their *à priori* rejection of ancient epical unity than by any positive evidence which the poem itself affords. It is otherwise with regard to the Iliad. Whatever presumptions a disjointed structure, several apparent inconsistencies of parts, and large excrescence of actual matter beyond the opening promise, can sanction—may reasonably be indulged against the supposition that this poem all proceeds from a single author. There is a difference of opinion on the subject among the best critics which is probably not destined to be adjusted, since so much depends partly upon critical feeling, partly upon the general reasonings, in respect to ancient epical unity, with which a man sits down to the study. For the champions of unity, such as Mr. Payne Knight, are very ready

[1] The remarks of Boeckh, upon the possibility of such co-operation of poets towards one and the same scheme, are perfectly just:—

"Atqui quomodo componi a variis auctoribus successu temporum rhapsodiæ potuerint, quæ post prima initia directæ jam ad idem consilium et quam vocant unitatem carminis sint . . . missis istorum declamationibus qui populi universi opus Homerum esse jactant . . . . tum potissimum intelligetur, ubi gentis civilis Homeridarum propriam et peculiarem Homericam poesin fuisse, veteribus ipsis si non testibus, at certe ducibus, concedetur . . . . Quæ quum ita sint, non erit adeo difficile ad intelligendum, quomodo, post prima initia ab egregio vate acta, in gente sacrorum et artis communione sociatâ, multæ rhapsodiæ ad unum potuerint consilium dirigi." (Index Lection. 1834, p. 12.)

I transcribe this passage from Giese

to strike out numerous and often considerable passages as interpolations, thus meeting the objections raised against unity of authorship on the ground of special inconsistencies. Hermann and Boeckh, though not going the length of Lachmann in maintaining the original theory of Wolf, agree with the latter in recognising diversity of authors in the poem, to an extent overpassing the limit of what can fairly be called interpolation. Payne Knight and Nitzsch are equally persuaded of the contrary. Here then is a decided contradiction among critics, all of whom have minutely studied the poems since the Wolfian question was raised. And it is such critics alone who can be said to constitute authority: for the cursory reader, who dwells upon the parts simply long enough to relish their poetical beauty, is struck only by that general sameness of colouring which Wolf himself admits to pervade the poem.[1]

Having already intimated that, in my judgment, no theory of the structure of the poem is admissible which does not admit an original and preconcerted Achillêis—a stream which begins at the first book and ends with the death of Hectôr in the twenty-second, although the higher parts of it now remain only in the condition of two detached lakes, the first book and the eighth—I reason upon the same basis with respect to the authorship. Assuming continuity of structure as a presumptive proof, the whole of this Achillêis must be treated as composed by one author. Wolf indeed affirmed that he never read the poem continuously through without being painfully impressed with the inferiority[2] and altered style of the last six books—and Lachmann carries this feeling further back, so as to commence with the seventeenth book. If I could enter fully into this sentiment, I should then be compelled, not to deny the existence

Difference of style in the last six books—may be explained without supposing difference of authorship.

(Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt, p. 157), not having been able to see the essay of which it forms a part.

1 Wolf, Prolegom. p. cxxxviii. "Quippe *in universum* idem sonus est omnibus libris; idem habitus sententiarum, orationis, numerorum." &c.

2 Wolf, Prolegom. p. cxxxvii. "Equidem certe quoties in continenti lectione ad istas partes (*i.e.* the last six books) deveni, nunquam non in iis talia quædam sensi, quæ nisi illæ tam mature cum ceteris coaluissent, quovis pignore contendam, dudum ab eruditis detecta et animadversa fuisse, immo multa ejus generis, ut cum nunc Ὁμηρικώτατα habeantur, si tantummodo in Hymnis legerentur, ipsa sola eos suspicionibus νοθείας adspersura essent." Compare the sequel, p. cxxxviii.: "ubi nervi deficiant et spiritus Homericus—jejunum et frigidum in locis multis." &c.

of a preconceived scheme, but to imagine that the books from the eighteenth to the twenty-second, though forming part of that scheme or Achillêis, had yet been executed by another and an inferior poet. But it is to be remarked, first, that inferiority of poetical merit to a certain extent is quite reconcilable with unity of authorship; and secondly, that the very circumstances upon which Wolf's unfavourable judgment is built, seem to arise out of increased difficulty in the poet's task, when he came to the crowning cantoes of his designed Achillêis. For that which chiefly distinguishes these books is, the direct, incessant, and manual intervention of the gods and goddesses, formally permitted by Zeus—and the repetition of vast and fantastic conceptions to which such superhuman agency gives occasion; not omitting the battle of Achilles against Skamander and Simois, and the burning up of these rivers by Hephæstus. Now looking at this vein of ideas with the eyes of a modern reader, or even with those of a Grecian critic of the literary ages, it is certain that the effect is unpleasing: the gods, sublime elements of poetry when kept in due proportion, are here somewhat vulgarised. But though the poet here has not succeeded—and probably success was impossible, in the task which he has prescribed to himself—yet the mere fact of his undertaking it, and the manifest distinction between his employment of divine agency in these latter cantoes as compared with the preceding, seems explicable only on the supposition that they *are* the latter cantoes and come in designed sequence, as the continuance of a previous plan. The poet wishes to surround the coming forth of Achilles with the maximum of glorious and terrific circumstance: no Trojan enemy can for a moment hold out against him:[1] the gods must descend to the plain of Troy

[1] Iliad, xx. 25. Zeus addresses the agora of the gods,—

'Αμφοτέροισι δ' ἀρήγεθ', ὅπη νόος ἐστὶν ἑκάστου·
Εἰ γὰρ 'Αχιλλεὺς οἷος ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεῖται,
Οὐδὲ μίνυνθ' ἕξουσι ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα.
Καὶ δέ τέ μιν καὶ πρόσθεν ὑποτρομέεσκον ὀρῶντες·
Νῦν δ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ θυμὸν ἐταίρου χώεται αἰνῶς,
Δείδω μὴ καὶ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ μόρον ἐξαλαπάξῃ.

The formal restriction put upon the gods by Zeus at the beginning of the eighth book, and the removal of that restriction at the beginning of the twentieth, are evidently parts of one preconceived scheme.

It is difficult to determine whether the battle of the gods and goddesses in book xxi. (385—520) is to be expunged as spurious, or only to be blamed as of inferior merit ("improbanda tantum, non resecanda—hoc enim est illud, quo plerumque summa criseôs Homericæ redit," as Heyne observes in another place, Obss. Iliad. xviii. 444). The objections on the score of non-Homeric

and fight in person, while Zeus, who at the beginning of the eighth book had forbidden them to take part, expressly encourages them to do so at the beginning of the twentieth. If then the nineteenth book (which contains the reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnôn, a subject naturally somewhat tame) and the three following books (where we have before us only the gods, Achilles, and the Trojans without hope or courage) are inferior in execution and interest to the seven preceding books (which describe the long-disputed and often doubtful death-struggle between the Greeks and Trojans without Achilles), as Wolf and other critics affirm—we may explain the difference without supposing a new poet as composer: for the conditions of the poem had become essentially more difficult, and the subject more unpromising. The necessity of keeping Achilles above the level, even of heroic prowess, restricted the poet's means of acting upon the sympathy of his hearers.[1]

Last two books—probably not parts of the original Achillêis.

The last two books of the Iliad may have formed part of the original Achillêis. But the probability rather is, that they are additions; for the death of Hector satisfies the exigencies of a coherent scheme, and we are not entitled to extend the oldest poem beyond the limit which such necessity prescribes. It has been argued on one side by Nitzsch and O. Müller, that the mind could not

locution are not forcible (see P. Knight *ad loc.*), and the scene belongs to that vein of conception which animates the poet in the closing act of his Achillêis.

[1] While admitting that these last books of the Iliad are not equal in interest to those between the eleventh and eighteenth, we may add that they exhibit many striking beauties, both of plan and execution, and one in particular may be noticed as an example of happy epical adaptation. The Trojans are on the point of ravishing from the Greeks the dead body of Patroclus, when Achilles (by the inspiration of Hêrê and Iris) shows himself unarmed on the Grecian mound, and by his mere figure and voice strikes such terror into the Trojans that they relinquish the dead body. As soon as night arrives, Polydamas propcses in the Trojan agora that the Trojans shall retire without further delay from the ships to the town, and shelter themselves within the walls, without awaiting the assault of Achilles armed on the next morning. Hectôr repels this counsel of Polydamas with expressions — not merely of overweening confidence in his own force, even against Achilles— but also of extreme contempt and harshness towards the giver; whose wisdom however is proved by the utter discomfiture of the Trojans the next day. Now this angry deportment and mistake on the part of Hectôr is made to tell strikingly in the twenty-second book, just before his death. There yet remains a moment for him to retire within the walls, and thus obtain shelter against the near approach of his irresistible enemy, — but he is struck with the recollection of that fatal moment when he repelled the counsel which would have saved his countrymen: "If I enter the town, Polydamas will be the first to reproach me as having brought destruction upon Troy on that fatal night when Achilles came forth, and when I resisted his

leave off with satisfaction at the moment in which Achilles sates his revenge, and while the bodies of Patroclus and Hector are lying unburied—also, that the more merciful temper which he exhibits in the twenty-fourth book must always have been an indispensable sequel, in order to create proper sympathy with his triumph. Other critics, on the contrary, have taken special grounds of exception against the last book, and have endeavoured to set it aside as different from the other books both in tone and language. To a certain extent the peculiarities of the last book appear to me undeniable, though it is plainly a designed continuance and not a substantive poem. Some weight also is due to the remark about the twenty-third book, that Odysseus and Diomêdês, who have been wounded and disabled during the fight, now re-appear in perfect force, and contend in the games: here is no case of miraculous healing, and the inconsistency is more likely to have been admitted by a separate enlarging poet than by the schemer of the Achillêis.

The splendid books from the second to v. 322 of the seventh,[1] are equal in most parts to any portions of the Achillêis, and are pointedly distinguished from the latter by the broad view which they exhibit of the general Trojan war, with all its principal personages, localities, and causes—yet without advancing the result promised in the first book, or indeed any final purpose whatever. Even the desperate wound inflicted by Tlepolemus on Sarpêdôn is forgotten, when the latter hero is called forth in the subsequent Achillêis.[2] The arguments of Lachmann, who dissects these six books into three or four separate songs,[3] carry no conviction to my mind; and I see no reason why we should not consider all of them to be by

Books II. to VII. inclusive.

better counsel" (compare xviii. 250—315; xxii. 100—110; and Aristot. Ethic. iii. 8).

In a discussion respecting the structure of the Iliad, and in reference to arguments which deny all designed concatenation of parts, it is not out of place to notice this affecting touch of poetry, belonging to those books which are reproached as the feeblest.

[1] The latter portion of the seventh book is spoiled by the very unsatisfactory addition introduced to explain the construction of the wall and ditch: all the other incidents (the agora and embassy of the Trojans, the truce for burial, the arrival of wine-ships from Lemnos, &c.) suit perfectly with the scheme of the poet of these books, to depict the Trojan war generally.

[2] Unless indeed we are to imagine the combat between Tlepolemus and Sarpêdôn, and that between Glaukus and Diomêdês, to be separate songs; and they are among the very few passages in the Iliad which are completely separable, implying no special antecedents.

[3] Compare also Heyne, Excursus II. sect. ii. ad Iliad. xxiv. vol. viii. p. 783.

the same author, bound together by the common purpose of giving a great collective picture which may properly be termed an Iliad. The tenth book, or Doloneia, though adapted specially to the place in which it stands, agrees with the books between the first and eighth in belonging only to the general picture of the war, without helping forward the march of the Achillêis; yet it seems conceived in a lower vein, in so far as we can trust our modern ethical sentiment. One is unwilling to believe that the author of the fifth book (or Aristeia of Diomêdês) would condescend to employ the hero whom he there so brightly glorifies—the victor even over Arês himself—in slaughtering newly-arrived Thracian sleepers, without any large purpose or necessity.[1] The ninth book, of which I have already spoken at length, belongs to a different vein of conception, and seems to me more likely to have emanated from a separate composer.

Book X.

While intimating these views respecting the authorship of the Iliad as being in my judgment the most probable, I must repeat, that though the study of the poem carries to my mind a sufficient conviction respecting its structure, the question between unity and plurality of authors is essentially less determinable. The poem consists of a part original and other parts superadded; yet it is certainly not impossible that the author of the former

[1] Subsequent poets, seemingly thinking that the naked story (of Diomêdês slaughtering Rhêsus and his companions in their sleep) as it now stands in the Iliad, was too displeasing, adopted different ways of dressing it up. Thus according to Pindar (ap. Schol. Iliad. x. 435), Rhêsus fought one day as the ally of Troy, and did such terrific damage, that the Greeks had no other means of averting total destruction from his hand on the next day, except by killing him during the night. And the Euripidean drama called *Rhêsus*, though representing the latter as a new-comer, yet puts into the mouth of Athênê the like overwhelming predictions of what he would do on the coming day if suffered to live; so that to kill him in the night is the only way of saving the Greeks (Eurip. Rhês. 602): moreover Rhêsus himself is there brought forward as talking with such overweening insolence, that the sympathies of man, and the envy of the gods, are turned against him (*ib.* 458).

But the story is best known in the form and with the addition (equally unknown to the Iliad) which Virgil has adopted. It was decreed by fate that if the splendid horses of Rhêsus were permitted once either to taste the Trojan provender, or to drink of the river Xanthus, nothing could preserve the Greeks from ruin (Æneid i. 468, with Servius *ad loc.*):—

"Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
Agnoscit lacrymans; primo quæ prodita somno
Tydides multa vastabat cæde cruentus:
Ardentesque avertit equos in castra, priusquam
Pabula gustassent Trojæ, Xanthumque bibissent".

All these versions are certainly improvements upon the story as it stands in the Iliad.

may himself have composed the latter: and such would be my belief, if I regarded plurality of composers as an inadmissible idea. On this supposition we must conclude that the poet, while anxious for the addition of new and for the most part highly interesting matter, has not thought fit to recast the parts and events in such manner as to impart to the whole a pervading thread of *consensus* and organisation, such as we see in the Odyssey.

That the Odyssey is of later date than the Iliad, and by a different author, seems to be now the opinion of most critics, especially of Payne Knight[1] and Nitzsch; though O. Müller leans to a contrary conclusion, at the same time adding that he thinks the arguments either way not very decisive. There are considerable differences of statement in the two poems in regard to some of the gods: Iris is messenger of the gods in the Iliad, and Hermês in the Odyssey; Æolus, the dispenser of the winds in the Odyssey, is not noticed in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, but on the contrary, Iris invites the winds as independent gods to come and kindle the funeral pile of Patroclus; and unless we are to expunge the song of Demodokus in the eighth book of the Odyssey as spurious, Aphroditê there appears as the wife of Hêphæstus—a relationship not known to the Iliad. There are also some other points of difference enumerated by Mr. Knight and others, which tend to justify the presumption that the author of the Odyssey is not identical either with the author of the Achillêis or his enlargers, which G. Hermann considers to be a point unquestionable.[2] Indeed, the difficulty of supposing a long coherent poem to have been conceived, composed, and retained, without any aid of writing, appears to many critics even now insurmountable, though the evidences on the other side are in my view sufficient to outweigh any negative presumption thus suggested. But it is improbable that the same person should have powers of memorial combination sufficient for composing two such poems, nor is there any proof to force upon us such a supposition.

Odyssey—probably by a different author from the Iliad—

Presuming a difference of authorship between the two poems,

[1] Mr. Knight places the Iliad about two centuries, and the Odyssey one century, anterior to Hesiod: a century between the two poems (Prolegg. c. lxi.).

[2] Hermann, Præfat. ad Odyss. p. vii.

I feel less convinced about the supposed juniority of the Odyssey. The discrepancies in manners and language in the one and the other are so little important, that two different persons, in the same age and society, might well be imagined to exhibit as great or even greater. It is to be recollected that the subjects of the two are heterogeneous, so as to conduct the poet, even were he the same man, into totally different veins of imagination and illustration. The pictures of the Odyssey seem to delineate the same heroic life as the Iliad, though looked at from a distinct point of view: and the circumstances surrounding the residence of Odysseus in Ithaka are just such as we may suppose him to have left in order to attack Troy. If the scenes presented to us are for the most part pacific, as contrasted with the incessant fighting of the Iliad, this is not to be ascribed to any greater sociality or civilisation in the real hearers of the Odyssey, but to the circumstances of the hero whom the poet undertakes to adorn: nor can we doubt that the poems of Arktinus and Leschês, of a later date than the Odyssey, would have given us as much combat and bloodshed as the Iliad. I am not struck by those proofs of improved civilisation which some critics affirm the Odyssey to present: Mr. Knight, who is of this opinion, nevertheless admits that the mutilation of Melanthius, and the hanging up of the female slaves by Odysseus, in that poem, indicate greater barbarity than any incidents in the fights before Troy.[1] The more skilful and compact structure of the Odyssey has been often considered as a proof of its juniority in age: and in the case of two poems by the same author, we might plausibly contend that practice would bring with it improvement in the combining faculty. But in reference to the poems before us, we must recollect, first, that in all probability the Iliad (with which the comparison is taken) is not a primitive but an enlarged poem, and that the primitive Achillêis might well have been quite as coherent as the Odyssey;—secondly, that between different authors, superiority in structure is not a proof of subsequent composition, inasmuch as on that hypothesis we should be compelled to admit that the later poem of Arktinus would be an improvement upon the Odyssey;—thirdly, that even

but, perhaps, of the same age.

[1] Knight, Prolegg. l. c. Odyss. xxii. 465—478.

if it were so, we could only infer that the author of the Odyssey had *heard* the Achillêis or the Iliad; we could not infer that he lived one or two generations afterwards.[1]

On the whole, the balance of probabilities seems in favour of distinct authorship of the two poems, but the same age—and that age a very early one, anterior to the first Olympiad. And they may thus be used as evidences, and contemporary evidences, for the phænomena of primitive Greek civilisation; while they also show that the power of constructing long premeditated epics, without the aid of writing, is to be taken as a characteristic of the earliest known Greek mind. This was the point controverted by Wolf, which a full review of the case (in my judgment) decides against him; it is moreover a valuable resort for the historian of the Greeks, inasmuch as it marks out to him the ground from which he is to start in appreciating their ulterior progress.[2]

[1] The arguments, upon the faith of which Payne Knight and other critics have maintained the Odyssey to be younger than the Iliad, are well stated and examined in Bernhard Thiersch—Quæstio de Diversâ Iliadis et Odysseæ Ætate—in the Anhang (p. 306) to his work Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer.

He shows all such arguments to be very inconclusive; though the grounds upon which he himself maintains identity of age between the two appear to me not at all more satisfactory (p. 327): we can infer nothing to the point from the mention of Telemachus in the Iliad.

Welcker thinks that there is a great difference of age, and an evident difference of authorship, between the two poems (Der Epische Cyclus, p. 295).

O. Müller admits the more recent date of the Odyssey, but considers it "difficult and hazardous to raise upon this foundation any definite conclusions as to the person and age of the poet" (History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, ch. v. s. 13).

[2] Dr. Thirlwall has added to the second edition of his History of Greece a valuable Appendix, on the early history of the Homeric poems (vol. i. p. 500—516); which contains copious information respecting the discrepant opinions of German critics, with a brief comparative examination of their reasons. I could have wished that so excellent a judge had superadded, to his enumeration of the views of others, an ampler exposition of his own. Dr. Thirlwall seems decidedly convinced upon that which appears to me the most important point in the Homeric controversy: "That before the appearance of the earliest of the poems of the Epic Cycle, the Iliad and Odyssey, even if they did not exist precisely in their present form, had at least reached their present compass, and were regarded each as a complete and well-defined whole, not as a fluctuating aggregate of fugitive pieces" (p. 509).

This marks out the Homeric poems as ancient both in the items and in the total, and includes negation of the theory of Wolf and Lachmann, who contend that as a total they only date from the age of Peisistratus. It is then safe to treat the poems as unquestionable evidences of Grecian antiquity (meaning thereby 776 B.C.), which we could not do if we regarded all congruity of parts in the poems as brought about through alterations of Peisistratus and his friends.

There is also a very just admonition of Dr. Thirlwall (p. 516) as to the difficulty of measuring what degree of discrepancy or inaccuracy might or might not have escaped the poet's attention, in an age so imperfectly known to us.

Whatever there may be of truth in the different conjectures of critics respecting the authorship and structure of these unrivalled poems, we are not to imagine that it is the perfection of their epical symmetry which has given them their indissoluble hold upon the human mind, as well modern as ancient. There is some tendency in critics, from Aristotle downwards,[1] to invert the order of attributes in respect to the Homeric poems, so as to dwell most on recondite excellences which escape the unaided reader, and which are even to a great degree disputable. But it is given to few minds (as Goethe has remarked[2]) to appreciate fully the mechanism of a long poem, and many feel the beauty of the separate parts, who have no sentiment for the aggregate perfection of the whole.

Real character of the Homeric poems—essentially popular.

Nor were the Homeric poems originally addressed to minds of the rarer stamp. They are intended for those feelings which the critic has in common with the unlettered mass, not for that enlarged range of vision and peculiar standard which he has acquired to himself. They are of all poems the most absolutely and unreservedly popular: had they been otherwise they could not have lived so long in the mouth of the rhapsodes, and the ear and memory of the people: and it was *then* that their influence was first acquired, never afterwards to be shaken. Their beauties belong to the parts taken separately, which revealed themselves spontaneously to the listening crowd at the festival—far more than to the whole poem taken together, which could hardly be appreciated unless the parts were dwelt upon and suffered to expand in the mind. The most unlettered hearer of those times could readily seize, while the most instructed reader can still recognise, the characteristic excellence of Homeric narrative—its straightforward, unconscious, unstudied simplicity—its concrete forms of speech[3] and happy alternation of action with dialogue—

[1] There are just remarks on this point in Heyne's Excursus ii. sect. 2 and 4, ad Il. xxiv. vol. viii. p. 771—800.

[2] "Wenig Deutsche, und vielleicht nur wenige Menschen aller *neuern* Nationen, haben Gefühl für ein ästhetisches Ganzes: sie loben und tadeln nur stellenweise, sie entzücken sich nur stellenweise." (Goethe, Wilhelm Meister: I transcribe this from Welcker's Æschyl. Trilogie, p. 306.)

What ground there is for restricting this proposition to *modern* as contrasted with *ancient* nations, I am unable to conceive.

[3] The κινούμενα ὀνόματα of Homer were extolled by Aristotle: see Schol. ad Iliad. i. 481; compare Dionys. Halicarn., De Compos. Verbor. c. 20. ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφέρειν γινόμενα τὰ

its vivid pictures of living agents, always clearly and sharply individualized, whether in the commanding proportions of Achilles and Odysseus, in the graceful presence of Helen and Penelopê, or in the more humble contrast of Eumæus and Melanthius: and always moreover animated by the frankness with which his heroes give utterance to all their transient emotions and even all their infirmities—its constant reference to those coarser veins of feeling and palpable motives which belong to all men in common—its fulness of graphic details, freshly drawn from the visible and audible world, and though often homely, never tame nor trenching upon that limit of satiety to which the Greek mind was so keenly alive—lastly, its perpetual junction of gods and men in the same picture, and familiar appeal to ever-present divine agency, in harmony with the interpretation of nature at that time universal.

Addressed to unlettered minds, but touching those feelings which all men have in common.

πράγματα ἢ λεγόμενα ὀρᾶν. Respecting the undisguised bursts of feeling by the heroes, the Scholiast ad Iliad. I. 349 tells us—*ἑτοιμον τὸ ἠρωϊκὸν πρὸς δάκρυα*—compare Euripid. Helen. 959, and the severe censures of Plato, ii. p. 388.

The Homeric poems were the best understood, and the most widely popular, of all Grecian compositions, even among the least instructed persons, such (for example) as the semi-barbarians who had acquired the Greek language in addition to their own mother tongue. (Dio Chrysost., Or. xviii. vol. i. p. 478; Or. liii. vol. ii. p. 277, Reisk.) Respecting the simplicity and perspicuity of the narrative style, implied in this extensive popularity, Porphyry made a singular remark: he said that the sentences of Homer *really* presented much difficulty and obscurity, but that ordinary readers fancied they understood him, "because of the general clearness *which appeared* to run through the poems". (See the Prolegomena of Villoison's edition of the Iliad, p. xli.) This remark affords the key to a good deal of the Homeric criticism. There doubtless were real obscurities in the poems, arising from altered associations, customs, religion, language, &c., as well as from corrupt text; but while the critics did good service in elucidating these difficulties, they also introduced artificially many others, altogether of their own creating. Refusing to be satisfied with the plain and obvious meaning, they sought in Homer hidden purposes, elaborate innuendo, recondite motives, even with regard to petty details, deep-laid rhetorical artifices (see a specimen in Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhetor. c. 15, p. 316 Reiske; nor is even Aristotle exempt from similar tendencies, Schol. ad Iliad. iii. 441, x. 195), or a substratum of philosophy allegorised. No wonder that passages, quite perspicuous to the vulgar reader, seemed difficult to them.

There could not be so sure a way of missing the real Homer as by searching for him in these devious recesses. He is essentially the poet of the broad highway and the market-place, touching the common sympathies and satisfying the mental appetencies of his countrymen with unrivalled effect, but exempt from ulterior views, either selfish or didactic, and immersed in the same medium of practical life and experience religiously construed, as his auditors. No nation has ever yet had so perfect and touching an exposition of its early social mind as the Iliad and Odyssey exhibit.

In the verbal criticism of Homer the Alexandrine literati seem to have made a very great advance, as compared with the glossographers who preceded them. (See Lehrs, De Studiis Aristarchi, Dissert. ii. p. 42.)

It is undoubtedly easier to feel than to describe the impressive influence of Homeric narrative: but the time and circumstances under which that influence was first, and most powerfully felt, preclude the possibility of explaining it by comprehensive and elaborate comparisons, such as are implied in Aristotle's remarks upon the structure of the poems. The critic who seeks the explanation in the right place will not depart widely from the point of view of those rude auditors to whom the poems were originally addressed, or from the susceptibilities and capacities common to the human bosom in every stage of progressive culture. And though the refinements and delicacies of the poems, as well as their general structure, are a subject of highly interesting criticisms—yet it is not to these that Homer owes his wide-spread and imperishable popularity. Still less is it true, as the well-known observations of Horace would lead us to believe, that Homer is a teacher of ethical wisdom akin and superior to Chrysippus or Crantor.[1] No didactic purpose is to be found in the Iliad and Odyssey: a philosopher may doubtless extract, from the incidents and strongly marked characters which it contains, much illustrative matter

No didactic purpose in Homer.

[1] Horat. Epist. i. 2, v. 1—26:—

"Sirenum voces, et Circes pocula nosti:
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus".

Horace contrasts the folly and greediness of the companions of Ulysses in accepting the refreshments tendered to them by Circe, with the self-command of Ulysses himself in refusing them. But in the incident as described in the original poem, neither the praise, nor the blame here implied, finds any countenance. The companions of Ulysses follow the universal practice in accepting hospitality tendered to strangers, the fatal consequences of which, in their particular case, they could have no grounds for suspecting; while Ulysses is preserved from a similar fate, not by any self-command of his own, but by a previous divine warning and a special antidote, which had not been vouchsafed to the rest (see Odyss. x. 285). And the incident of the Sirens, if it is to be taken as evidence of anything, indicates rather the absence, than the presence, of self-command on the part of Ulysses.

Of the violent mutations of text, whereby the *Grammatici* or critics tried to efface from Homer bad ethical tendencies (we must remember that many of these men were lecturers to youth), a remarkable specimen is afforded by the Venet. Schol. ad Iliad. ix. 453; compare Plutarch, de Audiendis Poetis, p. 95. Phœnix describes the calamitous family tragedy in which he himself had been partly the agent, partly the victim. Now that an Homeric hero should confess guilty proceedings and still more guilty designs, without any expression of shame or contrition, was insupportable to the feelings of the critics. One of them, Aristodemus, thrust two negative particles into one of the lines: and though he thereby ruined not only the sense but the metre, his emendation procured for him universal applause, because he had maintained the innocence of the hero (καὶ οὐ μόνον ηὐδοκίμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτιμήθη, ὡς εὐσεβὴ τηρήσας τὸν ἥρωα). And Aristarchus thought the case so alarming, that he struck out from the text four

for his exhortations—but the ethical doctrine which he applies must emanate from his own reflection. The Homeric hero manifests virtues or infirmities, fierceness or compassion, with the same straightforward and simple-minded vivacity, unconsious of any ideal standard by which his conduct is to be tried ;[1] nor can we trace in the poet any ulterior function beyond that of the inspired organ of the Muse, and the nameless, but eloquent, herald of lost adventures out of the darkness of the past.

lines which have only been preserved to us by Plutarch (Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐξεῖλε τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα, φοβηθείς). See the Fragment of Dioscorides (περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Νόμων) in Didot's Fragmenta Historicor. Græcor. vol. ii. p. 193.

[1] "C'est un tableau idéal, à coup sûr, que celui de la société Grecque dans les chants qui portent le nom d'Homère: et pourtant cette société y est toute entière reproduite, avec la rusticité, la férocité de ses mœurs, ses bonnes et ses mauvaises passions, sans dessein de faire particulièrement ressortir, de célébrer tel ou tel de ses mérites, de ses avantages, ou de laisser dans l'ombre ses vices et ses maux. Ce mélange du bien et du mal, du fort et du faible—cette simultanéité d'idées et de sentimens en apparence contraires—cette variété, cette incohérence, ce développement inégal de la nature et de la destinée humaine—c'est précisément là ce qu'il y a de plus poétique, car c'est le fond même des choses, c'est la vérité sur l'homme et le monde: et dans les peintures idéales qu'en veulent faire la poésie, le roman et même l'histoire, cet ensemble, si divers et pourtant si harmonieux, doit se retrouver: sans quoi l'ideal véritable y manque aussi bien que la réalité." (Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, Leçon 7me, vol. i. p. 285.)

HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART II.

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY AND LIMITS OF GREECE.

GREECE Proper lies between the 36th and 40th parallels of north latitude, and between the 21st and 26th degrees of east longitude. Its greatest length from Mount Olympus to Cape Tænarus may be stated at 250 English miles; its greatest breadth, from the western coast of Akarnania to Marathôn in Attica, at 180 miles; and the distance eastward from Ambrakia across Pindus to the Magnesian mountain Homolê and the mouth of the Peneius is about 120 miles. Altogether its area is somewhat less than that of Portugal.[1] In regard however to all attempts at determining the exact limits of Greece Proper, we may remark, first, that these limits seem not to have been very precisely defined even among the Greeks themselves; and next, that so large a proportion of the Hellens were distributed among islands and colonies, and so much of their influence upon the world in general produced through their colonies, as to render the extent of their original domicile a matter of comparatively little moment to verify. Limits of Greece.

The chain called Olympus and the Cambunian mountains, ranging east and west and commencing with the Ægean Sea or

[1] Compare Strong, Statistics of the Kingdom of Greece, p. 2; and Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. ch. 3, p. 196.

the Gulf of Therma near the fortieth degree of north latitude, is prolonged under the name of Mount Lingon until it touches the Adriatic at the Akrokeraunian promontory. The country south of this chain comprehended all that in ancient times was regarded as Greece or Hellas Proper, but it also comprehended something more. Hellas Proper[1] (or continuous Hellas, to use the language of Skylax and Dikæarchus) was understood to begin with the town and Gulf of Ambrakia: from thence northward to the Akrokeraunian promontory lay the land called by the Greeks Epirus—occupied by the Chaonians, Molossians, and Thesprotians, who were termed Epirots and were not esteemed to belong to the Hellenic aggregate. This at least was the general understanding, though Ætolians and Akarnanians in their more distant sections seem to have been not less widely removed from the full type of Hellenism than the Epirots were; while Herodotus is inclined to treat even Molossians and Thesprotians as Hellens.[2]

Northern boundary of Greece—Olympus.

At a point about midway between the Ægean and Ionian seas, Olympus and Lingon are traversed nearly at right angles by the still longer and vaster chain called Pindus, which stretches in a line rather west of north from the northern side of the range of Olympus. The system to which these mountains belong seems to begin with the lofty masses of greenstone comprised under the name of Mount Scardus or Scordus (Schardagh),[3] which is divided only by the narrow cleft containing the river Drin from the limestone of the Albanian

Scardus and Pindus.

[1] Dikæarch. 31, p. 460, ed. Fuhr:—

Ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμβρακίας εἶναι δοκεῖ
Μάλιστα συνεχὴς τὸ πέρας· αὐτὴ δ' ἔρχεται
Ἐπὶ τὸν πόταμον Πηνειὸν, ὡς Φιλέας γράφει,
Ὄρος τε Μαγνήτων Ὁμόλην κεκλημένον

Skylax, c. 35.—Ἀμβρακία—ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς συνεχὴς εἶναι μέχρι Πηνείου ποτάμου, καὶ Ὁμολίου Μαγνητικῆς πόλεως, ἣ ἐστι παρὰ τὸν πόταμον.

[2] Herod. i. 146; ii. 56. The Molossian Alkôn passes for a Hellen (Herod. vi. 127).

[3] The mountain systems in ancient Macedonia and Illyricum, north of Olympus, have been yet but imperfectly examined: see Dr. Griesebach, Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839, vol. ii. ch. 13, p. 112 *seqq.* (Götting. 1841), which contains much instruction respecting the real relations of these mountains as compared with the different ideas and representations of them. The words of Strabo (lib. vii. Excerpt. 3, ed. Tschucke), that Scardus, Orbêlus, Rhodopê, and Hæmus extend in a straight line from the Adriatic to the Euxine, are incorrect.

See Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, vol. i. p. 335: the pass of Tschangon near Castoria (through which the river Devol passes from the eastward to fall into the Adriatic on the westward) is the *only* cleft in this long chain from the river Drin in the north down to the centre of Greece.

Alps. From the southern face of Olympus, Pindus strikes off nearly southward, forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, and sending forth about the 39th degree of latitude the lateral chain of Othrys—which latter takes an easterly course, reaching the sea between Thessaly and the northern coast of Eubœa. Southward of Othrys, the chain of Pindus under the name of Tymphrêstus still continues, until another lateral chain, called Œta, projects from it again towards the east,—forming the lofty coast immediately south of the Maliac Gulf, with the narrow road of Thermopylæ between the two—and terminating at the Eubœan strait. At the point of junction with Œta, the chain of Pindus forks into two branches; one striking to the westward of south, and reaching across Ætolia, under the names of Arakynthus, Kurius, Korax and Taphiassus, to the promontory called Antirrhion, situated on the northern side of the narrow entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, over against the corresponding promontory of Rhion in Peloponnêsus—the other tending south-east, and forming Parnassus, Helicon, and Kithærôn: indeed Ægaleus and Hymettus, even down to the southernmost cape of Attica, Sunium, may be treated as a continuance of this chain. From the eastern extremity of Œta, also, a range of hills, inferior in height to the preceding, takes its departure in a south-easterly direction, under the various names of Knêmis, Ptôon, and Teumêssus. It is joined with Kithærôn by the lateral communication, ranging from west to east, called Parnês; while the celebrated Pentelikus, abundant in marble quarries, constitutes its connecting link, to the south of Parnês, with the chain from Kithærôn to Sunium.

—their extension and dissemination through Southern Greece and Peloponnêsus.

From the promontory of Antirrhion the line of mountains crosses into Peloponnêsus, and stretches in a southerly direction down to the extremity of the peninsula called Tænarus, now Cape Matapan. Forming the boundary between Elis with Messenia on one side, and Arcadia with Laconia on the other, it bears the successive names of Olenus, Panachaikus, Pholoê, Erymanthus, Lykæus, Parrhasius, and Taygetus. Another series of mountains strikes off from Kithærôn towards the south-west, constituting under the names of Geraneia and Oneia the high ground which first sinks down into the depression forming the Isthmus of

Corinth, and then rises again to spread itself in Peloponnêsus. One of its branches tends westward along the north of Arkadia, comprising the Akrokorinthus or citadel of Corinth, the high peak of Kyllêne, the mountains of Aroanii and Lampeia, and ultimately joining Erymanthus and Pholoê—while the other branch strikes southward towards the south-eastern cape of Peloponnêsus, the formidable Cape Malea or St. Angelo,—and exhibits itself under the successive names of Apesas, Artemisium, Parthenium, Parnôn, Thornax, and Zarêx.

Ossa and Pelion—to the Cyclades.

From the eastern extremity of Olympus, in a direction rather to the eastward of south, stretches the range of mountains first called Ossa and afterwards Pelion, down to the south-eastern corner of Thessaly. The long, lofty, and naked backbone of the island of Eubœa may be viewed as a continuance both of this chain and of the chain of Othrys: the line is farther prolonged by a series of islands in the Archipelago, Andros, Têmos, Mykonos, and Naxos, belonging to the group called the Cyclades or islands encircling the sacred centre of Dêlos. Of these Cyclades others are in like manner a continuance of the chain which reaches to Cape Sunium—Keôs, Kythnos, Seriphos, and Siphnos join on to Attica, as Andros does to Eubœa. And we might even consider the great island of Krête as a prolongation of the system of mountains which breasts the winds and waves at Cape Malea, the island of Kythêra forming the intermediate link between them. Skiathus, Skopelus, and Skyrus, to the north-east of Eubœa, also mark themselves out as outlying peaks of the range comprehending Pelion and Eubœa.[1]

By this brief sketch, which the reader will naturally compare with one of the recent maps of the country, it will be seen that Greece Proper is among the most mountainous territories in Europe. For although it is convenient, in giving a systematic view of the face of the country, to group the multiplicity of mountains into certain chains or ranges, founded upon approxi-

[1] For the general sketch of the mountain system of Hellas, see Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. ch. 4, p. 280—290; Dr. Cramer, Geography of Ancient Greece, vol. i. p. 3—8.

Respecting the northern regions, Epirus, Illyria, and Macedonia, O. Müller, in his short but valuable treatise Ueber die Makedoner, p. 7 (Berlin, 1825), may be consulted with advantage. This treatise is annexed to the English translation of his History of the Dorians by Sir G. C. Lewis.

mative uniformity of direction; yet in point of fact there are so many ramifications and dispersed peaks—so vast a number of hills and crags of different magnitude and elevation—that a comparatively small proportion of the surface is left for level ground. Not only few continuous plains, but even few continuous valleys, exist throughout all Greece Proper. The largest spaces of level ground are seen in Thessaly, in Ætolia, in the western portion of Peloponnêsus, and in Bœotia; but irregular mountains, valleys, frequent but isolated, land-locked basins and declivities, which often occur but seldom last long, form the character of the country.[1]

Geological features.

The islands of the Cyclades, Eubœa, Attica, and Laconia, consist for the most part of micaceous schist, combined with and often covered by crystalline granular limestone.[2] The centre and west of Peloponnêsus, as well as the country north of the Corinthian Gulf from the Gulf of Ambrakia to the strait of Eubœa, present a calcareous formation, varying in different localities as to colour, consistency, and hardness, but generally belonging or approximating to the chalk: it is often very compact, but is distinguished in a marked manner from the crystalline limestone above-mentioned. The two loftiest summits in Greece[3] (both however lower than Olympus, estimated at 9700 feet) exhibit this formation—Parnassus, which attains 8000 feet, and the point of St. Elias in Taygetus, which is not less than 7800 feet. Clay-slate and conglomerates of sand, lime and clay are found in many parts: a close and firm conglomerate of lime composes the Isthmus of Corinth: loose deposits of pebbles and calcareous breccia occupy also some portions of the territory.

[1] Out of the 47,600,000 stremas (= 12,000,000 English acres) included in the present kingdom of Greece, 26,500,000 go to mountains, rocks, rivers, lakes and forests—and 21,000,000 to arable land, vineyards, olive and currant grounds, &c. By arable land is meant land of cultivation; for a comparatively small portion of it is actually cultivated at present. (Strong, Statistics of Greece, p. 2, London, 1842.)

The modern kingdom of Greece does not include Thessaly. The epithet κοιλός (hollow) is applied to several of the chief Grecian states—κοιλὴ Ἦλις, κοιλὴ Λακεδαίμων, κοιλὸν Ἄργος, &c.

Κόρινθος ὀφρύᾳ τε καὶ κοιλαίνεται. Strabo, viii. p. 381.

The fertility of Bœotia is noticed in Strabo, ix. p. 400, and in the valuable fragment of Dikæarchus, Βίος Ἑλλάδος, p. 140, ed. Fuhr.

[2] For the geological and mineralogical character of Greece, see the survey undertaken by Dr. Fiedler, by orders of the present government of Greece, in 1834 and the following years (Reise durch alle Theile des Königreichs Griechenland, im Auftrag der K. G. Regierung in den Jahren 1834 bis 1837, especially vol. ii. p. 512—530).

[3] Griesebach, Reisen durch Rumelien, vol. ii. ch. 12, p. 124.

But the most important and essential elements of the Grecian soil consist of the diluvial and alluvial formations, with which the troughs and basins are filled up, resulting from the decomposition of the older adjoining rocks. In these reside the productive powers of the country, and upon these the grain and vegetables for the subsistence of the people depend. The mountain regions are to a great degree barren, destitute at present of wood or any useful vegetation, though there is reason to believe that they were better wooded in antiquity: in many parts, however, and especially in Ætolia and Akarnania, they afford plenty of timber, and in all parts pasture for the cattle during summer, at a time when the plains are thoroughly burnt up.[1] For other articles of food, dependence must be had on the valleys, which are occasionally of singular fertility. The low grounds of Thessaly, the valley of the Kephisus and the borders of the lake Kopaïs in Bœotia, the western portion of Elis, the plains of Stratus on the confines of Akarnania and Ætolia, and those near the river Pamisus in Messenia, both are now and were in ancient times remarkable for their abundant produce.

Irregularity of the Grecian waters—rivers dry in summer.

Besides the scarcity of wood for fuel, there is another serious inconvenience to which the low grounds of Greece are exposed,—the want of a supply of water at once adequate and regular.[2] Abundance of rain falls during the autumnal and winter months, little or none during the summer; while the naked limestone of the numerous hills neither absorbs nor retains moisture, so that the rain runs off as rapidly as it falls. Springs are not numerous.[3] Most rivers are torrents in early spring, and dry before the end of summer: the copious combinations of the ancient language

[1] In passing through the valley between Œta and Parnassus, going towards Elateia, Fiedler observes the striking change in the character of the country: "Romelia (*i.e.* Akarnania, Ætolia, Ozolian Lokris, &c.), woody, well-watered, and covered with a good soil, ceases at once and precipitously; while craggy limestone mountains of a white grey colour exhibit the cold character of Attica and the Morea". (Reise, i. p. 213.)

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo conceives even the πεδίον πυρηφόρον of Thêbes as having in its primitive state been covered with wood (v. 227).

The best timber used by the ancient Greeks came from Macedonia, the Euxine, and the Propontis: the timber of Mount Parnassus and of Eubœa was reckoned very bad; that of Arcadia better (Theophrast. v. 2, 1; iii. 9).

[2] See Fiedler, Reise, &c., vol. i. pp. 84, 219, 362, &c.

Both Fiedler and Strong (Statistics of Greece, p. 169) dwell with great reason upon the inestimable value of Artesian wells for the country.

[3] Ross, Reise auf den Griechischen Inseln, vol. i., letter 2, p. 12.

designated the winter torrent by a special and separate word.[1] The most considerable rivers in the country are, the Peneius, which carries off all the waters of Thessaly, finding an exit into the Ægean through the narrow defile which parts Ossa from Olympus,—and the Achelôus, which flows from Pindus in a south-westerly direction, separating Ætolia from Akarnania and emptying itself into the Ionian sea: the Eucnus also takes its rise at a more southerly part of the same mountain-chain and falls into the same sea more to the eastward. The rivers more to the southward are unequal and inferior. Kephisus and Asôpus in Bœotia, Pamisus in Messenia, maintain each a languid stream throughout the summer; while the Inachus near Argos, and the Kephisus and Ilissus near Athens, present a scanty reality which falls short still more of their great poetical celebrity. The Alpheius and the Spercheius are considerable streams—the Achelôus is still more important.[2] The quantity of mud which its turbid stream brought down and deposited, occasioned a sensible increase of the land at its embouchure, within the observation of Thucydidês.[3]

But the disposition and properties of the Grecian territory, though not maintaining permanent rivers, are favourable to the multiplication of lakes and marshes. There are numerous hollows and enclosed basins, out of which the water can find no superficial escape, and where, unless it makes for itself a subterranean passage through rifts in the mountains, it remains either as a marsh or a lake according to the time of year. In Thessaly we find the lakes Nessônis and Bœbêis; in Ætolia, between the Achelôus and Euênus, Strabo mentions the lake of Trichônis, besides several other lakes, which it is difficult to identify individually, though the quantity of ground covered by lake and marsh is as a whole very considerable. In Bœotia are situated the lakes Kopaïs, Hylikê, and Harma; the first of the three formed chiefly by the river Kephisus, flowing from Parnassus on the north-west, and shaping for itself a sinuous course through the mountains of Phôkis. On the north-east and

Frequent marshes and lakes.

[1] The Greek language seems to stand singular in the expression χειμαῤῥοῦς—the *Wadys* of Arabia manifest the like alternation, of extreme temporary fulness and violence, with absolute dryness (Kriegk, Schriften zur allgemeinen Erdkunde, p. 201, Leipzig, 1840).

[2] Most of the Echinades now rise out of dry land, which has accumulated at the mouth of the Achelôus.

[3] Thucydid. ii. 102.

east, the lake Kopaïs is bounded by the high land of Mount Ptôon, which intercepts its communication with the Strait of Eubœa. Through the limestone of this mountain the water has either found or forced several subterraneous cavities, by which it obtains a partial egress on the other side of the rocky hill and then flows into the strait. The Katabothra, as they were termed in antiquity, yet exist, but in an imperfect and half-obstructed condition. Even in antiquity however they never fully sufficed to carry off the surplus waters of the Kephisus; for the remains are still found of an artificial tunnel, pierced through the whole breadth of the rock, and with perpendicular apertures at proper intervals to let in the air from above. This tunnel—one of the most interesting remnants of antiquity, since it must date from the prosperous days of the old Orchomenus, anterior to its absorption into the Bœotian league, as well as to the preponderance of Thêbes—is now choked up and rendered useless. It may perhaps have been designedly obstructed by the hand of an enemy. The scheme of Alexander the Great, who commissioned an engineer from Chalkis to re-open it, was defeated first by discontents in Bœotia, and ultimately by his early death.[1]

Subterranean course of rivers, out of land-locked basins.

The Katabothra of the lake Kopaïs are a specimen of the phænomenon so frequent in Greece—lakes and rivers finding for themselves subterranean passages through the cavities in the limestone rocks, and even pursuing their unseen course for a considerable distance before they emerge to the light of day. In Arcadia, especially, several remarkable examples of subterranean water-communication occur: this central region of Peloponnêsus presents a cluster of such completely enclosed valleys or basins.[2]

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 407.

[2] Colonel Leake observes (Travels in Morea, vol. iii. pp. 45, 153—155), "The plain of Tripolitza (anciently that of Tegea and Mantineia) is by far the greatest of that cluster of valleys in the centre of Peloponnêsus, each of which is so closely shut in by the intersecting mountains, that no outlet is afforded to the waters except through the mountains themselves," &c. Respecting the Arcadian Orchomenus and its enclosed lake with Katabothra, see the same work, p. 103: and the mountain plains near Corinth, p. 263.

This temporary disappearance of the rivers was familiar to the ancient observers—οἱ καταπινόμενοι τῶν ποταμῶν (Aristot. Meteorolog. i. 13. Diodôr. xv. 49. Strabo, vi. p. 217; viii. p. 389, &c.).

Their familiarity with this phænomenon was in part the source of some geographical suppositions, which now appear to us extravagant, respecting the long subterranean and submarine course of certain rivers, and their reappearance at very distant points. Sophoklês said that the Inachus of Akarnania joined the Inachus of

It will be seen from these circumstances, that Greece, considering its limited total extent, offers but little motive, and still less of convenient means, for internal communication among its various inhabitants.[1] Each village or township occupying its plain with

Argolis; Ibykus the poet affirmed that the Asôpus near Sikyôn had its source in Phrygia; the river Inôpus of the little island of Dêlos was alleged by others to be an effluent from the mighty Nile; and the rhetor Zôilus, in a panegyrical oration to the inhabitants of Tenedos, went the length of assuring them that the Alpheius in Elis had its source in their island (Strabo, vi. p. 271). Not only Pindar and other poets (Antigon. Caryst. c. 155), but also the historian Timæus (Timæi Frag. 127, ed. Göller), and Pausanias also with the greatest confidence (v. 7, 2), believed that the fountain Arethusa at Syracuse was nothing else but the reappearance of the river Alpheius from Peloponnêsus: this was attested by the actual fact that a goblet or cup (φιάλη) thrown into the Alpheius had come up at the Syracusan fountain, which Timæus professed to have verified,—but even the arguments by which Strabo justifies his disbelief of this tale show how powerfully the phænomena of the Grecian rivers acted upon his mind. "If (says he, *l. c.*) the Alpheius, instead of flowing into the sea, fell into some chasm in the earth, there would be some plausibility in supposing that it continued its subterranean course as far as Sicily without mixing with the sea: but since its junction with the sea is matter of observation, and since there is no aperture visible near the shore to absorb the water of the river (στόμα τὸ καταπῖνον τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ), so it is plain that the water cannot maintain its separation and its sweetness, whereas the spring Arethusa is perfectly good to drink." I have translated here the sense rather than the words of Strabo; but the phænomena of "rivers falling into chasms and being drunk up" for a time is exactly what happens in Greece. It did not appear to Strabo impossible that the Alpheius might traverse so great a distance underground; nor do we wonder at this when we learn that a more able geographer than he (Eratosthenês) supposed that the marshes of Rhinokolura, between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, were formed by the Euphratês and Tigris, which flowed underground for the length of 6000 stadia or furlongs (Strabo, xvi. p. 741; Seidel, Fragm. Eratosth. p. 194): compare the story about the Euphrates passing underground and reappearing in Ethiopia as the river Nile (Pausan. ii. 5, 3). This disappearance and reappearance of rivers connected itself, in the minds of ancient physical philosophers, with the supposition of vast reservoirs of water in the interior of the earth, which were protruded upwards to the surface by some gaseous force (see Seneca, Nat. Quæst. vi. 8). Pomponius Mela mentions an idea of some writers, that the source of the Nile was to be found, not in our (οἰκουμένη) habitable section of the globe, but in the Antichthon, or southern continent, and that it flowed under the ocean to rise up in Ethiopia (Mela, i. 9, 55).

These views of the ancients, evidently based upon the analogy of Grecian rivers, are well set forth by M. Letronne in a paper on the situation of the Terrestrial Paradise as represented by the Fathers of the Church; cited in A. von Humboldt, Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie, &c., vol. iii. p. 118—130.

[1] "Upon the arrival of the king and regency in 1833 (observes Mr. Strong), no carriage roads existed in Greece; nor were they indeed much wanted previously, as down to that period not a carriage, waggon, or cart, or any other description of vehicles, was to be found in the whole country. The traffic in general was carried on by means of boats, to which the long indented line of the Grecian coast and its numerous islands afforded every facility. Between the seaports and the interior of the kingdom, the communication was effected by means of beasts of burden, such as mules, horses, and camels." (Statistics of Greece, p. 33.)

This exhibits a retrograde march to a point lower than the description of the Odyssey, where Telemachus and Peisistratus drive their chariot from Pylus to Sparta. The remains of the ancient roads are still seen in many parts of Greece (Strong, p. 34).

the enclosing mountains,[1] supplied its own main wants, whilst the transport of commodities by land was sufficiently difficult to discourage greatly any regular commerce with neighbours. In so far as the face of the interior country was concerned, it seemed as if nature had been disposed from the beginning to keep the population of Greece socially and politically disunited—by providing so many hedges of separation, and so many boundaries, generally hard, sometimes impossible, to overleap. One special motive to intercourse, however, arose out of this very geographical constitution of the country, and its endless alternation of mountain and valley. The difference of climate and temperature between the high and low grounds is very great; the harvest is secured in one place before it is ripe in another, and the cattle find during the heat of summer shelter and pasture on the hills, at a time when the plains are burnt up.[2] The practice of transferring them from the mountains to the plain according to the change of season, which subsists still as it did in ancient times, is intimately connected with the structure of the country, and must from the earliest period have brought about communication among the otherwise disunited villages.[3]

Difficulty of land-communication and transport in Greece.

Such difficulties, however, in the internal transit by land were to a great extent counteracted by the large proportion of coast and

[1] Dr. Clarke's description deserves to be noticed, though his warm eulogies on the fertility of the soil, taken generally, are not borne out by later observers:—"The physical phænomena of Greece, differing from those of any other country, present a series of beautiful plains, successively surrounded by mountains of limestone; resembling, although upon a larger scale, and rarely accompanied by volcanic products, the craters of the Phlegræan fields. Everywhere their level surfaces seem to have been deposited by water, gradually retired or evaporated; they consist for the most part of the richest soil, and their produce is yet proverbially abundant. In this manner stood the cities of Argos, Sikyôn, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, Athens, Thêbes, Amphissa, Orchomenus, Chæronea, Lebadea, Larissa, Pella, and many others." (Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. ch. 4, p. 74.)

[2] Sir W. Gell found, in the month of March, summer in the low plains of Messenia, spring in Laconia, winter in Arcadia (Journey in Greece, p. 355—359).

[3] The cold central region (or mountain plain—ὀροπέδιον) of Tripolitza differs in climate from the maritime regions of Peloponnêsus, as much as the south of England from the south of France . . . No appearance of spring on the trees near Tegea, though not more than twenty-four miles from Argos . . . Cattle are sent from thence every winter to the maritime plains of Elos in Laconia (Leake, Trav. in Morea, vol. i. pp. 88, 98, 197). The pasture on Mount Olono (boundary of Elis, Arcadia, and Achaia) is not healthy until June (Leake, vol. ii. p. 119); compare p. 348, and Fiedler, Reise, i. p. 314.

See also the instructive Inscription of Orchomenus, in Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung der Athener, t. ii. p. 380.

The transference of cattle, belonging

the accessibility of the country by sea. The prominences and indentations in the line of Grecian coast are hardly less remarkable than the multiplicity of elevations and depressions which everywhere mark the surface.[1] The shape of Peloponnêsus, with its three southern gulfs (the Argolic, Laconian and Messenian), was compared by the ancient geographers to the leaf of a plane-tree: the Pagasæan Gulf on the eastern side of Greece, and the Ambrakian Gulf on the western, with their narrow entrances and considerable area, are equivalent to internal lakes: Xenophôn boasts of the double sea which embraces so large a proportion of Attica, Ephorus of the triple sea by which Bœotia was accessible from west, north, and south—the Eubœan Strait opening a long line of country on both sides to coasting navigation.[2] But the most important of all Grecian gulfs are the Corinthian and the Saronic, washing the northern and north-eastern shores of Peloponnêsus and separated by the narrow barrier of the Isthmus of Corinth. The former, especially, lays open Ætolia, Phôkis, and Bœotia, as well as the whole northern coast of Peloponnêsus, to water approach. Corinth in ancient times served as an entrepôt for the trade between Italy and Asia Minor—goods being unshipped at Lechæum, the port on the Corinthian Gulf, and carried by land across to Kenchreæ, the port on the Saronic: indeed even the merchant vessels themselves, when not very large,[3] were conveyed across by the same

Indentations in the line of coast—universal accessibility by sea.

to proprietors in one state, for temporary pasturage in another, is as old as the Odyssey, and is marked by various illustrative incidents: see the cause of the first Messenian war (Diodor. Fragm. viii. vol. iv. p. 23, ed. Wess.; Pausan. iv. 4, 2).

1 "Universa autem (Peloponnêsus), velut pensante æquorum incursus naturâ, in montes 76 extollitur." (Plin. H. N. iv. 6.)

Strabo touches, in a striking passage (ii. p. 121—122), on the influence of the sea in determining the shape and boundaries of the land: his observations upon the great superiority of Europe over Asia and Africa in respect of intersection and interpenetration of land by the sea-water are remarkable: ἡ μὲν οὖν Εὐρώπη πολυσχημονεστάτη πασῶν ἐστι, &c. He does not specially name the coast of Greece, though his remarks have a more exact bearing upon Greece than upon any other country. And we may copy a passage out of Tacitus (Agricol. c. 10), written in reference to Britain, which applies far more precisely to Greece: "nusquam latius dominari mare . . . . nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus et ambire, *et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo*".

2 Xenophôn, De Vectigal. c. 1; Ephor. Frag. 67, ed. Marx; Stephan. Byz., Βοιωτία.

3 Pliny, H. N. iv. 5, about the Isthmus of Corinth: "Lechææ hinc, Cenchreæ illinc, angustiarum termini, longo et ancipiti navium ambitu (*i.e.* round Cape Malea), quas *magnitudo plaustris transvehi prohibet*: quam ob causam perfodere navigabili alveo angustias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, dictator Cæsar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero—infausto (ut omnium exitu patuit) incepto".

The διολκός, less than four miles across, where ships were drawn across,

route. It was accounted a prodigious advantage to escape the necessity of sailing round Cape Malea: and the violent winds and currents which modern experience attests to prevail around that formidable promontory, are quite sufficient to justify the apprehensions of the ancient Greek merchant, with his imperfect apparatus for navigation.[1]

It will thus appear that there was no part of Greece Proper which could be considered as out of reach of the sea, while most parts of it were convenient and easy of access: in fact, the Arcadians were the only large section of the Hellenic name (we may add the Doric Tetrapolis and the mountaineers along the chain of Pindus and Tymphrêstus) who were altogether without a seaport.[2] But Greece Proper constituted only a fraction of the entire Hellenic world, during the historical age; there were the numerous islands, and still more numerous continental colonies, all located as independent intruders on distinct points of the coast,[3] in the Euxine, the Ægean, the Mediterranean and the

Sea-communication essential for the islands and colonies.

if their size permitted, stretched from Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf, to Schœnus, a little eastward of Kenchreæ, on the Sarônic Gulf (Strabo, viii. p. 380). Strabo (viii. p. 335) reckons the breadth of the διολκός at forty stadia (about 4¾ English miles); the reality, according to Leake, is 3½ English miles (Travels in Morea, vol. ii. ch. xxix. p. 297).

[1] The north wind, the Etêsian wind of the ancients, blows strong in the Ægean nearly the whole summer, and with especially dangerous violence at three points,—under Karystos, the southern cape of Eubœa, near Cape Malea, and in the narrow strait between the islands of Tênos, Mykonos, and Dêlos (Ross, Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln, vol. i. p. 20). See also Colonel Leake's account of the terror of the Greek boatmen from the gales and currents round Mount Athos: the canal cut by Xerxes through the isthmus was justified by sound reasons (Travels in Northern Greece, vol. iii. c. 24, p. 145).

[2] The Periplus of Skylax enumerates every section of the Greek name, with the insignificant exceptions noticed in the text, as partaking of the line of coast; it even mentions Arcadia (c. 45), because at that time Lepreum had shaken off the supremacy of Elis, and was confederated with the Arcadians (about 360 B.C.): Lepreum possessed about twelve miles of coast, which therefore count as Arcadian.

[3] Cicero (De Republicâ, ii. 2—4, in the fragments of that lost treatise, ed. Maii) noticed emphatically both the general maritime accessibility of Grecian towns, and the effects of that circumstance on Grecian character:—"Quod de Corintho dixi, id haud scio an liceat de cunctâ Græciâ verissime dicere. Nam et ipsa Peloponnesus fere tota in mari est: nec præter Phliuntios ulli sunt, quorum agri non contingant mare: et extra Peloponnesum Ænianes et Dores et Dolopes soli absunt a mari. Quid dicam insulas Græciæ, quæ fluctibus cinctæ natant pæne ipsæ simul cum civitatium institutis et moribus? Atque hæc quidem, ut supra dixi, veteris sunt Græciæ. Coloniarum vero quæ est deducta a Graiis in Asiam, Thraciam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam, præter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non alluat? Ita barbarorum agris quasi adtexta quædam videtur ora esse Græciæ."

Compare Cicero, Epistol. ad Attic. vi. 2, with the reference to Dikæarchus, who agreed to a great extent in Plato's objections against a maritime site (De

Adriatic; and distant from each other by the space which separates Trebizond from Marseilles. All these various cities were comprised in the name Hellas, which implied no geographical continuity: all prided themselves on Hellenic blood, name, religion and mythical ancestry. As the only communication between them was maritime, so the sea, important even if we look to Greece Proper exclusively, was the sole channel for transmitting ideas and improvements, as well as for maintaining sympathies, social, political, religious, and literary, throughout these outlying members of the Hellenic aggregate.

Views of the ancient philosophers on the influence of maritime habits and commerce.

The ancient philosophers and legislators were deeply impressed with the contrast between an inland and a maritime city: in the former, simplicity and uniformity of life, tenacity of ancient habits and dislike of what is new or foreign, great force of exclusive sympathy and narrow range both of objects and ideas; in the latter, variety and novelty of sensations, expansive imagination, toleration, and occasional preference for extraneous customs, greater activity of the individual and corresponding mutability of the state. This distinction stands prominent in the many comparisons instituted between the Athens of Periklês and the Athens of the earlier times down to Solôn. Both Plato and Aristotle dwell upon it emphatically—and the former especially, whose genius conceived the comprehensive scheme of prescribing beforehand and ensuring in practice the whole course of individual thought and feeling in his imaginary community, treats maritime communication, if pushed beyond the narrowest limits, as fatal to the success and permanence of any wise scheme of education. Certain it is that a great difference of character existed between those Greeks who mingled much in maritime affairs, and those who did not. The Arcadian may stand as a type of the pure Grecian landsman, with his rustic and illiterate habits[1]—his diet of sweet chestnuts, barley cakes and pork (as contrasted with the fish

Difference between the land-states and the sea-states in Greece.

Legg. iv. p. 705: also Aristot. Politic. vii. 5—6). The sea (says Plato) is indeed a salt and bitter neighbour (*μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἁλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα*), though convenient for purposes of daily use.

[1] Hekataeus, Fragm. *Ἀρκαδικὸν δεῖπνον . . . . μάζας καὶ ὕεια κρέα.* Herodot. i. 66. *Βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες.* Theocrit. Id. vii. 106.—

Κῆν μὲν ταῦθ' ἑρδῇς, ὦ Πὰν φίλε, μή τί τυ παῖδες

which formed the chief seasoning for the bread of an Athenian) —his superior courage and endurance—his reverence for Lacedæmonian headship as an old and customary influence—his sterility of intellect and imagination as well as his slackness in enterprise—his unchangeable rudeness of relations with the gods, which led him to scourge and prick Pan if he came back empty-handed from the chase; while the inhabitant of Phôkæa or Milêtus exemplifies the Grecian mariner, eager in search of gain —active, skilful, and daring at sea, but inferior in steadfast bravery on land—more excitable in imagination as well as more mutable in character—full of pomp and expense in religious manifestations towards the Ephesian Artemis or the Apollo of Branchidæ: with a mind more open to the varieties of Grecian energy and to the refining influences of Grecian civilization. The Peloponnesians generally, and the Lacedæmonians in particular, approached to the Arcadian type—while the Athenians of the fifth century B.C. stood foremost in the other; superadding to it however a delicacy of taste, and a predominance of intellectual sympathy and enjoyments, which seem to have been peculiar to themselves.

Effects of the configuration of Greece upon the political relations of the inhabitants.

The configuration of the Grecian territory, so like in many respects to that of Switzerland, produced two effects of great moment upon the character and history of the people. In the first place, it materially strengthened their powers of defence: it shut up the country against those invasions from the interior which successively subjugated all their continental colonies; and it at the same time rendered each fraction more difficult to be attacked by the rest, so as to exercise a certain conservative influence in assuring the tenure of actual possessors: for the pass of Thermopylæ between Thessaly and Phokis, that of Kithærôn between Bœotia and Attica, or the mountainous range of Oneion and Geraneia along the Isthmus of Corinth, were positions which an inferior number of brave men could hold against a much greater force of

'Αρκαδικοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε καὶ ὦμους Δακνόμενος κνάσαιο, &c.

Ταυίκα μαστίσδοιεν ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη·
Εἰ δ' ἄλλως νεύσαις κατὰ μὲν χρόα πάντ' ὀνύχεσσι

The alteration of Χῖοι, which is obviously out of place, in the scholia on this passage, to ἔνιοι, appears unquestionable.

assailants. But, in the next place, while it tended to protect each section of Greeks from being conquered, it also kept them politically disunited and perpetuated their separate autonomy. It fostered that powerful principle of repulsion, which disposed even the smallest township to constitute itself a political unit apart from the rest, and to resist all idea of coalescence with others, either amicable or compulsory. To a modern reader, accustomed to large political aggregations, and securities for good government through the representative system, it requires a certain mental effort to transport himself back to a time when even the smallest town clung so tenaciously to its right of self-legislation. Nevertheless such was the general habit and feeling of the ancient world, throughout Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Gaul. Among the Hellens it stands out more conspicuously, for several reasons—first, because they seem to have pushed the multiplication of autonomous units to an extreme point, seeing that even islands not larger than Peparêthos and Amorgos had two or three separate city communities:[1] secondly, because they produced, for the first time in the history of mankind, acute systematic thinkers on matters of government, amongst all of whom the idea of the autonomous city was accepted as the indispensable basis of political speculation; thirdly, because this incurable subdivision proved finally the cause of their ruin, in spite of pronounced intellectual superiority over their conquerors; and lastly, because incapacity of political coalescence did not preclude a powerful and extensive sympathy between the inhabitants of all the separate cities, with a constant tendency to fraternise for numerous purposes, social, religious, recreative, intellectual, and æsthetical. For these reasons, the indefinite multiplication of self-governing towns, though in truth a phænomenon common to ancient Europe as contrasted with the large monarchies of Asia, appears more marked among the ancient Greeks than elsewhere: and there cannot be any doubt that they owe it, in a considerable degree, to the multitude of insulating boundaries which the configuration of their country presented.

Nor is it rash to suppose that the same causes may have tended to promote that unborrowed intellectual development for which they stand so conspicuous. General propositions respecting

[1] Skylax, Peripl. 59.

the working of climate and physical agencies upon character are indeed treacherous; for our knowledge of the globe is now sufficient to teach us that heat and cold, mountain and plain, sea and land, moist and dry atmosphere, are all consistent with the greatest diversities of resident men: moreover the contrast between the population of Greece itself, for the seven centuries preceding the Christian æra, and the Greeks of more modern times, is alone enough to inculcate reserve in such speculations. Nevertheless we may venture to note certain improving influences, connected with their geographical position, at a time when they had no books to study, and no more advanced predecessors to imitate. We may remark, first, that their position made them at once mountaineers and mariners, thus supplying them with great variety of objects, sensations, and adventures; next, that each petty community, nestled apart amidst its own rocks,[1] was sufficiently severed from the rest to possess an individual life and attributes of its own, yet not so far as to subtract it from the sympathies of the remainder; so that an observant Greek, commercing with a great diversity of half-countrymen, whose language he understood, and whose idiosyncrasies he could appreciate, had access to a larger mass of social and political experience than any other man in so unadvanced an age could personally obtain. The Phœnician, superior to the Greek on ship-board, traversed wider distances and saw a greater number of strangers, but had not the same means of intimate communion with a multiplicity of fellows in blood and language. His relations, confined to purchase and sale, did not comprise that mutuality of action and reaction which pervaded the crowd at a Grecian festival. The scene which here presented itself was a mixture of uniformity and variety highly stimulating to the observant faculties of a man of genius,—who at the same time, if he sought to communicate his own impressions, or to act upon this mingled and diverse audience, was forced to shake off what was peculiar to his own town or community, and to put forth matter in harmony with the feelings of all. It is thus that we may explain in part that penetrating apprehension of human life and character, and that power of touching sympathies

Effects upon their intellectual development.

[1] Cicero, de Orator. i. 44, "Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis, sicut nidulum, affixam".

common to all ages and nations, which surprises us so much in the unlettered authors of the old epic. Such periodical intercommunion, of brethren habitually isolated from each other, was the only means then open of procuring for the bard a diversified range of experience and a many-coloured audience; and it was to a great degree the result of geographical causes. Perhaps among other nations such facilitating causes might have been found, yet without producing any result comparable to the Iliad and Odyssey. But Homer was nevertheless dependent upon the conditions of his age, and we can at least point out those peculiarities in early Grecian society without which Homeric excellence would never have existed,—the geographical position is one, the language another.

Mineral productions.

In mineral and metallic wealth Greece was not distinguished. Gold was obtained in considerable abundance in the island of Siphnos, which, throughout the sixth century B.C., was among the richest communities of Greece, and possessed a treasure-chamber at Delphi distinguished for the richness of its votive offerings. At that time gold was so rare in Greece, that the Lacedæmonians were obliged to send to the Lydian Crœsus in order to provide enough of it for the gilding of a statue.[1] It appears to have been more abundant in Asia Minor, and the quantity of it in Greece was much multiplied by the opening of mines in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and even some parts of Thessaly. In the island of Thasos, too, some mines were re-opened with profitable result, which had been originally begun, and subsequently abandoned, by Phœnician settlers of an earlier century. From these same districts also was procured a considerable amount of silver: while about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., the first effective commencement seems to have been made of turning to account the rich southern district of Attica, called Laureion. Copper was obtained in various parts of Greece, especially in Cyprus and Eubœa—in which latter island was also found the earth called Cadmia, employed for the purification of the ore. Bronze was used among the Greeks for

[1] Herodot. i. 52; iii. 57; vi. 46—125. Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, B. i. ch. 3.

The gold and silver offerings sent to the Delphian temple, even from the Homeric times (Il. ix. 405) downwards, were numerous and valuable; especially those dedicated by Crœsus, who (Herodot. i. 17—52) seems to have surpassed all predecessors.

many purposes in which iron is now employed: and even the arms of the Homeric heroes (different in this respect from the later historical Greeks) are composed of copper, tempered in such a way as to impart to it an astonishing hardness. Iron was found in Eubœa, Bœotia, and Melos—but still more abundantly in the mountainous region of the Laconian Taygetus. There is however no part of Greece where the remains of ancient metallurgy appear now so conspicuous, as the island of Seriphos. The excellence and varieties of marble, from Pentelikus, Hymettus, Paros, Karystus, &c., and other parts of the country—so essential for purposes of sculpture and architecture—are well known.[1]

Its chief productions.

Situated under the same parallels of latitude as the coast of Asia Minor, and the southernmost regions of Italy and Spain, Greece produced wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil, in the earliest times of which we have any knowledge; though the currants, Indian corn, silk, and tobacco which the country now exhibits, are an addition of more recent times. Theophrastus and other authors amply attest the observant and industrious agriculture prevalent among the ancient Greeks, as well as the care with which its various natural productions, comprehending a great diversity of plants, herbs, and trees, were turned to account. The cultivation of the vine and the olive—the latter indispensable to ancient life not merely for the purposes which it serves at present, but also from the constant habit then prevalent of anointing the body—appears to have been particularly elaborate; and the many different accidents of soil, level, and exposure, which were to be found, not only in Hellas Proper, but also among the scattered Greek settlements, afforded to observant planters materials for study and comparison. The barley cake seems to have been more generally eaten than the wheaten loaf;[2] but one or other of them, together with vegetables and fish (sometimes fresh, but more frequently salt), was the common food of the population; the

[1] Strabo, x. p. 447; xiv. p. 680—684. Stephan. Byz., v. Αἴδηψος, Λακεδαίμων. Kruse, Hellas, ch. iv. vol. i. p. 328. Fiedler, Reisen in Griechenland, vol. ii. p. 118—559.

[2] At the repast provided at the public cost for those who dined in the Prytaneium of Athens, Solôn directed barley-cakes for ordinary days, wheaten bread for festivals (Athenæus, iv. p. 137).

The milk of ewes and goats was in ancient Greece preferred to that of cows (Aristot. Hist. Animal. iii. 15, 5—7); at present also cow's-milk and butter is considered unwholesome in Greece, and is seldom or never eaten (Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. ch. 4, p. 368).

Arcadians fed much upon pork, and the Spartans also consumed animal food, but by the Greeks generally fresh meat seems to have been little eaten, except at festivals and sacrifices. The Athenians, the most commercial people in Greece Proper, though their light, dry, and comparatively poor soil produced excellent barley, nevertheless did not grow enough corn for their own consumption: they imported considerable supplies of corn from Sicily, from the coasts of the Euxine, and the Tauric Chersonese, and salt fish both from the Propontis and even from Gades:[1] the distance from whence these supplies came, when we take into consideration the extent of fine corn-land in Bœotia and Thessaly, proves how little internal trade existed between the various regions of Greece Proper. The exports of Athens consisted in her figs and other fruit, olives, oil—for all of which she was distinguished—together with pottery, ornamental manufactures, and the silver from her mines at Laureion. Salt-fish doubtless found its way more or less throughout all Greece;[2] but the population of other states in Greece lived more exclusively upon their own produce than the Athenians, with less of purchase and sale[3]—a mode of life assisted by the simple domestic economy universally prevalent, in which the women not only carded and spun all the wool, but also wove out of it the clothing and bedding employed in the family. Weaving was then considered as much a woman's business as spinning, and the same feeling and habits still prevail to the present day in modern Greece, where the loom is constantly seen in the peasants' cottages, and always worked by women.[4]

[1] Theophrast. Caus. Pl. ix. 2, Demosthen. adv. Leptin. c. 9. That salt-fish from the Propontis and from Gades was sold in the markets of Athens during the Peloponnesian war, appears from a fragment of the Marikas of Eupolis (Fr. 23, ed. Meineke; Stephan. Byz., v. Γάδειρα):—

Πότερ' ἦν τὸ τάριχος, Φρύγιον ἢ Γαδειρικόν;

The Phœnician merchants who brought the salt-fish from Gades, took back with them Attic pottery for sale among the African tribes of the coast of Morocco (Skylax, Peripl. c. 109).

[2] Simonidês, Fragm. 109, Gaisford.—

Πρόσθε μὲν ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων τρηχεῖαν ἀσιλλαν

Ἰχθῦς ἐξ Ἄργους εἰς Τεγέαν ἔφερον. &c.

The Odyssey mentions certain inland people who knew nothing either of the sea, or of ships, or the taste of salt: Pausanias looks for them in Epirus (Odyss. xi. 121; Pausan. i. 12, 3).

[3] Αὐτουργοί τε γὰρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι (says Perikles in his speech to the Athenians at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, Thucyd. i. 141) καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, &c.—ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, &c. (ib. c. 142).

[4] In Egypt the men sat at home and wove, while the women did out-door business; both the one and the other excite the surprise of Herodotus and

Climate—better and more healthy in ancient times than it is now.

The climate of Greece appears to be generally described by modern travellers in more favourable terms than it was by the ancients, which is easily explicable from the classical interest, picturesque beauties, and transparent atmosphere, so vividly appreciated by an English or a German eye. Herodotus,[1] Hippokratês, and Aristotle, treat the climate of Asia as far more genial and favourable both to animal and vegetable life, but at the same time more enervating than that of Greece: the latter they speak of chiefly in reference to its changeful character and diversities of local temperature, which they consider as highly stimulant to the energies of the inhabitants. There is reason to conclude that ancient Greece was much more healthy than the same territory is at present, inasmuch as it was more industriously cultivated, and the towns both more carefully administered and better supplied with water. But the differences in respect of healthiness, between one portion of Greece and another, appear always to have been considerable, and this, as well as the diversities of climate, affected the local habits and character of the particular sections. Not merely were there great differences between the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains[2]—between Lokrians, Ætolians, Phokians, Dorians, Œtæans and Arcadians, on one hand, and the inhabitants of Attica, Bœotia, and Elis, on the other—but each of the various tribes which went to compose these categories had its peculiarities; and the marked contrast between Athenians and Bœotians was supposed to be represented by the light and heavy atmosphere which they respectively breathed. Nor was this all: for even among the Bœotian aggregate, every town had its own separate attributes, physical as well as moral and political:[3] Orôpus, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Thêbes,

Great difference between one part of Greece and another.

Sophoklês (Herod. ii. 35; Soph. Œd. Col. 340).

For the spinning and weaving of the modern Greek peasant women, see Leake, Trav. Morea, vol. i. pp. 13, 18, 223, &c.; Strong, Stat. p. 285.

[1] Herodot. i. 142; Hippokrat. De Aëre, Loc. et Aq. c. 12—13; Aristot. Polit. xii. 6, 1.

[2] The mountaineers of Ætolia are, at this time, unable to come down into the marshy plain of Wrachori, without being taken ill after a few days (Fiedler, Reise in Griech. i. p. 184).

[3] Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 145, ed. Fuhr —Βίος Ἑλλάδος. Ἱστοροῦσι δ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντα ἴδια ἀκληρήματα λέγοντες ταῦτα—Τὴν μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν κατοικεῖν ἐν Ὠρώπῳ, τὸν δὲ φθόνον ἐν Τανάγρᾳ, τὴν φιλορεικίαν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς, τὴν ὕβριν ἐν Θήβαις, τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν Ἀνθήδονι, τὴν περιεργίαν

Anthêdôn, Haliartus, Korôneia, Onchêstus, and Platæa, were known to Bœotians each by its own characteristic epithet: and Dikæarchus even notices a marked distinction between the inhabitants of the city of Athens and those in the country of Attica. Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Sikyôn, though all called Doric, had each its own dialect and peculiarities. All these differences, depending in part upon climate, site, and other physical considerations, contributed to nourish antipathies, and to perpetuate that imperfect cohesion, which has already been noticed as an indelible feature in Hellas.

Epirots, Macedonians, &c.

The Epirotic tribes, neighbours of the Ætolians and Akarnanians, filled the space between Pindus and the Ionian Sea until they joined to the northward the territory inhabited by the powerful and barbarous Illyrians. Of these Illyrians the native Macedonian tribes appear to have been an outlying section, dwelling northward of Thessaly and Mount Olympus, eastward of the chain by which Pindus is continued, and westward of the river Axius. The Epirots were comprehended under the various denominations of Chaonians, Molossians, Thesprotians, Kassopæans, Amphilochians, Athamānes, the Æthīkes, Tymphæi, Orestæ, Paroræi, and Atintānes[1]—most of the latter being small communities dispersed about the mountainous region of Pindus. There was however much confusion in the application of the comprehensive name *Epirot*, which was a title given altogether by the Greeks, and given purely upon geographical, not upon ethnical considerations. Epirus seems at first to have stood opposed to Peloponnêsus, and to have signified the general region northward of the Gulf of Corinth; and in this primitive sense it comprehended the Ætolians and Akarnanians, portions of whom spoke a dialect difficult to understand, and were not less widely removed than the Epirots from Hellenic habits.[2] The oracle of Dôdôna forms the point of ancient union between Greeks and Epirots, which was superseded by Delphi as the civilization of Hellas developed

ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, ἐν Πλαταίαις τὴν ἀλαζόνειαν, τὸν πυρετὸν ἐν Ὀγχήστῳ, τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ.

About the distinction between Ἀθηναῖοι and Ἀττικοί, see the same work, p. 11.

[1] Strabo, vii. pp. 323, 324, 326; Thucydid. ii. 68. Theopompus (ap. Strab. l. c.) reckoned 14 Epirotic ἔθνη.

[2] Herodot. i. 146: ii. 56; vi. 127.

itself. Nor is it less difficult to distinguish Epirots from Macedonians on the one hand than from Hellênes on the other; the language, the dress, and the fashion of wearing the hair being often analogous, while the boundaries, amidst rude men and untravelled tracts, were very inaccurately understood.[1]

In describing the limits occupied by the Hellênes in 776 B.C., we cannot yet take account of the important colonies of Leukas and Ambrakia, established by the Corinthians subsequently on the western coast of Epirus. The Greeks of that early time seem to comprise the islands of Kephallenia, Zakynthus, Ithaka, and Dulichium, but no settlement, either inland or insular, farther northward.

They include farther, confining ourselves to 776 B.C., the great mass of islands between the coast of Greece and that of Asia Minor, from Tenedos on the north, to Rhodes, Krête, and Kythêra southward: and the great islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Eubœa, as well as the groups called the Sporades, and the Cyclades. Respecting the four considerable islands nearer to the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace—Lêmnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos—it may be doubted whether they were at that time hellenised. The Catalogue of the Iliad includes under Agamemnôn contingents from Ægina, Eubœa, Krête, Karpathus, Kasus, Kôs, and Rhodes; in the oldest epical testimony which we possess, these islands thus appear inhabited by Greeks; but the others do not occur in the Catalogue, and are never mentioned in such manner as to enable us to draw any inference. Eubœa ought perhaps rather to be looked upon as a portion of Grecian mainland (from which it was only separated by a strait narrow enough to be bridged over) than as an island. But the last five islands named in the Catalogue are all either wholly or partially Doric: no Ionic or Æolic island appears in it: these latter, though it was among them that the poet sung, appear to be represented by their ancestral heroes who come from Greece Proper.

Islands in the Ægean.

The last element to be included, as going to make up the

[1] Strabo, vii. p. 327.

Several of the Epirotic tribes were δίγλωσσοι,—spoke Greek in addition to their native tongue.

See, on all the inhabitants of these regions, the excellent dissertation of O. Müller above quoted, Ueber die Makedoner; appended to the first volume of the English translation of his history of the Dorians.

Greece of 776 B.C., is the long string of Doric, Ionic and Æolic settlements on the coast of Asia Minor—occupying a space bounded on the north by the Troad and the region of Ida, and extending southward as far as the peninsula of Knidus. Twelve continental cities, over and above the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, are reckoned by Herodotus as ancient Æolic foundations—Smyrna, Kymê, Larissa, Neon-Teichos, Têmnos, Killa, Notium, Ægirœssa, Pitana, Ægæ, Myrina, and Gryneia. Smyrna, having been at first Æolic, was afterwards acquired through a stratagem by Ionic inhabitants, and remained permanently Ionic. Phokæa, the northernmost of the Ionic settlements, bordered upon Æolis; Klazomenæ, Erythræ, Teôs, Lebedos, Kolophôn, Priênê, Myus, and Milêtus, continued the Ionic name to the southward. These, together with Samos and Chios, formed the Panionic federation.[1] To the south of Milêtus, after a considerable interval, lay the Doric establishments of Myndus, Halikarnassus, and Knidus: the two latter, together with the island of Kôs and the three townships in Rhodes, constituted the Doric Hexapolis, or communion of six cities, concerted primarily with a view to religious purposes, but producing a secondary effect analogous to political federation.

Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor.

Such then is the extent of Hellas, as it stood at the commencement of the recorded Olympiads. To draw a picture even for this date, we possess no authentic materials, and are obliged to antedate statements which belong to a later age: and this consideration might alone suffice to show how uncertified are all delineations of the Greece of 1183 B.C., the supposed epoch of the Trojan war, four centuries earlier.

[1] Herodot. i. 143—150.

CHAPTER II.

THE HELLENIC PEOPLE GENERALLY, IN THE EARLY HISTORICAL TIMES.

THE territory indicated in the last chapter—south of Mount Olympus, and south of the line which connects the city of Ambrakia with Mount Pindus,—was occupied during the historical period by the central stock of the Hellens or Greeks, from which their numerous outlying colonies were planted out.

The Hellens generally.—Barbarians—the word used as antithesis to Hellens.

Both metropolitans and colonists styled themselves Hellens, and were recognised as such by each other: all glorying in the name as the prominent symbol of fraternity,—all describing non-Hellenic men or cities by a word which involved associations of repugnance. Our term *barbarian*, borrowed from this latter word, does not express the same idea; for the Greeks spoke thus indiscriminately of the extra-Hellenic world with all its inhabitants,[1] whatever might be the gentleness of their character, and whatever might be their degree of civilization. The rulers and people of Egyptian Thêbes with their ancient and gigantic monuments, the wealthy Tyrians and Carthaginians, the phil-Hellene Arganthonius of Tartêssus, and the well-disciplined patricians of Rome (to the indignation of old Cato),[2] were all comprised in it. At first it seemed to have expressed more of repugnance than of contempt, and repugnance especially towards the sound of a

[1] See the protest of Eratosthenês against the continuance of the classification into Greek and Barbarian, after the latter word had come to imply rudeness (ap. Strabo. ii. p. 66; Eratosth. Fragm. Seidel. p. 85).

[2] Cato, Fragment. ed. Lion. p. 46: ap. Plin. H. N. xxii. 1. A remarkable extract from Cato's letter to his son, intimating his strong antipathy to the Greeks: he proscribes their medicine altogether, and admits only a slight taste of their literature:—"quod bonum sit eorum literas inspicere, non perdiscere. . . . . Jurarunt inter se Barbaros necare omnes medicinâ, sed hoc ipsum mercede faciunt, ut fides iis sit et facile disperdant. Nos quoque

foreign language.[1] Afterwards a feeling of their own superior intelligence (in part well-justified) arose among the Greeks, and their term *barbarian* was used so as to imply a low state of the temper and intelligence: in which sense it was retained by the semi-hellenised Romans, as the proper antithesis to their state of civilization. The want of a suitable word, corresponding to *barbarian* as the Greeks originally used it, is so inconvenient in the description of Grecian phænomena and sentiments, that I may be obliged occasionally to use the word in its primitive sense.

The Hellens were all of common blood and parentage,—were all descendants of the common patriarch Hellên. In treating of the historical Greeks, we have to accept this as a datum: it represents the sentiment under the influence of which they moved and acted. It is placed by Herodotus in the front rank, as the chief of those four ties which bound together the Hellenic aggregate: 1. Fellowship of blood; 2. Fellowship of language; 3. Fixed domiciles of gods, and sacrifices, common to all; 4. Like manners and dispositions.

Hellenic aggregate—how held together. 1. Fellowship of blood.

These (say the Athenians in their reply to the Spartan envoys, in the very crisis of the Persian invasion) "Athens will never disgrace herself by betraying". And Zeus Hellenius was recognised as the god watching over and enforcing the fraternity thus constituted.[2]

Hekatæus, Herodotus, and Thucydidês,[3] all believed that there

dictitant Barbaros et spurios, nosque magis quam alios, Opicos appellatione fœdant."

[1] Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων, Homer, Iliad, ii. 867. Homer does not use the word βάρβαροι or any words signifying either a Hellen generally or a non-Hellen generally (Thucyd. i. 4). Compare Strabo, viii. p. 370; and xiv. p. 662.

Ovid reproduces the primitive sense of the word βάρβαρος when he speaks of himself as an exile at Tomi (Trist. v. 10—27):—

"Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli".

The Egyptians had a word in their language the exact equivalent of βάρβαρος in this sense (Herod. ii. 158).

[2] Herod. viii. 144. . . . τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα· τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. (Ib. ix. 7.) Ἡμεῖς δὲ, Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι, &c.

Compare Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 147, ed. Fuhr.; and Thucyd. iii. 59—τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα . . . θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων: also the provision about the κοινὰ ἱερά in the treaty between Sparta and Athens (Thuc. v. 18; Strabo, ix. p. 419).

It was a part of the proclamation solemnly made by the Eumolpidæ, prior to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, "All non-Hellens to keep away"—εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν (Isocrates, Orat. iv. Panegyr. p. 74).

[3] Hekatæ. Fragm. 356, ed. Klausen: compare Strabo, vii. p. 321; Herod. i. 57; Thucyd. i. 3—κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἀλλήλων συνίεσαν, &c.

had been an ante-Hellenic period, when different languages, mutually unintelligible, were spoken between Mount Olympus and Cape Malea. However this may be, during the historical times the Greek language was universal throughout these limits —branching out however into a great variety of dialects, which were roughly classified by later literary men into Ionic, Doric, Æolic, and Attic. But the classification presents a semblance of regularity, which in point of fact does not seem to have been realised; each town, each smaller subdivision of the Hellenic name, having peculiarities of dialect belonging to itself. Now the lettered men who framed the quadruple division took notice chiefly, if not exclusively, of the written dialects,—those which had been ennobled by poets or other authors; the mere spoken idioms were for the most part neglected.[1] That there was no such thing as one Ionic dialect in the speech of the people called Ionic Greeks, we know from the indisputable testimony of Herodotus,[2] who tells us that there were four capital varieties of speech among the twelve Asiatic towns especially known as Ionic. Of course the varieties would have been much more numerous if he had given us the impressions of his ear in Eubœa, the Cyclades, Massalia, Rhegium, and Olbia, —all numbered as Greeks and as Ionians. The Ionic dialect of the grammarians was an extract from Homer, Hekatæus, Herodotus, Hippokratês, &c.; to what living speech it made the nearest approach, amidst those divergencies which the historian has made known to us, we cannot tell. Sapphô and Alkæus in Lesbos, Myrtis and Korinna in Bœotia, were the great sources of reference for the Lesbian and Bœotian varieties of the Æolic dialect—of which there was a third variety, untouched by the poets, in Thessaly.[3] The analogy between the different manifestations of Doric and Æolic, as well as that between the Doric generally and the Æolic generally, contrasted with the Attic, is only to be taken as rough and approximative.

2. Common language.

[1] "Antiqui grammatici eas tantum dialectos spectabant, quibus scriptores usi essent: ceteras, quæ non vigebant nisi in ore populi, non notabant." (Ahrens, De Dialecto Æolicâ, p. 2.) The same has been the case, to a great degree, even in the linguistic researches of modern times, though printing now affords such increased facility for the registration of popular dialects.

[2] Herod. i. 142.

[3] Respecting the three varieties of the Æolic dialect, differing considerably from each other, see the valuable work of Ahrens, De Dial. Æol., sect. 2, 32, 50.

But all these different dialects are nothing more than dialects, distinguished as modifications of one and the same language, and exhibiting evidence of certain laws and principles pervading them all. They seem capable of being traced back to a certain ideal mother-language, peculiar in itself and distinguishable from, though cognate with, the Latin; a substantive member of what has been called the Indo-European family of languages. This truth has been brought out in recent times by the comparative examination applied to the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, German, and Lithuanian languages, as well as by the more accurate analysis of the Greek language itself to which such studies have given rise, in a manner much more clear than could have been imagined by the ancients themselves.[1] It is needless to dwell upon the importance of this uniformity of language in holding together the race, and in rendering the genius of its most favoured members available to the civilization of all. Except in the rarest cases, the divergencies of dialect were not such as to prevent every Greek from understanding, and being understood by, every other Greek,—a fact remarkable when we consider how many of their outlying colonists, not having taken out women in their emigration, intermarried, with non-Hellenic wives. And the perfection and popularity of their early epic poems were here of inestimable value for the diffusion of a common type of language, and for thus keeping together the sympathies of the Hellenic world.[2] The Homeric dialect became the standard followed by all Greek poets for the Hexameter, as may be seen particularly from the example of Hesiod—who adheres to it in the main, though his father was a native of the Æolic Kymê, and he himself resident at Askra, in Æolic Bœotia—and the early Iambic and Elegiac compositions are framed on the same model. Intellectual Greeks in all cities, even the most distant outcasts from the central hearth, became early accustomed to one type of literary speech, and possessors of a common stock of legends, maxims, and metaphors.

Greek language essentially one with a variety of dialects.

[1] The work of Albert Giese, Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt (unhappily not finished, on account of the early death of the author), presents an ingenious specimen of such analysis.

[2] See the interesting remarks of Dio Chrysostom on the attachment of the inhabitants of Olbia (or Borysthenes) to the Homeric poems: most of them, he says, could repeat the Iliad by heart, though their dialect was partially barbarised, and the city in a sad state of ruin (Dio Chrysost. Orat. xxxvi. p. 78, Reisk.).

3. Common religious sentiments, localities, and sacrifices.

That community of religious sentiments, localities, and sacrifices, which Herodotus names as the third bond of union among the Greeks, was a phænomenon not (like the race and the language) interwoven with their primitive constitution but of gradual growth. In the time of Herodotus, and even a century earlier, it was at its full maturity, but there had been a period when no religious meetings common to the whole Hellenic body existed. What are called the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games (the four most conspicuous amidst many others analogous) were in reality great religious festivals—for the gods then gave their special sanction, name, and presence, to recreative meetings—the closest association then prevailed between the feelings of common worship and the sympathy in common amusement.[1] Though this association is now no longer recognised, it is nevertheless essential that we should keep it fully before us, if we desire to understand the life and proceedings of the Greek. To Herodotus and his contemporaries, these great festivals, then frequented by crowds from every part of Greece, were of overwhelming importance and interest; yet they had once been purely local, attracting no visitors except from a very narrow neighbourhood. In the Homeric poems much is said about the common gods, and about special places consecrated to and occupied by several of them; the chiefs celebrate funeral games in honour of a deceased father, which are visited by competitors from different parts of Greece, but nothing appears to manifest public or town festivals open to Grecian visitors generally.[2] And though the rocky Pythô with its temple stands out in the Iliad as a place both venerated and rich—the Pythian games, under the superintendence of the Amphiktyons, with continuous enrolment of victors and a Pan-

1 Plato, Legg. ii. 1, p. 653; Kratylus, p. 406; and Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhetoric. c. 1—2, p. 226—Θεὸς μέν γέ που πάντως πάσης ἡστινοσοῦν, πανηγύρεως ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἐπώνυμος· οἷον Ὀλυμπίων μὲν, Ὀλύμπιος Ζεύς· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πυθοῖ, Ἀπολλών.

Apollo, the Muses, and Dionysus are ξυνεορτασταὶ καὶ ξυγχορευταί (Homer, Hymn to Apollo, 146). The same view of the sacred games is given by Livy in reference to the Romans and the Volsci (ii. 36—37):—"Se, ut consceleratos contaminatosque, ab *ludis, festis diebus, cœtu quodammodo hominum Deorumque*, abactos esse . . . ideo nos ab sede piorum, cœtu, concilioque abigi". It is curious to contrast this with the dislike and repugnance of Tertullian:—"Idololatria omnium ludorum mater est—quod enim spectaculum sine idolo, quis ludus sine sacrificio?" (De Spectaculis, p. 369.)

2 Iliad, xxiii. 630—679. The games celebrated by Akastus in honour of Pelias were famed in the old epic (Pausan. v. 17, 4. Apollodôr. i. 9, 28).

Hellenic reputation, do not begin until after the Sacred War, in the 48th Olympiad, or 586 B.C.[1]

Olympic and other sacred games.

The Olympic games, more conspicuous than the Pythian as well as considerably older, are also remarkable on another ground, inasmuch as they supplied historical computers with the oldest backward record of continuous time. It was in the year 776 B.C. that the Eleians inscribed the name of their countryman Korœbus as victor in the competition of runners, and that they began the practice of inscribing in like manner, in each Olympic or fifth recurring year, the name of the runner who won the prize. Even for a long time after this, however, the Olympic games seem to have remained a local festival; the prize being uniformly carried off, at the first twelve Olympiads, by some competitor either of Elis or its immediate neighbourhood. The Nemean and Isthmian games did not become notorious or frequented until later even than the Pythian. Solôn[2] in his legislation proclaimed the large reward of 500 drachms for every Athenian who gained an Olympic prize, and the lower sum of 100 drachms for an Isthmiac

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 421; Pausan. x. 7, 3. The first Pythian games celebrated by the Amphiktyons after the Sacred War carried with them a substantial reward to the victor (an ἀγὼν χρηματίτης); but in the next or second Pythian games nothing was given but an honorary reward or wreath of laurel leaves (ἀγὼν στεφανίτης): the first coincide with Olympiad 48, 3; the second with Olympiad 49, 3.

Compare Schol. ad Pindar. Pyth. Argument.; Pausan. x. 37, 45; Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien, sect. 3, 4, 5.

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo is composed at a time earlier than the Sacred War, when Krissa is flourishing; earlier than the Pythian games as celebrated by the Amphiktyons.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn. 23. The Isthmian Agôn was to a certain extent a festival of old Athenian origin; for among the many legends respecting its first institution, one of the most notorious represented it as having been founded by Thêseus after his victory over Sinis at the Isthmus (see Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. Argument.; Pausan. ii. 1, 4), or over Skeirôn (Plutarch, Theseus, c. 25). Plutarch says that they were first established by Thêseus as funeral games for Skeirôn, and Pliny gives the same story (H. N. vii. 57). According to Hellanikus, the Athenian Theôrs at the Isthmian games had a privileged place (Plutarch, *l. c.*).

There is therefore good reason why Solôn should single out the Isthmionikæ as persons to be specially rewarded, not mentioning the Pythionikæ and Nemeonikæ—the Nemean and Pythian games not having then acquired Hellenic importance. Diogenes Laërt. (i. 55) says that Solôn provided rewards, not only for victories at the Olympic and Isthmian, but also ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, which Krause (Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien, sect. 3, p. 13) supposes to be the truth; I think, very improbably. The sharp invective of Timokreôn against Themistoclês, charging him among other things with providing nothing but cold meat at the Isthmian games (Ἰσθμοῖ δ' ἐπανδόκευε γελοίως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων, Plutarch, Themistoc. c. 21), seems to imply that the Athenian visitors, whom the Theôrs were called upon to take care of at those games, were numerous.

prize. He counts the former as Pan-Hellenic rank and renown, an ornament even to the city of which the victor was a member —the latter as partial and confined to the neighbourhood.

Habit of common sacrifice an early feature of the Hellenic mind —began on a small scale.

Of the beginnings of these great solemnities we cannot presume to speak, except in mythical language: we know them only in their comparative maturity. But the habit of common sacrifice, on a small scale and between near neighbours, is a part of the earliest habits of Greece. The sentiment of fraternity, between two tribes or villages, first manifested itself by sending a sacred legation or Theôria[1] to offer sacrifices at each other's festivals and to partake in the recreations which followed; thus establishing a truce with solemn guarantee, and bringing themselves into direct connexion each with the god of the other under his appropriate local surname. The pacific communion so fostered, and the increased assurance of intercourse, as Greece gradually emerged from the turbulence and pugnacity of the heroic age, operated especially in extending the range of this ancient habit: the village festivals became town festivals, largely frequented by the citizens of other towns, and sometimes with special invitations sent round to attract Theôrs from every Hellenic community,—and thus these once humble assemblages gradually swelled into the pomp and immense confluence of the Olympic and Pythian games. The city administering such holy ceremonies enjoyed inviolability of territory during the month of their occurrence, being itself under obligation at that time to refrain from all aggression, as well as to notify by heralds[2] the commencement of the truce to all other cities not in avowed hostility with it. Elis imposed heavy fines upon other towns—even on the powerful Lacedæmon—for violation of the Olympic truce, on pain of exclusion from the festival in case of non-payment.

[1] In many Grecian states (as at Ægina, Mantineia, Trœzén, Thasos, &c.), these Theôrs formed a permanent college, and seem to have been invested with extensive functions in reference to religious ceremonies: at Athens they were chosen for the special occasion (see Thucyd. v. 47; Aristotel. Polit. v. 8, 3: O. Müller, Æginetica. p. 135; Demosthen. de Fals. Leg. p. 380).

[2] About the sacred truce, Olympian, Isthmian, &c., formally announced by two heralds crowned with garlands sent from the administering city, and with respect to which many tricks were played, see Thucyd. v. 49; Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 7. 1—7; Plutarch, Lycurg. 23; Pindar, Isthm. ii. 35.—σπονδοφόροι — καρυκες ὡρῶν — Thucyd. viii. 9—10 is also peculiarly instructive in regard to the practice and the feeling.

Sometimes this tendency to religious fraternity took a form called an Amphiktyony, different from the common festival. A certain number of towns entered into an exclusive religious partnership, for the celebration of sacrifices periodically to the god of a particular temple, which was supposed to be the common property and under the common protection of all, though one of the number was often named as permanent administrator; while all other Greeks were excluded. That there were many religious partnerships of this sort, which have never acquired a place in history, among the early Grecian villages, we may perhaps gather from the etymology of the word (Amphiktyons[1] designates residents around, or neighbours, considered in the point of view of fellow-religionists), as well as from the indications preserved to us in reference to various parts of the country. Thus there was an Amphiktyony[2] of seven cities at the holy island of Kalauria, close to the harbour of Trœzên. Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasiæ, Nauplia, and Orchomenus, jointly maintained the temple and sanctuary of Poseidôn in that island (with which it would seem that the city of Trœzên, though close at hand, had no connexion), meeting there at stated periods, to offer formal sacrifices. These seven cities indeed were not immediate neighbours, but the speciality and exclusiveness of their interest in the temple is seen from the fact, that when the Argeians took Nauplia, they adopted and fulfilled these religious obligations on behalf of the prior inhabitants: so also did the Lacedæmonians when they had captured Prasiæ. Again in Triphylia,[3] situated between the Pisatid and Messenia in the western part of Peloponnêsus, there was a similar religious meeting and partnership of the Triphylians on Cape Samikon, at the temple of the Samian Poseidôn. Here the inhabitants of Makiston were entrusted with the details of superintendence, as well as with the duty of notifying beforehand the exact time of meeting (a precaution essential amidst the diversities and irregularities of the Greek calendar), and also of proclaiming what was called the Samian truce—a temporary abstinence from hostilities which bound all Triphylians during the holy period. This latter custom discloses

Amphiktyonies—exclusive religious partnerships.

[1] Pindar, Isthm. iii. 26 (iv. 14); Nem. vi. 40.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 374.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 343; Pausan. v. 6, 1.

the salutary influence of such institutions in presenting to men's minds a common object of reverence, common duties, and common enjoyments; thus generating sympathies and feelings of mutual obligation amidst petty communities not less fierce than suspicious.[1] So too, the twelve chief Ionic cities in and near Asia Minor had their Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony peculiar to themselves: the six Doric cities, in and near the southern corner of that peninsula, combined for the like purpose at the temple of the Triopian Apollo; and the feeling of special partnership is here particularly illustrated by the fact, that Halikarnassus, one of the six, was formally extruded by the remaining five in consequence of a violation of the rules.[2] There was also an Amphiktyonic union at Onchêstus in Bœotia, in the venerated grove and temple at Poseidôn:[3] of whom it consisted we are not informed. These are some specimens of the sort of special religious conventions and assemblies which seem to have been frequent throughout Greece. Nor ought we to omit those religious meetings and sacrifices which were common to all the members of one Hellenic subdivision, such as the Pam-Bœotia to all the Bœotians, celebrated at the temple of the Itonian Athênê near Korôneia[4]—the common observances, rendered to the temple of Apollo Pythaëus at Argos, by all those neighbouring towns which had once been attached by this religious thread to the Argeians—the similar periodical ceremonies, frequented by all who bore the Achæan or Ætolian name—and the splendid and exhilarating festivals, so favourable to the

Their beneficial influence in creating sympathies.

[1] At Iolkos, on the north coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ, and at the borders of the Magnêtes, Thessalians, and Achæans of Phthiôtis, was celebrated a periodical religious festival or panegyris, the title of which we are prevented from making out by the imperfection of Strabo's text (Strabo, ix. 436). It stands in the text as printed in Tzschocke's edition, Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν Πυλαϊκὴν πανήγυριν συνετέλουν. The mention of Πυλαϊκὴ πανήγυρις, which conducts us only to the Amphiktyonic convocations of Thermopylæ and Delphi, is here unsuitable; and the best or Parisian MS. of Strabo presents a gap (one among the many which embarrass the ninth book) in the place of the word Πυλαϊακήν. Dutheil conjectures τὴν Πελαϊκὴν πανήγυριν, deriving the name from the celebrated funeral games of the old epic celebrated by Akastus in honour of his father Pelias. Grosskurd (in his note on the passage) approves the conjecture, but it seems to me not probable that a Grecian panegyris would be named after Pelias. Πηλιακήν, in reference to the neighbouring mountain and town of Pelion, might perhaps be less objectionable (see Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 407—409, ed. Fuhr.), but we cannot determine with certainty.

[2] Herod. i.; Dionys. Hal. iv. 25.

[3] Strabo, ix. p. 412; Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 232.

[4] Strabo, ix. p. 411.

diffusion of the early Grecian poetry, which brought all Ionians at stated intervals to the sacred island of Dêlos.[1] This latter class of festivals agreed with the Amphiktyony in being of a special and exclusive character, not open to all Greeks.

What was called the Amphiktyonic Council.

But there was one amongst these many Amphiktyonies, which, though starting from the smallest beginnings, gradually expanded into so comprehensive a character, and acquired so marked a predominance over the rest, as to be called The Amphiktyonic assembly, and even to have been mistaken by some authors for a sort of federal Hellenic Diet. Twelve sub-races, out of the number which made up entire Hellas, belonged to this ancient Amphiktyony, the meetings of which were held twice in every year: in spring at the temple of Apollo at Delphi; in autumn at Thermopylæ, in the sacred precinct of Dêmêtêr Amphiktyonis. Sacred deputies, including a chief called the Hieromnêmôn and subordinates called the Pylagoræ, attended at these meetings from each of the twelve races: a crowd of volunteers seem to have accompanied them, for purposes of sacrifice, trade, or enjoyment. Their special and most important function consisted in watching over the Delphian temple, in which all the twelve sub-races had a joint interest, and it was the immense wealth and national ascendency of this temple which enhanced to so great a pitch the dignity of its acknowledged administrators.

Its twelve constituent members, and their mutual position.

The twelve constituent members were as follow:—Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Lokrians, Œtæans, Achæans, Phokians, Dolopes, and Malians.[2] All are counted as *races* (if we treat the Hellênes as a race, we must call these *sub-races*), no mention being made of cities:[3] all count equally

[1] Thucyd. iii. 104; v. 55. Pausan. vii. 7, 1; 24, 3. Polyb. v. 8; ii. 54. Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 146.

According to what seems to have been the ancient and sacred tradition, the whole of the month Karneius was a time of peace among the Dorians; though this was often neglected in practice at the time of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. v. 54). But it may be doubted whether there was any festival of Karneia common to all the Dorians: the Karneia at Sparta seems to have been a Lacedæmonian festival.

[2] The list of the Amphiktyonic constituency is differently given by Æschines, by Harpokration, and by Pausanias. Tittmann (Ueber den Amphiktyonischen Bund, sect. 3, 4, 5) analyses and compares their various statements, and elicits the catalogue given in the text.

[3] Æschines, de Fals. Legat. p. 280, c. 36.—Κατηριθμησάμην δὲ ἔθνη δώδεκα, τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . . . καὶ τούτων ἑδείξα ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ἰσόψηφον γενόμενον, τὸ μέγιστον τῷ ἐλάττονι, &c.

in respect to voting, two votes being given by the deputies from each of the twelve: moreover, we are told that in determining the deputies to be sent or the manner in which the votes of each race should be given, the powerful Athens, Sparta, and Thêbes had no more influence than the humblest Ionian, Dorian, or Bœotian city. This latter fact is distinctly stated by Æschinês, himself a Pylagore sent to Delphi by Athens. And so, doubtless, the theory of the case stood: the votes of the Ionic races counted for neither more nor less than two, whether given by deputies from Athens, or from the small towns of Erythræ and Priênê; and in like manner the Dorian votes were as good in the division, when given by deputies from Bœon and Kytinion in the little territory of Dôris, as if the men delivering them had been Spartans. But there can be as little question that in practice the little Ionic cities and the little Doric cities pretended to no share in the Amphiktyonic deliberations. As the Ionic vote came to be substantially the vote of Athens, so, if Sparta was ever obstructed in the management of the Doric vote, it must have been by powerful Doric cities like Argos or Corinth, not by the insignificant towns of Dôris. But the theory of Amphiktyonic suffrage as laid down by Æschinês, however little realised in practice during his day, is important inasmuch as it shows in full evidence the primitive and original constitution. The first establishment of the Amphiktyonic convocation dates from a time when all the twelve members were on a footing of equal independence, and when there were no overwhelming cities (such as Sparta and Athens) to cast in the shade the humbler members—when Sparta was only one Doric city, and Athens only one Ionic city, among various others of consideration not much inferior.

Antiquity of the Council—simplicity of the old oath.

There are also other proofs which show the high antiquity of this Amphiktyonic convocation. Æschinês gives us an extract from the oath which had been taken by the sacred deputies who attended on behalf of their respective races, ever since its first establishment, and which still apparently continued to be taken in his day. The antique simplicity of this oath, and of the conditions to which the members bind themselves, betrays the early age in which it originated, as well as the humble resources of those

towns to which it was applied.[1] "We will not destroy any Amphiktyonic town—we will not cut off any Amphiktyonic town from running water"—such are the two prominent obligations which Æschinês specifies out of the old oath. The second of the two carries us back to the simplest state of society, and to towns of the smallest size, when the maidens went out with their basins to fetch water from the spring, like the daughters of Keleos at Eleusis, or those of Athens from the fountain Kallirrhoê.[2] We may even conceive that the special mention of this detail, in the covenant between the twelve races, is borrowed literally from agreements still earlier, among the villages or little towns in which the members of each race were distributed. At any rate, it proves satisfactorily the very ancient date to which the commencement of the Amphiktyonic convocation must be referred. The belief of Æschinês (perhaps also the belief general in his time) was, that it commenced simultaneously with the first foundation of the Delphian temple—an event of which we have no historical knowledge; but there seems reason to suppose that its original establishment is connected with Thermopylæ and Dêmêtêr Amphiktyonis, rather than with Delphi and Apollo. The special surname by which Dêmêtêr and her temple at Thermopylæ was known[3]—the temple of the hero Amphiktyôn which stood at its side—the word Pylæa, which obtained footing in the language to designate the half-yearly meeting of the deputies both at Thermopylæ and at Delphi—these indications point to Thermopylæ (the real central point for all the twelve) as the primary place of meeting, and to the Delphian half-year as something secondary and superadded. On such a matter, however, we cannot go beyond a conjecture.

Amphiktyonic meeting originally at Thermopylæ.

The hero Amphíktyôn, whose temple stood at Thermopylæ, passed in mythical genealogy for the brother of Hellên. And it may be affirmed, with truth, that the habit of forming Amphiktyonic unions, and of frequenting each other's religious

[1] Æschin. Fals. Legat. p. 279, c. 35:—Ἅμα δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεξῆλθον τὴν πτίσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον γενομένην τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἀνέγνων, ἐν οἷς ἔνορκον ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μηδεμίαν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀνάστατον ποιήσειν μηδ' ὑδάτων ναματιαίων εἴρξειν, &c.

[2] Homer, Iliad, vi. 457. Homer, Hymn to Dêmêtêr, 100, 107, 170. Herodot. vi. 137. Thucyd. ii. 15.

[3] Herodot. vii. 200; Livy, xxxi. 32.

festivals, was the great means of creating and fostering the primitive feeling of brotherhood among the children of Hellên, in those early times when rudeness, insecurity, and pugnacity did so much to isolate them. A certain number of salutary habits and sentiments, such as that which the Amphiktyonic oath embodies, in regard to abstinence from injury as well as to mutual protection,[1] gradually found their way into men's minds: the obligations thus brought into play acquired a substantive efficacy of their own, and the religious feeling which always remained connected with them, came afterwards to be only one out of many complex agencies by which the later historical Greek was moved. Athens and Sparta in the days of their might, and the inferior cities in relation to them, played each their own political game, in which religious considerations will be found to bear only a subordinate part.

Valuable influence of these Amphiktyonies and festivals in promoting Hellenic union.

The special function of the Amphiktyonic council, so far as we know it, consisted in watching over the safety, the interests, and the treasures of the Delphian temple. "If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in the temple, we will punish him with foot, and hand, and voice, and by every means in our power." So ran the old Amphiktyonic oath, with an energetic imprecation attached to it.[2] And there are some examples in which the council[3] construes its functions so largely as to receive and adjudicate upon complaints against entire

Amphiktyons had the superintendence of the temple of Delphi;

[1] The festival of the Amarynthia in Eubœa, held at the temple of Artemis of Amarynthus, was frequented by the Ionic Chalkis and Eretria, as well as by the Dryopic Karystus. In a combat proclaimed between Chalkis and Eretria, to settle the question about the possession of the plain of Lelantum, it was stipulated that no missile weapons should be used by either party; this agreement was inscribed and recorded in the temple of Artemis (Strabo, x. p. 448; Livy, xxxv. 38).

[2] Æschin. De Fals. Legat. c. 35, p 278: compare Adv. Ctesiphont. c. 36, p. 406.

[3] See the charge which Æschines alleges to have been brought by the Lokrians of Amphissa against Athens in the Amphiktyonic Council (adv. Ctesiphont. c. 38, p. 409). Demosthenes contradicts his rival as to the fact of the charge having been brought, saying that the Amphisseans had not given the notice, customary and required, of their intention to bring it: a reply which admits that the charge *might* be brought (Demosth. de Coronâ, c. 43, p. 277).

The Amphiktyons offer a reward for the life of Ephialtês, the betrayer of the Greeks at Thermopylæ; they also erect columns to the memory of the fallen Greeks in that memorable strait, the place of their half-yearly meeting (Herod. vii. 213—228).

cities, for offences against the religious and patriotic sentiment of the Greeks generally. But for the most part its interference relates directly to the Delphian temple. The earliest case in which it is brought to our view is the Sacred War against Kirrha, in the 46th Olympiad or 595 B.C., conducted by Eurylochus the Thessalian, and Kleisthenes of Sikyôn, and proposed by Solôn of Athens:[1] we find the Amphiktyons also about half a century afterwards undertaking the duty of collecting subscriptions throughout the Hellenic world, and making the contract with the Alkmæonids for rebuilding the temple after a conflagration.[2] But the influence of this council is essentially of a fluctuating and intermittent character. Sometimes it appears forward to decide, and its decisions command respect; but such occasions are rare, taking the general course of known Grecian history; while there are other occasions, and those too especially affecting the Delphian temple, on which we are surprised to find nothing said about it. In the long and perturbed period which Thucydidês describes, he never once mentions the Amphiktyons, though the temple and the safety of its treasures form the repeated subject[3] as well of dispute as of express stipulation between Athens and Sparta. Moreover, among the twelve constituent members of the council, we find three—the Perrhæbians, the Magnêtes, and the Achæans of Phthia—who were not even independent, but subject to the Thessalians; so that its meetings, when they were not matters of mere form, probably expressed only the feelings of the three or four leading members. When one or more of these great powers had a party purpose to accomplish against others—when Philip of Macedon wished to extrude one of the members in order to procure admission for himself—it became convenient to turn this ancient form into a serious reality: and we shall see the Athenian Æschinês providing a pretext for Philip to meddle

but their interference in Grecian affairs is only rare and occasional.

[1] Æschin. adv. Ctesiph. 1. c. Plutarch, Solôn, c. xi., who refers to Aristotle ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ—Pausan. x. 37, 4; Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. ix. 2. Τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας, ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν (Strabo, ix. p. 420). These Amphiktyonic arbitrations, however, are of rare occurrence in history, and very commonly abused.

[2] Herodot. ii. 180, v. 62.

[3] Thucyd. i. 112, iv. 118, v. 18. The Phokians in the Sacred War (B.C. 354) pretended that they had an ancient and prescriptive right to the administration of the Delphian temple, under accountability to the general body of Greeks for the proper employment of its possessions—thus setting aside the Amphiktyons altogether (Diodor. xvi. 27).

in favour of the minor Bœotian cities against Thêbes, by alleging that these cities were under the protection of the old Amphiktyonic oath.[1]

It is thus that we have to consider the council as an element in Grecian affairs—an ancient institution, one amongst many instances of the primitive habit of religious fraternisation, but wider and more comprehensive than the rest—at first purely religious, then religious and political at once, lastly more the latter than the former—highly valuable in the infancy, but unsuited to the maturity of Greece, and called into real working only on rare occasions, when its efficiency happened to fall in with the views of Athens, Thêbes, or the king of Macedon. In such special moments it shines with a transient light which affords a partial pretence for the imposing title bestowed on it by Cicero—"commune Græciæ concilium";[2] but we should completely misinterpret Grecian history if we regarded it as a federal council habitually directing or habitually obeyed. Had there existed any such "commune concilium" of tolerable wisdom and patriotism, and had the tendencies of the Hellenic mind been capable of adapting themselves to it, the whole course of later Grecian history would probably have been altered; the Macedonian kings would have remained only as respectable neighbours, borrowing civilization from Greece and expending their military energies upon Thracians and Illyrians; while united Hellas might even have maintained her own territory against the conquering legions of Rome.

The twelve constituent Amphiktyonic races remained unchanged until the Sacred War against the Phokians (B.C. 355), after which, though the number twelve was continued, the Phokians were disfranchised, and their votes transferred to Philip of Macedon. It has been already mentioned that these twelve did not exhaust the whole of Hellas. Arcadians, Eleans, Pisans, Minyæ, Dryopes, Ætolians, all genuine Hellens, are

[1] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 280, c. 36. The party intrigues which moved the council in regard to the Sacred War against the Phokians (B.C. 355) may be seen in Diodorus, xvi. 23—28 *seq.*

[2] Cicero, De Invention. ii. 23. The representation of Dionysius of Halikarnassus (Ant. Rom. iv. 25) overshoots the reality still more.

About the common festivals and Amphiktyonies of the Hellenic world generally, see Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. sect. 22, 24, 25; also C. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, sect. 11—13.

not comprehended in it; but all of them had a right to make use of the temple of Delphi, and to contend in the Pythian and Olympic games. The Pythian games, celebrated near Delphi, were under the superintendence of the Amphiktyons,[1] or of some acting magistrate chosen by and presumed to represent them. Like the Olympic games, they came round every four years (the interval between one celebration and another being four complete years, which the Greeks called a Pentaetêris): the Isthmian and Nemean games recurred every two years. In its first humble form of a competition among bards to sing a hymn in praise of Apollo, this festival was doubtless of immemorial antiquity;[2] but the first extension of it into Pan-Hellenic notoriety (as I have already remarked), the first multiplication of the subjects of competition, and the first introduction of a continuous record of the conquerors, date only from the time when it came under the presidency of the Amphiktyons, at the close of the Sacred War against Kirrha. What is called the first Pythian contest coincides with the third year of the 48th Olympiad, or 585 B.C. From that period forward the games become crowded and celebrated: but the date just named, nearly two centuries after the first Olympiad, is a proof that the habit of periodical frequentation of festivals, by numbers and from distant parts, grew up but slowly in the Grecian world.

Many Hellenic states had no participation in it.

The foundation of the temple of Delphi itself reaches far beyond all historical knowledge, forming one of the aboriginal institutions of Hellas. It is a sanctified and

Temple of Delphi.

[1] Plutarch, Sympos. vii. 5, 1.

[2] In this early phase of the Pythian festival, it is said to have been celebrated every eight years, marking what we should call an Octaeteris, and what the early Greeks called an Ennaetêris (Censorinus, De Die Natali, c. 18). This period is one of considerable importance in reference to the principle of the Grecian calendar, for 99 lunar months coincide very nearly with eight solar years. The discovery of this coincidence is ascribed by Censorinus to Kleostratus of Tenedos, whose age is not directly known; he must be anterior to Metôn, who discovered the cycle of nineteen solar years, but (I imagine) not much anterior. In spite of the authority of Boeckh, it seems to me not proved, nor can I believe, that this octennial period with its solar and lunar coincidence was known to the Greeks in the earliest times of their mythical antiquity, or before the year 600 B.C. See Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, vol. i. p. 366; vol. ii. p. 607. The practice of the Eleians to celebrate the Olympic games alternately after forty-nine and fifty lunar months, though attested for a later time by the Scholiast on Pindar, is not proved to be old. The fact that there were ancient octennial recurring festivals does not establish a knowledge of the properties of the octaeteric or ennaeteric period: nor does it seem to me that the details of the Bœotian δαφνηφορία, described in Proclus ap. Photium, sect. 239, are very ancient. See on the old mythical

wealthy place even in the Iliad: the legislation of Lykurgus at Sparta is introduced under its auspices, and the earliest Grecian colonies, those of Sicily and Italy in the eighth century B.C., are established in consonance with its mandate. Delphi and Dôdôna appear, in the most ancient circumstances of Greece, as universally venerated oracles and sanctuaries: and Delphi not only receives honours and donations, but also answers questions, from Lydians, Phrygians, Etruscans, Romans, &c.: it is not exclusively Hellenic. One of the valuable services which a Greek looked for from this and other great religious establishments was, that it should resolve his doubts in cases of perplexity—that it should advise him whether to begin a new, or to persist in an old project—that it should foretell what would be his fate under given circumstances, and inform him, if suffering under distress, on what conditions the gods would grant him relief. The three priestesses of Dôdôna with their venerable oak, and the priestess of Delphi sitting on her tripod under the influence of a certain gas or vapour exhaling from the rock, were alike competent to determine these difficult points: and we shall have constant occasion to notice in this history, with what complete faith both the question was put and the answer treasured up—what serious influence it often exercised both upon public and private proceeding.[1] The hexameter verses in which the Pythian priestess delivered herself were indeed often so equivocal or unintelligible, that the most serious believer, with all anxiety to interpret and obey them, often found himself ruined by the result. Yet

Octaetêris, O. Müller, Orchomenos, p. 218 *seqq.*, and Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien, sect. 4, p. 22.

[1] See the argument in favour of divination placed by Cicero in the mouth of his brother Quintus, De Divin., lib. i. Chrysippus and the ablest of the Stoic philosophers set forth a plausible theory demonstrating *à priori* the probability of prophetic warnings deduced from the existence and attributes of the gods; if you deny altogether the occurrence of such warnings, so essential to the welfare of man, you must deny either the existence, or the foreknowledge, or the beneficence, of the gods (c. 38). Then the veracity of the Delphian oracle had been demonstrated in innumerable instances, of which Chrysippus had made a large collection: and upon what other supposition could the immense credit of the oracle be explained (c. 10)? "Collegit innumerabilia oracula Chrysippus, et nullum sine locuplete teste et auctore: quæ quia nota tibi sunt, relinquo. Defendo unum hoc: nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre clarumque fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum et regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta . . . Maneat id, quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus, multis sæculis verax fuisse id oraculum." Cicero admits that it had become less trustworthy in his time, and tries to explain this decline of prophetic power: compare Plutarch, De Defect. Oracul.

the general faith in the oracle was noway shaken by such painful experience. For as the unfortunate issue always admitted of being explained upon two hypotheses—either that the god had spoken falsely, or that his meaning had not been correctly understood—no man of genuine piety ever hesitated to adopt the latter. There were many other oracles throughout Greece besides Delphi and Dôdôna: Apollo was open to the inquiries of the faithful at Ptôon in Bœotia, at Abæ in Phokis, at Branchidæ near Milêtus, at Patara in Lykia, and other places: in like manner Zeus gave answers at Olympia, Poseidôn at Tænarus, Amphiaraus at Thêbes, Amphilochus at Mallus, &c. And this habit of consulting the oracle formed part of the still more general tendency of the Greek mind to undertake no enterprise without having first ascertained how the gods viewed it, and what measures they were likely to take. Sacrifices were offered, and the interior of the victim carefully examined, with the same intent: omens, prodigies, unlooked-for coincidences, casual expressions, &c., were all construed as significant of the Divine will. To sacrifice with a view to this or that undertaking, or to consult the oracle with the same view, are familiar expressions[1] embodied in the language. Nor could any man set about a scheme with comfort until he had satisfied himself in some manner or other that the gods were favourable to it.

Oracles generally—habit of the Greek mind to consult them.

The disposition here adverted to is one of those mental analogies pervading the whole Hellenic nation, which Herodotus indicates. And the common habit among all Greeks of respectfully listening to the oracle of Delphi will be found on many occasions useful in maintaining unanimity among men not accustomed to obey the same political superior. In the numerous colonies especially, founded by mixed multitudes from distant parts of Greece, the minds of the emigrants were greatly determined towards cordial co-operation by their knowledge that the expedition had been directed, the Œkist indicated, and the spot either chosen or approved, by Apollo of Delphi. Such in most cases was the fact: that god, according to the conception of the Greeks, "takes delight

[1] Xenophon, Anabas. vii. 8. 20:—Ὁ δὲ Ἀσιὸάτης ἀκούσας ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τεθυμωτο εἰη Ξενοφῶν, ἐξαυλίζεται, &c. Xenophon, Hellen. iii. 2, 22:—μὴ χρησ-τηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ᾽ Ἕλλησιν πολεμῳ—compare Iliad, vii. 450.

always in the foundation of new cities, and himself in person lays the first stone".[1]

These are the elements of union—over and above the common territory, described in the last chapter—with which the historical Hellens take their start: community of blood, language, religious point of view, legends, sacrifices, festivals,[2] and also (with certain allowances) of manners and character. The analogy of manners and character between the rude inhabitants of the Arcadian Kynætha[3] and the polite Athens, was indeed accompanied with wide differences: yet if we compare the two with foreign contemporaries, we shall find certain negative characteristics, of much importance, common to both. In no city of historical Greece did there prevail either human sacrifices[4]—or deliberate mutilation, such as cutting off the nose, ears, hands, feet, &c.—or castration—or selling of children into slavery—or polygamy—or the feeling of unlimited obedience towards one man: all customs which might be pointed out as existing among the contemporary Carthaginians, Egyptians, Persians, Thracians,[5] &c. The habit of running, wrestling, boxing, &c., in gymnastic contests, with the body perfectly naked, was common to all Greeks, having been first adopted as a Lacedæmonian fashion in the fourteenth Olympiad: Thucydidês and Herodotus remark, that it was not only not practised, but

General analogy of manners among the Greeks.

[1] Callimach. Hymn. Apoll. 55, with Spanheim's note; Cicero, De Divinat. i. 1.

[2] See this point strikingly illustrated by Plato, Repub. v. p. 470—471 (c. 16), and Isokrates, Panegyr. p. 102.

[3] Respecting the Arcadian Kynætha, see the remarkable observations of Polybius, iv. 17—23.

[4] See vol. i. ch. vi. of this History.

[5] For examples and evidences of these practices, see Herodot. ii. 162; the amputation of the nose and ears of Patarbêmis by Apries king of Egypt (Xenophon, Anab. i. 9—13). There were a large number of men deprived of hands, feet, or eyesight, in the satrapy of Cyrus the younger, who had inflicted all these severe punishments for the prevention of crime—he did not (says Xenophôn) suffer criminals to scoff at him (εἶα καταγελᾶν). The ἐκτομή was carried on at Sardis (Herodot. iii. 49)—500 παῖδες ἐκτόμιαι formed a portion of the yearly tribute paid by the Babylonians to the court of Susa (Herod. iii. 92). Selling of children for exportation by the Thracians (Herod. v. 6); there is some trace of this at Athens prior to the Solonian legislation (Plutarch, Solôn, 23), arising probably out of the cruel state of the law between debtor and creditor. For the sacrifice of children to Kronus by the Carthaginians, in troubled times (according to the language of Ennius "Pœni soliti suos sacrificare puellos"), Diodor. xx. 14; xiii. 86. Porphyr. de Abstinent. ii. 56: the practice is abundantly illustrated in Movers' Die Religion der Phönizier, p. 298—304.

Arrian blames Alexander for cutting off the nose and ears of the satrap Bêssus, saying that it was an act altogether *barbaric* (*i.e.* non-Hellenic), (Exp. Al. iv. 7, 6). About the σεβασμὸς θεοπρεπὴς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα in Asia, see Strabo, xi. p. 526.

even regarded as unseemly, among Non-Hellens.[1] Of such customs, indeed, at once common to all the Greeks, and peculiar to them as distinguished from others, we cannot specify a great number; but we may see enough to convince ourselves that there did really exist, in spite of local differences, a general Hellenic sentiment and character, which counted among the cementing causes of a union apparently so little assured.

Political sovereignty attached to each separate city—essential to the Hellenic mind.

For we must recollect, that in respect to political sovereignty, complete disunion was among their most cherished principles. The only source of supreme authority to which a Greek felt respect and attachment, was to be sought within the walls of his own city. Authority seated in another city might operate upon his fears—might procure for him increased security and advantages, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show with regard to Athens and her subject allies—might even be mildly exercised, and inspire no special aversion: but still the principle of it was repugnant to the rooted sentiment of his mind, and he is always found gravitating towards the distinct sovereignty of his own Boulê or Ekklêsia. This is a disposition common both to democracies and oligarchies, and operative even among the different towns belonging to the same subdivision of the Hellenic name—Achæans, Phokians, Bœotians, &c. The twelve Achæan cities are harmonious allies, with a periodical festival which partakes of the character of a congress,—but equal and independent political communities. The Bœotian towns, under the presidency of Thêbes, their reputed metropolis, recognise certain common obligations, and obey, on various particular matters, chosen officers named Bœotarchs,—but we shall see, in this as in other cases, the centrifugal tendencies constantly manifesting themselves, and resisted chiefly by the interests and power of Thêbes. That great, successful, and fortunate revolution which merged the several independent political communities of Attica into the single unity of Athens, took place before the time of authentic history: it is connected with the name of the hero Thêseus, but we know not how it was effected, while its comparatively large size and extent render it a signal exception to Hellenic tendencies generally.

[1] Thucyd. i. 6; Herodot. i. 10.

Political disunion—sovereign authority within the city-walls—thus formed a settled maxim in the Greek mind. The relation between one city and another was an international relation, not a relation subsisting between members of a common political aggregate. Within a few miles from his own city-walls, an Athenian found himself in the territory of another city, wherein he was nothing more than an alien,—where he could not acquire property in house or land, nor contract a legal marriage with any native woman, nor sue for legal protection against injury except through the mediation of some friendly citizen. The right of intermarriage and of acquiring landed property was occasionally granted by a city to some individual non-freeman, as matter of special favour, and sometimes (though very rarely) reciprocated generally between two separate cities.[1] But the obligations between one city and another, or between the citizen of the one and the citizen of the other, are all matters of special covenant, agreed to by the sovereign authority in each. Such coexistence of entire political severance, with so much fellowship in other ways, is perplexing in modern ideas; and modern language is not well furnished with expressions to describe Greek political phænomena. We may say that an Athenian citizen was an *alien* when he arrived as a visitor in Corinth, but we can hardly say that he was a *foreigner;* and though the relations between Corinth and Athens were in principle *international,* yet that word would be obviously unsuitable to the numerous petty autonomies of Hellas, besides that we require it for describing the relations of Hellens generally with Persians or Carthaginians. We are compelled to use a word such as *interpolitical,* to describe the transactions between separate Greek cities, so numerous in the course of this history.

Each city stood to the rest in an international relation;

As, on the one hand, a Greek will not consent to look for sovereign authority beyond the limits of his own city, so, on the other hand, he must have a city to look to: scattered villages will not satisfy in his mind the exigencies of social order, security, and dignity. Though the coalescence of smaller towns

[1] Aristot. Polit. iii. 6, 12. It is unnecessary to refer to the many inscriptions which confer upon some individual non-freeman the right of ἐπιγαμία and ἔγκτησις.

into a larger is repugnant to his feelings, that of villages into a town appears to him a manifest advance in the scale of civilization. Such at least is the governing sentiment of Greece throughout the historical period; for there was always a certain portion of the Hellenic aggregate—the rudest and least advanced among them—who dwelt in unfortified villages, and upon whom the citizen of Athens, Corinth, or Thêbes looked down as inferiors. Such village residence was the character of the Epirots[1] universally, and prevailed throughout Hellas itself in those very early and even ante-Homeric times upon which Thucydidês looked back as deplorably barbarous;—times of universal poverty and insecurity,—absence of pacific intercourse,—petty warfare and plunder, compelling every man to pass his life armed,—endless migration without any local attachments. Many of the considerable cities of Greece are mentioned as aggregations of pre-existing villages, some of them in times comparatively recent. Tegea and Mantineia in Arcadia represent in this way the confluence of eight villages and five villages respectively; Dymê in Achaia was brought together out of eight villages, and Elis in the same manner, at a period even later than the Persian invasion;[2] the like seems to have happened with Megara and Tanagra. A large proportion of the Arcadians continued their village life down to the time of the battle of Leuktra, and it suited the purposes of Sparta to keep them thus disunited; a policy which we shall see hereafter illustrated by the dismemberment of Mantineia (into its primitive component villages) which the Spartan contemporaries of Agesilaus carried into effect, but which was reversed as soon as the power of Sparta was no longer paramount,—as well as by the foundation of Megalopolis out of a large number of petty Arcadian towns and villages, one of the capital measures of Epameinôndas.[3] As this

but city government is essential—village residence is looked upon as an inferior scale of living.

[1] Skylax, Peripl. c. 28—33; Thucyd. ii. 80. See Dio Chrysostom, Or. xlvii. p. 225. vol. ii. ed. Reisk.—μᾶλλον ἠροῦντο διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ κώμας, τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοίους, ἢ σχῆμα πόλεως καὶ ὄνομα ἔχειν.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 337, 342, 386; Pausan. viii. 45, 1; Plutarch. Quæst. Græc, c. 17—37.

[3] Pausan. vii. 27, 2—5; Diod. xv. 72; compare Arist. Polit. ii. 1, 5.

The description of the διοίκισις of Mantineia is in Xenophon, Hellen. v. 2, 6—8: it is a flagrant example of his philo-Laconian bias. We see by the case of the Phokians after the Sacred War (Diodor. xvi. 60; Pausan. x. 3, 2) how heavy a punishment this διοίκισις was. Compare also the instructive speech of the Akanthian envoy Kleigenês at Sparta, when he invoked the

measure was an elevation of Arcadian importance, so the reverse proceeding—the breaking up of a city into its elementary villages—was not only a sentence of privation and suffering, but also a complete extinction of Grecian rank and dignity.

Village residents—numerous in early Greece—many of them coalesced into cities.

The Ozolian Lokrians, the Ætolians, and the Akarnanians maintained their separate village residence down to a still later period, preserving along with it their primitive rudeness and disorderly pugnacity.[1] Their villages were unfortified, and defended only by comparative inaccessibility; in case of need they fled for safety with their cattle into the woods and mountains. Amidst such inauspicious circumstances, there was no room for that expansion of the social and political feelings to which protected intra-mural residence and increased numbers gave birth; there was no consecrated acropolis or agora—no ornamented temples and porticos, exhibiting the continued offerings of successive generations[2]—no theatre for music or recitation, no gymnasium for athletic exercises—none of those fixed arrangements for transacting public business with regularity and decorum, which the Greek citizen, with his powerful sentiment of locality, deemed essential to a dignified existence. The village was nothing more than a fraction and a subordinate, appertaining as a limb to the organised body called the City. But the City and the State are in his mind and in his language one and the same. While no organisation less than the City can satisfy the

Lacedæmonian interference for the purpose of crushing the incipient federation, or junction of towns into a common political aggregate, which was growing up round Olynthus (Xen. Hellen. v. 2, 11, 2). The wise and admirable conduct of Olynthus, and the reluctance of the lesser neighbouring cities to merge themselves in this union, are forcibly set forth; also the interest of Sparta in keeping all the Greek towns disunited. Compare the description of the treatment of Capua by the Romans (Livy, xxvi. 16).

[1] Thucyd. i. 5; iii. 94. Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 6, 5.

[2] Pausanias, x. 4, 1; his remarks on the Phokian πόλις Panopeus indicate what he included in the idea of a πόλις:—εἴγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους, οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα, οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν· οὐ θέατρον, οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην· ἀλλὰ ἐν στέγαις κοίλαις κατὰ τὰς καλύβας μάλιστα τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ. ὅμως δὲ ὅροι γε τῆς χώρας εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς εἰς τοὺς ὁμόρους, καὶ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον συνέδρους καὶ οὗτοι πέμπουσι τὸν Φωκικόν.

The μικρὰ πολίσματα of the Pelasgians on the peninsula of Mount Athos (Thucyd. iv. 109) seem to have been something between villages and cities. When the Phokians, after the Sacred War, were deprived of their cities and forced into villages by the Amphiktyons, the order was that no village should contain more than fifty houses, and that no village should be within the distance of a furlong of any other (Diodor. xvi. 60).

exigencies[1] of an intelligent freeman, the City is itself a perfect and self-sufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unity. It deserves notice that Sparta even in the days of her greatest power was not (properly speaking) a city, but a mere agglutination of five adjacent villages, retaining unchanged its old-fashioned trim: for the extreme defensibility of its frontier and the military prowess of its inhabitants supplied the absence of walls, while the discipline imposed upon the Spartan exceeded in rigour and minuteness anything known in Greece. And thus Sparta, though less than a city in respect to external appearance, was more than a city in respect to perfection of drilling and fixity of political routine. The contrast between the humble appearance and the mighty reality is pointed out by Thucydidês.[2] The inhabitants of the small territory of Pisa, wherein Olympia is situated, had once enjoyed the honourable privilege of administering the Olympic festival. Having been robbed of it and subjected by the more powerful Eleians, they took advantage of various movements and tendencies among the larger Grecian powers to try and regain it; and on one of these occasions we find their claim repudiated because they were villagers, and unworthy of so great a distinction.[3] There was nothing to be called a city in the Pisatid territory.

Sparta—retained its old village trim even at the height of its power.

In going through historical Greece, we are compelled to accept the Hellenic aggregate with its constituent elements as a primary fact to start from, because the state of our information does not enable us to ascend any higher. By what circumstances, or out of what pre-existing elements, this aggregate was brought together and modified, we find no evidence entitled to credit. There are indeed various names which are affirmed to designate ante-Hellenic inhabitants of many parts of Greece,—the Pelasgi, the Leleges, the Kurêtes, the Kaukônes, the Aones, the Temmikes, the Hyantes, the Telchines, the Bœotian Thracians,

Hellenic aggregate accepted as a primary fact—its pre-existing elements untraceable.

[1] Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 8. ἡ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων κωμῶν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις, ἤδη πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας. Compare also iii. 6, 14; and Plato, Legg. vii. p. 848.

[2] Thucyd. i. 10. οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως, οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα.

[3] Xenophon, Hellen. iii. 2, 31.

the Teleboæ, the Ephyri, the Phlegyæ, &c. These are names belonging to legendary, not to historical Greece—extracted out of a variety of conflicting legends, by the logographers and subsequent historians, who strung together out of them a supposed history of the past, at a time when the conditions of historical evidence were very little understood. That these names designated real nations may be true, but here our knowledge ends. We have no well-informed witness to tell us their times, their limits of residence, their acts, or their character; nor do we know how far they are identical with or diverse from the historical Hellens—whom we are warranted in calling, not indeed the first inhabitants of the country, but the first known to us upon any tolerable evidence. If any man is inclined to call the unknown ante-Hellenic period of Greece by the name of Pelasgic, it is open to him to do so. But this is a name carrying with it no assured predicates, noway enlarging our insight into real history, nor enabling us to explain—what would be the real historical problem—how or from whom the Hellens acquired that stock of dispositions, aptitudes, arts, &c., with which they begin their career. Whoever has examined the many conflicting systems respecting the Pelasgi,—from the literal belief of Clavier, Larcher, and Raoul Rochette (which appears to me at least the most consistent way of proceeding) to the interpretative and half-incredulous processes applied by abler men, such as Niebuhr, or O. Müller, or Dr. Thirlwall[1]—will not be displeased with my resolution to decline so insoluble a problem. No attested facts

[1] Larcher, Chronologie d'Hérodote, ch. viii. p. 215, 274; Raoul Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, book i. ch. 5; Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 26—64, 2nd ed. (the section entitled Die Oenotrer und Pelasger); O. Müller, Die Etrusker, vol. i. (Einleitung, ch. ii. p. 75—100); Dr. Thirlwall, History of Greece, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 36—64. The dissentient opinions of Kruse and Mannert may be found in Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. p. 398—425; Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Part viii. Introduct. p. 4. *seqq.*

Niebuhr puts together all the mythical and genealogical traces, many of them in the highest degree vague and equivocal, of the existence of Pelasgi in various localities; and then, summing up their cumulative effect, asserts ("not as an hypothesis, but with full historical conviction," p. 54) "that there was a time when the Pelasgians, perhaps the most extended people in all Europe, were spread from the Po and the Arno to the Rhyndakus" (near Kyzikus), with only an interruption in Thrace. What is perhaps the most remarkable of all, is the contrast between his feeling of disgust, despair and aversion to the subject, when he begins the inquiry ("*the name Pelasgi*," he says, "*is odious to the historian, who hates the spurious philology out of which the pretences to knowledge on the subject of such extinct people arise*," p. 28), and the full confidence and satisfaction with which he concludes it.

are now present to us—none were present to Herodotus and Thucydidês even in their age—on which to build trustworthy affirmations respecting the ante-Hellenic Pelasgians. And where such is the case, we may without impropriety apply the remark of Herodotus respecting one of the theories which he had heard for explaining the inundation of the Nile by a supposed connexion with the circumfluous Ocean—that "the man who carries up his story into the invisible world passes out of the range of criticism".[1]

Ancient Pelasgians not knowable.

As far as our knowledge extends, there were no towns or villages called Pelasgian, in Greece Proper, since 776 B.C. But there still existed in two different places, even in the age of Herodotus, people whom he believed to be Pelasgians. One portion of these occupied the towns of Plakia and Skylakê near Kyzikus, on the Propontis; another dwelt in a town called Krêstôn, near the Thermaic Gulf.[2] There were moreover certain other Pelasgian townships which he does not specify—it seems indeed, from Thucydidês, that there were some little Pelasgian townships on the peninsula of Athôs.[3] Now Herodotus acquaints us with the remarkable fact, that the people of Krêstôn, those of Plakia and Skylakê, and those of the other unnamed Pelasgian townships, all spoke the same language, and each of them respectively, a different language from their neighbours around them. He informs us, moreover, that their language was a barbarous (*i.e.*, a non-Hellenic) language; and this fact he quotes as an evidence to prove that the ancient Pelasgian language was a barbarous language, or distinct from the Hellenic. He at the same time states expressly that he has no positive knowledge what language the ancient Pelasgians spoke—one proof, among others, that no memorials nor means of distinct information concerning that people could have been open to him.

This is the one single fact, amidst so many conjectures con-

[1] Herodot. ii. 23:—Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεά ου εἰπας, ἐς ἀφανὲς τόν μῦθον ἀνενείκας, οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον.

[2] That Krêstôn is the proper reading in Herodotus there seems every reason to believe—not Krotôn, as Dionys. Hal. represents it (Ant. Rom. i. 26)—in spite of the authority of Niebuhr in favour of the latter.

[3] Thucyd. iv. 109. Compare the new Fragmenta of Strabo, lib. vii. edited from the Vatican MS. by Kramer, and since by Tafel (Tübingen, 1844), sect. 34, p. 26,—ᾤκησαν δὲ τὴν Χερρόνησον ταύτην τῶν ἐκ Λήμνου Πελασγῶν τινες, εἰς πέντε διῃρημένοι πολίσματα· Κλεωνὰς, Ὀλόφυξον, Ἀκροθώους, Δίον, Θύσσον.

cerning the Pelasgians, which we can be said to know upon the testimony of a competent and contemporary witness: the few townships—scattered and inconsiderable, but all that Herodotus in his day knew as Pelasgian —spoke a barbarous language. And upon such a point he must be regarded as an excellent judge. If then (infers the historian) all the early Pelasgians spoke the same language as those of Krêstôn and Plakia, they must have changed their language at the time when they passed into the Hellenic aggregate, or became Hellens. Now Herodotus conceives that aggregate to have been gradually enlarged to its great actual size by incorporating with itself not only the Pelasgians, but several other nations once barbarians;[1] the Hellens having been originally an inconsiderable people. Among those other nations once barbarian whom Herodotus supposes to have become hellenised, we may probably number the Leleges; and with respect to them as well as to the Pelasgians, we have contemporary testimony proving the existence of barbarian Leleges in later times. Philippus the Karian historian attested the present existence, and believed in the past existence, of Leleges in his country as serfs or dependent cultivators under the Karians, analogous to the Helots in Laconia or the Penestæ in Thessaly.[2] We may be very sure that there were no Hellens—no men speaking the Hellenic tongue —standing in such a relation to the Karians. Among those many barbaric-speaking nations whom Herodotus believed to have changed their language and passed into Hellens, we may therefore fairly consider the Leleges to have been included. For next to the Pelasgians and Pelasgus, the Leleges and Lelex figure most conspicuously in the legendary genealogies; and both together cover the larger portion of the Hellenic soil.

Historical Pelasgians —spoke a barbarous language.

Historical Leleges— barbarians in language also.

Confining myself to historical evidence and believing that no assured results can be derived from the attempt to transform legend into history, I accept the statement of Herodotus with confidence as to the barbaric language spoken by the Pelasgians of his day, and I believe the same with regard to the historical

[1] Herod. i. 57. προσκεχωρηκότων καταλέξας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Εἵλωτας αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. καὶ τοὺς Θετταλικοὺς πενέστας, καὶ

[2] Athenæ. vi. p. 271. Φίλιππος ἐν τῷ Κᾶράς φησι τοῖς Δέλεξιν ὡς οἰκέταις περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Δελέγων συγγράμματι, χρήσασθαι πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν.

Leleges—but without presuming to determine anything in regard to the legendary Pelasgians and Leleges, the supposed ante-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece. And I think this course more consonant to the laws of historical inquiry than that which comes recommended by the high authority of Dr. Thirlwall, who softens and explains away the statement of Herodotus until it is made to mean only that the Pelasgians of Plakia and Krêstôn spoke a very bad Greek. The affirmation of Herodotus is distinct, and twice repeated, that the Pelasgians of these towns and of his own time spoke a barbaric language; and that word appears to me to admit of but one intrepretation.[1] To suppose that a man who, like Herodotus,

Statements of good witnesses regarding the historical Pelasgians and Leleges are to be admitted,—whether they fit the legendary Pelasgians and Leleges or not.

[1] Herod. i. 57. Ἥντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεὼν ἐστι τεκμαιρομένοισι λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων . . . . καὶ τὴν Πλακιήν τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ . . . . καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τουτοῖσι δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. Εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικὸν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδάμοισι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί· σφίσι δὲ, ὁμόγλωσσοι. δηλοῦσι δὲ, ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

In the next chapter Herodotus again calls the Pelasgian nation βάρβαρον.

Respecting this language heard by Herodotus at Krêstôn and Plakia, Dr. Thirlwall observes (chap. ii. p. 60), "This language Herodotus describes as barbarous, and it is on this fact he grounds his general conclusion as to the ancient Pelasgian tongue. But he has not entered into any details that might have served to ascertain the manner or degree in which it differed from the Greek. Still the expressions he uses would have appeared to imply that it was essentially foreign, had he not spoken quite as strongly in another passage, where it is impossible to ascribe a similar meaning to his words. When he is enumerating the dialects that prevailed among the Ionian Greeks, he observes that the Ionian cities in Lydia agree not at all in their tongue with those of Karia; and he applies the very same term to these dialects, which he had before used in speaking of the remains of the Pelasgian language. This passage affords a measure by which we may estimate the force of the word *barbarian* in the former. Nothing more can be safely inferred from it, than that the Pelasgian language which Herodotus heard on the Hellespont, and elsewhere, sounded to him a strange jargon; as did the dialect of Ephesus to a Milesian, and as the Bolognese does to a Florentine. This fact leaves its real nature and relation to the Greek quite uncertain; and we are the less justified in building on it, as the history of Pelasgian settlements is extremely obscure, and the traditions which Herodotus reports on that subject have by no means equal weight with statements made from his personal observation." (Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, ch. ii. p. 60, 2nd edit.)

In the statement delivered by Herodotus (to which Dr. Thirlwall here refers) about the language spoken in the Ionic Greek cities, the historian had said (i. 142),—Γλώσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Miletus, Myus, and Priêne,—ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναί σφι. Ephesus, Kolophon, &c.—αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδὲν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. The Chians and Erythræans—κατὰ

had heard almost every variety of Greek, in the course of his long travels, as well as Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian, Lydian, and other languages, did not know how to distinguish bad Hellenic from non-Hellenic, is in my judgment inadmissible; at any rate the supposition is not to be adopted without more cogent evidence than any which is here found.

Alleged ante-Hellenic colonies from Phœnicia and Egypt—neither verifiable nor probable.

As I do not presume to determine what were the antecedent internal elements out of which the Hellenic aggregate was formed, so I confess myself equally uninformed with regard to its external constituents. Kadmus, Danaus, Kekrops—the eponyms of the Kadmeians, of the Danaans, and of the Attic Kekropia—present themselves to my vision as creatures of legend, and in that character I have already adverted to them. That there may have been very early settlements in continental Greece from Phœnicia and Egypt, is nowise impossible; but I

τὼυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μοῦνοι. Οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίγνονται.

The words γλώσσης χαρακτήρ ("distinctive mode of speech") are common to both these passages, but their meaning in the one and in the other is to be measured by reference to the subject-matter of which the author is speaking, as well as to the words which accompany them,—especially the word βάρβαρος in the first passage. Nor can I think (with Dr. Thirlwall) that the meaning of βάρβαρος is to be determined by reference to the other two words: the reverse is in my judgment correct. Βάρβαρος is a term definite and unequivocal, but γλώσσης χαρακτήρ varies according to the comparison which you happen at the moment to be making, and its meaning is here determined by its conjunction with βάρβαρος.

When Herodotus was speaking of the twelve Ionic cities in Asia, he might properly point out the differences of speech among them as so many different χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης: the limits of difference were fixed by the knowledge which his hearers possessed of the persons about whom he was speaking; the Ionians being all notoriously Hellens. So an author describing Italy might say that Bolognese, Romans, Neapolitans, Genoese, &c., had different χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης, it being understood that the difference was such as might subsist among persons all Italians.

But there is also a χαρακτὴρ γλώσσης of Greek generally (abstraction made of its various dialects and diversities) as contrasted with Persian, Phœnician, or Latin—and of Italian generally, as contrasted with German or English. It is this comparison which Herodotus is taking when he describes the language spoken by the people of Krêstôn and Plakia, and which he notes by the word βάρβαρον as opposed to Ἑλληνικόν: it is with reference to this comparison that χαρακτὴρ γλώσσης in the fifty-seventh chapter is to be construed. The word βάρβαρος is the usual and recognised antithesis of Ἕλλην or Ἑλληνικός.

It is not the least remarkable part of the statement of Herodotus, that the language spoken at Krêstôn and at Plakia was the same, though the places were so far apart from each other. This identity of itself shows that he meant to speak of a substantive language, not of a "strange jargon".

I think it therefore certain that Herodotus pronounces the Pelasgians of his day to speak a substantive language different from Greek; but whether differing from it in a greater or less degree (*e. g.* in the degree of Latin or of Phœnician) we have no means of deciding.

see neither positive proof, nor ground for probable inference, that there were any such, though traces of Phœnician settlements in some of the islands may doubtless be pointed out. And if we examine the character and aptitude of Greeks, as compared either with Egyptians or Phœnicians, it will appear that there is not only no analogy, but an obvious and fundamental contrast: the Greek may occasionally be found as a borrower from these ultramarine contemporaries, but he cannot be looked upon as their offspring or derivative. Nor can I bring myself to accept an hypothesis which implies (unless we are to regard the supposed foreign immigrants as very few in number, in which case the question loses most of its importance) that the Hellenic language —the noblest among the many varieties of human speech, and possessing within itself a pervading symmetry and organization— is a mere confluence of two foreign barbaric languages (Phœnician and Egyptian) with two or more internal barbaric languages— Pelasgian, Lelegian, &c. In the mode of investigation pursued by different historians into this question of early foreign colonies, there is great difference (as in the case of the Pelasgi) between different authors—from the acquiescent Euemerism of Raoul Rochette to the refined distillation of Dr. Thirlwall in the third chapter of his History. It will be found that the amount of positive knowledge which Dr. Thirlwall guarantees to his readers in that chapter is extremely inconsiderable; for though he proceeds upon the general theory (different from that which I hold) that historical matter may be distinguished and elicited from the legends, yet when the question arises respecting any definite historical result, his canon of credibility is too just to permit him to overlook the absence of positive evidence, even when all intrinsic incredibility is removed. That which I note as Terra Incognita is in his view a land which may be known up to a certain point; but the map which he draws of it contains so few ascertained places as to differ very little from absolute vacuity.

Most ancient Hellas—Græci.

The most ancient district called Hellas is affirmed by Aristotle to have been near Dôdôna and the river Achelôus—a description which would have been unintelligible (since the river does not flow near Dôdôna), if it had not been qualified by the remark, that the river had often in former times changed its course. He states moreover

that the deluge of Deukaliôn took place chiefly in this district, which was in those early days inhabited by the Selli, and by the people then called Græci, but now Hellênes.[1] The Selli (called by Pindar Helli) are mentioned in the Iliad as the ministers of the Dodonæan Zeus—"men who slept on the ground and never washed their feet," and Hesiod in one of the lost poems (the Eoiai) speaks of the fat land and rich pastures of the land called Hellopia wherein Dôdôna was situated.[2] On what authority Aristotle made his statement, we do not know; but the general feeling of the Greeks was different, connecting Deukaliôn, Hellên, and the Hellênes, primarily and specially with the territory called Achaia Phthiôtis, between Mount Othrys and Œta. We can neither affirm nor deny his assertion that the people in the neighbourhood of Dôdôna were called Græci before they were called Hellênes. There is no ascertained instance of the mention of a people called Græci in any author earlier than this Aristotelian treatise; for the allusions to Alkman and Sophoklês prove nothing to the point.[3] Nor can we explain how it came to pass that the Hellênes were known to the Romans only under the name of Græci or Graii. But the name by which a people is known to foreigners is often completely different from its own domestic name, and we are not less at a loss to assign the reason, how the Rasena of Etruria came to be known to the Romans by the name of Tuscans or Etruscans.

[1] Aristotel. Meteorol. i. 14.

[2] Homer, Iliad. xvi. 234; Hesiod, Fragm. 149, ed. Marktscheffel; Sophokl. Trachin. 1174; Strabo, vii. p. 328.

[3] Stephan. Byz., v. Γραικός.—Γραῖκες δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μητέρες, καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ποίμεσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μεταπλασμὸς, ἡ τῆς Γραῒξ εὐθείας κλίσις ἐστίν.

The word Γραῖκες in Alkman, meaning "the mothers of the Hellênes," may well be only a dialectic variety of γρᾶες, analogous to ϝλᾰ́ξ and ὄρνιξ, for κλεῖς, ὄρνις, &c. (Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorica, sect. 11, p. 91; and sect. 31, p. 242), perhaps declined like γυναῖκες.

The term used by Sophoklês, if we may believe Photius, was not Γραικός, but Ῥαικός (Photius, p. 480, 15; Dindorf, Fragment. Soph. 933; compare 455). Eustathius (p. 890) seems undecided between the two.

CHAPTER III.

MEMBERS OF THE HELLENIC AGGREGATE, SEPARATELY TAKEN.—GREEKS NORTH OF PELOPONNÊSUS.

HAVING in the preceding chapter touched upon the Greeks in their aggregate capacity, I now come to describe separately the portions of which this aggregate consisted, as they present themselves at the first discernible period of history.

It has already been mentioned that the twelve races or subdivisions, members of what is called the Amphiktyonic convocation, were as follows:— Amphiktyonic races.

North of the pass of Thermopylæ,—Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Achæans, Melians, Ænianes, Dolopes.

South of the pass of Thermopylæ,—Dorians, Ionians, Bœotians, Lokrians, Phokians.

Other Hellenic races, not comprised among the Amphiktyons, were— Non-Amphiktyonic races.

The Ætolians and Akarnanians, north of the Gulf of Corinth.

The Arcadians, Eleians, Pisatans, and Triphylians, in the central and western portion of Peloponnêsus: I do not here name the Achæans, who occupied the southern or Peloponnesian coast of the Corinthian gulf, because they may be presumed to have been originally of the same race as the Phthiot Achæans, and therefore participant in the Amphiktyonic constituency, though their actual connexion with it may have been disused.

The Dryopes, an inconsiderable, but seemingly peculiar subdivision, who occupied some scattered points on the sea-coast—Hermionê on the Argolic peninsula; Styrus and Karystus in Eubœa; the island of Kythnus, &c.

Though it may be said, in a general way, that our historical

discernment of the Hellenic aggregate, apart from the illusions of legend, commences with 776 B.C., yet with regard to the larger number of its subdivisions just enumerated, we can hardly be said to possess any specific facts anterior to the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B.C. Until the year 560 B.C. (the epoch of Crœsus in Asia Minor, and of Peisistratus at Athens). the history of the Greeks presents hardly anything of a collective character: the movements of each portion of the Hellenic world begin and end apart from the rest. The destruction of Kirrha by the Amphiktyons is the first historical incident which brings into play, in defence of the Delphian temple, a common Hellenic feeling of active obligation.

First period of Grecian history—from 776—560 B.C.

But about 560 B.C., two important changes are seen to come into operation which alter the character of Grecian history—extricating it out of its former chaos of detail, and centralising its isolated phænomena:—1. The subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Lydia and by Persia, followed by their struggles for emancipation—wherein the European Greeks became implicated, first as accessories, and afterwards as principals. 2. The combined action of the large mass of Greeks under Sparta, as their most powerful state and acknowledged chief, succeeded by the rapid and extraordinary growth of Athens, the complete development of Grecian maritime power, and the struggle between Athens and Sparta for the headship. These two causes, though distinct in themselves, must nevertheless be regarded as working together to a certain degree—or rather the second grew out of the first. For it was the Persian invasions of Greece which first gave birth to a wide-spread alarm and antipathy among the leading Greeks (we must not call it Pan-Hellenic, since more than half of the Amphiktyonic constituency gave earth and water to Xerxes) against the barbarians of the East, and impressed them with the necessity of joint active operations under a leader. The idea of a leadership or hegemony of collective Hellas, as a privilege necessarily vested in some one state for common security against the barbarians, thus became current—an idea foreign to the mind of Solôn, or any one of the same age. Next came the miraculous development of Athens, and the violent contest between her and Sparta which should be the leader; the larger portion of Hellas taking side

Second period—from 560—300 B.C.

with one or the other, and the common quarrel against the Persian being for the time put out of sight. Athens is put down, Sparta acquires the undisputed hegemony, and again the anti-barbaric feeling manifests itself, though faintly, in the Asiatic expeditions of Agesilaus. But the Spartans, too incompetent either to deserve or maintain this exalted position, are overthrown by the Thebans—themselves not less incompetent, with the single exception of Epameinôndas. The death of that single man extinguishes the pretensions of Thêbes to the hegemony. Hellas is left, like the deserted Penelopê in the Odyssey, worried by the competition of several suitors, none of whom is strong enough to stretch the bow on which the prize depends.[1] Such a manifestation of force, as well as the trampling down of the competing suitors, is reserved, not for any legitimate Hellenic arm, but for a semi-hellenised[2] Macedonian, "brought up at Pella," and making good his encroachments gradually from the north of Olympus. The hegemony of Greece thus passes for ever out of Grecian hands; but the conqueror finds his interest in reviving, as a name and pretext, the old miso-Persian banner, after it had ceased to represent any real or earnest feeling, and had given place to other impulses of more recent growth. The desolation and sacrilege once committed by Xerxes at Athens is avenged by annihilation of the Persian empire. And this victorious consummation of the once powerful Pan-Hellenic antipathy—the dream of Xenophôn[3] and the Ten Thousand Greeks after the battle of Kunaxa—the hope of Jasôn of Pheræ—the exhortation of Isokratês[4]—the project of Philip and the achievement of Alexander,—while it manifests the irresistible might of Hellenic and Macedonian arms in the then existing state of the world, is at the same time the closing scene of substantive Grecian life. The citizen-feelings of Greece become afterwards merely secondary forces, subordinate to the preponderance of Greek mercenaries

[1] Xenophon, Hellen. vii. 5, 27; Demosthenes, De Coron. c. 7, p. 231.—ἀλλά τις ἦν ἀκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή.

[2] Demosthen. de Coron. c. 21, p. 247.

[3] Xenophon, Anabas. iii. 2, 25—26.

[4] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 12; Isokratês, Orat. ad Philipp., Orat. v. p. 107. This discourse of Isokratês is composed expressly for the purpose of calling on Philip to put himself at the head of united Greece against the Persians: the Oratio iv., called Panegyrica, recommends a combination of all Greeks for the same purpose, but under the hegemony of Athens, putting aside all intestine differences: see Orat. iv. p. 45—68.

under Macedonian order, and to the rudest of all native Hellens —the Ætolian mountaineers. Some few individuals are indeed found, even in the third century B.C., worthy of the best times of Hellas, and the Achæan confederation of that century is an honourable attempt to contend against irresistible difficulties: but on the whole, that free, social, and political march, which gives so much interest to the earlier centuries, is irrevocably banished from Greece after the generation of Alexander the Great.

Important differences between the two—the first period preparatory and very little known.

The foregoing brief sketch will show that, taking the period from Crœsus and Peisistratus down to the generation of Alexander (560—300 B.C.), the phænomena of Hellas generally, and her relations both foreign and inter-political, admit of being grouped together in masses with continued dependence on one or a few predominant circumstances. They may be said to constitute a sort of historical epopee, analogous to that which Herodotus has constructed out of the wars between Greeks and barbarians from the legends of Iô and Eurôpa down to the repulse of Xerxes. But when we are called back to the period between 776 and 560 B.C., the phænomena brought to our knowledge are scanty in number—exhibiting few common feelings or interests, and no tendency towards any one assignable purpose. To impart attraction to this first period, so obscure and unpromising, we shall be compelled to consider it in its relation with the second; partly as a preparation, partly as a contrast.

Extra-Peloponnesian Greeks (north of Attica) not known at all during the first period.

Of the extra-Peloponnesian Greeks north of Attica, during these two centuries, we know absolutely nothing; but it will be possible to furnish some information respecting the early condition and struggles of the great Dorian states in Peloponnêsus, and respecting the rise of Sparta from the second to the first place in the comparative scale of Grecian powers. Athens becomes first known to us at the legislation of Drako and the attempt of Kylôn (620 B.C.) to make himself despot; and we gather some facts concerning the Ionic cities in Eubœa and Asia Minor during the century of their chief prosperity, prior to the reign and conquests of Crœsus. In this way we shall form to ourselves some idea of the growth of Sparta and Athens,—of the short-lived and energetic development of the Ionic Greeks—and

of the slow working of those causes which tended to bring about increased Hellenic intercommunication—as contrasted with the enlarged range of ambition, the grand Pan-Hellenic ideas, the systematised party-antipathies, and the intensified action both abroad and at home, which grew out of the contest with Persia.

There were also two or three remarkable manifestations which will require special notice during this first period of Grecian history:—1. The great multiplicity of colonies sent forth by individual cities, and the rise and progress of these several colonies; 2. The number of despots who arose in the various Grecian cities; 3. The lyric poetry; 4. The rudiments of that which afterwards ripened into moral philosophy, as manifested in gnomes or aphorisms—or the age of the Seven Wise Men.

But before I proceed to relate those earliest proceedings (unfortunately too few) of the Dorians and Ionians during the historical period, together with the other matters just alluded to, it will be convenient to go over the names and positions of those other Grecian states respecting which we have no information during these first two centuries. Some idea will thus be formed of the less important members of the Hellenic aggregate previous to the time when they will be called into action. We begin by the territory north of the pass of Thermopylæ.

General sketch of them—Greeks north of Thermopylæ.

Of the different races who dwelt between this celebrated pass and the mouth of the river Peneius, by far the most powerful and important were the Thessalians. Sometimes indeed the whole of this area passes under the name of Thessaly—since nominally, though not always really, the power of the Thessalians extended over the whole. We know that the Trachinian Herakleia, founded by the Lacedæmonians in the early years of the Peloponnesian war close at the pass of Thermopylæ, was planted upon the territory of the Thessalians.[1] But there were also within these limits other races, inferior and dependent on the Thessalians, yet said to be of more ancient date, and certainly not less genuine subdivisions of the Hellenic name. The Perrhæbi[2]

[1] Thucyd. iii. 93. Οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, καὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο (Herakleia), &c.

[2] Herodot. vii. 173; Strabo, ix. p. 440—441. Herodotus notices the pass over the chain of Olympus or the Cambunian mountains by which Xerxes and his army passed out of Macedonia

occupied the northern portion of the territory between the lower course of the river Peneius and Mount Olympus. The Magnêtes[1] dwelt along the eastern coast, between Mount Ossa and Pelion on one side and the Ægean on the other, comprising the south-eastern cape and the eastern coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ as far as Iôlkos. The Achæans occupied the territory called Phthiôtis, extending from near Mount Pindus on the west to the Gulf of Pagasæ on the east[2]—along the mountain chain of Othrys with its lateral projections northerly into the Thessalian plain, and southerly even to its junction with Œta. The three tribes of the Malians dwelt between Achæa Phthiôtis and Thermopylæ, including both Trachin and Herakleia. Westward of Achæa Phthiôtis, the lofty region of Pindus or Tymphrêstus, with its declivities both westward and eastward, was occupied by the Dolopes.

Thessalians and their dependents.

All these five tribes or subdivisions—Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Achæans of Phthiôtis, Malians, and Dolopes, together with certain Epirotic and Macedonian tribes besides, beyond the boundaries of Pindus and Olympus—were in a state of irregular dependence upon the Thessalians, who occupied the central plain or basin drained by the Peneius. That river receives the streams from Olympus, from Pindus, and from Othrys—flowing through a region which was supposed by its inhabitants to have been once a lake, until Poseidôn cut open the defile of Tempê, through which the waters found an efflux. In travelling northward from Thermopylæ, the commencement of this fertile region—the amplest space of land continuously productive which Hellas presents—is strikingly marked by the steep rock and ancient fortress of Thaumaki;[3] from whence the traveller, passing over the mountains of Achæa Phthiôtis and Othrys, sees before him the plains and low declivities which reach northward across Thessaly to Olympus. A narrow strip of coast—in the interior of the Gulf of Pagasæ, between the Magnêtes and the Achæans, and containing the towns of Amphanæum and

into Perrhæbia: see the description of the pass and the neighbouring country in Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, ch. xxviii. vol. iii. p. 338—348; compare Livy, xlii. 53.

[1] Skylax, Periplus, c. 66; Herodot. vii. 183—188.

[2] Skylax, Peripl. c. 64; Strabo, ix. p. 433—434. Sophoklês included the territory of Trachin in the limits of Phthiôtis (Strabo, *l. c.*). Herodotus considers Phthiôtis as terminating a little north of the river Spercheius (vii. 198).

[3] See the description of Thaumaki in Livy, xxxii. 4, and in Dr. Holland's Travels, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 112—now Thomoko.

Pagasæ[1]—belonged to this proper territory of Thessaly, but its great expansion was inland: within it were situated the cities of Pheræ, Pharsalus, Skotussa, Larissa, Krannôn, Atrax, Pharkadôn, Trikka, Metropolis, Pelinna, &c.

The abundance of corn and cattle from the neighbouring plains sustained in these cities a numerous population, and above all a proud and disorderly noblesse, whose manners bore much resemblance to those of the heroic times. They were violent in their behaviour, eager in armed feud, but unaccustomed to political discussion or compromise; faithless as to obligations, yet at the same time generous in their hospitalities, and much given to the enjoyments of the table.[2] Breeding the finest horses in Greece they were distinguished for their excellence as cavalry; but their infantry is little noticed, nor do the Thessalian cities seem to have possessed that congregation of free and tolerably equal citizens, each master of his own arms, out of whom the ranks of hoplites were constituted. The warlike nobles, such as the Aleuadæ at Larissa, the Skopadæ at Krannôn, despising everything but equestrian service for themselves, furnished, from

[1] Skylax, Peripl. c. 65. Hesychius (v. Παγασίτης Ἀπολλων) seems to reckon Pagasæ as Achæan.

About the towns in Thessaly and their various positions, see Mannert, Geograph. der Gr. und Römer, Part vii. book iii. ch. 8 and 9.

There was an ancient religious ceremony, celebrated by the Delphians every ninth year (Ennaëtêris): a procession was sent from Delphi to the pass of Tempê, consisting of well-born youths under an archi-theôr, who represented the proceeding ascribed by an old legend to Apollo; that god was believed to have gone thither to receive expiation after the slaughter of the serpent Pytho: at least this was one among several discrepant legends. The chief youth plucked and brought back a branch from the sacred laurel at Tempê, as a token that he had fulfilled his mission: he returned by "the sacred road," and broke his fast at a place called Δειπνιάς near Larissa. A solemn festival, frequented by a large concourse of people from the surrounding regions, was celebrated on this occasion at Tempê, in honour of Apollo Tempeitês (Ἀμπλεσῦνι Τεμπείτᾳ in the Æolic dialect of Thessaly: see Inscript. in Boeckh, Corp. Ins. No. 1767). The procession was accompanied by a flute-player.

See Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. ch. xi. p. 292; De Musicâ, ch. xiv. p. 1136; Ælian, V. H. iii. 1; Stephan. Byz. v. Δειπνιάς.

It is important to notice these religious processions as establishing intercourse and sympathies between the distant members of Hellas: but the inferences which O. Müller (Dorians, B. ii. 1, p. 222) would build upon them, as to the original seat of the Dorians and the worship of Apollo, are not to be trusted.

[2] Plato, Krito, c. 15, p. 53. ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία (compare the beginning of the Menôn)—a remark the more striking, since he had just before described the Bœotian Thêbes as a well-regulated city, though both Dikæarchus and Polybius represent it in their times as so much the contrary.

See also Demosthen. Olynth. i. c. 9, p. 16, cont. Aristocrat. c. 29, p. 657; Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 1466; Theopomp. Fragment. 54—178, ed. Didot; Aristophanês, Plut. 521.

The march of political affairs in Thessaly is understood from Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1; compare Anabas. i. 1, 10, and Thucyd. iv. 78.

their extensive herds on the plain, horses for the poorer soldiers. These Thessalian cities exhibit the extreme of turbulent oligarchy, occasionally trampled down by some one man of great vigour, but little tempered by that sense of political communion and reverence for established law, which was found among the better cities of Hellas. Both in Athens and Sparta, so different in many respects from each other, this feeling will be found, if not indeed constantly predominant, yet constantly present and operative. Both of them exhibit a contrast with Larissa or Pheræ not unlike that between Rome and Capua—the former with her endless civil disputes constitutionally conducted, admitting the joint action of parties against a common foe: the latter with her abundant soil enriching a luxurious oligarchy, and impelled according to the feuds of her great proprietors, the Magii, Blossii, and Jubellii.[1]

Thessalian character.

The Thessalians are indeed in their character and capacity as much Epirotic or Macedonian as Hellenic, forming a sort of link between the two. For the Macedonians, though trained in after-times upon Grecian principles by the genius of Philip and Alexander, so as to constitute the celebrated heavy-armed phalanx, were originally (even in the Peloponnesian war) distinguished chiefly for the excellence of their cavalry, like the Thessalian;[2] while the broad-brimmed hat or kausia, and the short spreading mantle or chlamys, were common to both.

We are told that the Thessalians were originally immigrants from Thesprotia in Epirus, and conquerors of the plain of the Peneius, which (according to Herodotus) was then called Æolis, and which they found occupied by the Pelasgi.[3] It may be doubted whether the great Thessalian families—such as the Aleuadæ of Larissa, descendants from Hêraklês, and placed by Pindar on the same level as the Lacedæmonian kings[4]—would have admitted this Thesprotian origin; nor does it coincide with the tenor of those legends which make the eponym, Thessalus,

[1] See Cicero Orat. in Pison. c. 11; De Leg. Agrar. cont. Rullum, c. 34—35.

[2] Compare the Thessalian cavalry as described by Polybius, iv. 8, with the Macedonian as described by Thucydidês, ii. 100.

[3] Herodot. vii. 176; Thucyd. i. 12.

[4] Pindar, Pyth. x. init., with the Scholia, and the valuable comment of Boeckh, in reference to the Aleuadæ; Schneider ad Aristot. Polit. v. 5, 9; and the Essay of Buttmann, Von dem Geschlecht der Aleuaden, art. xxii. vol. ii. p. 254, of the collection called "Mythologus".

son of Hêraklês. Moreover it is to be remarked that the language of the Thessalians was Hellenic, a variety of the Æolic dialect;[1] the same (so far as we can make out) as that of the people whom they must have found settled in the country at their first conquest. If then it be true, that at some period anterior to the commencement of authentic history, a body of Thesprotian warriors crossed the passes of Pindus, and established themselves as conquerors in Thessaly, we must suppose them to have been more warlike than numerous, and to have gradually dropt their primitive language.

In other respects, the condition of the population of Thessaly, such as we find it during the historical period, favours the supposition of an original mixture of conquerors and conquered: for it seems that there was among the Thessalians and their dependents a triple gradation, somewhat analogous to that of Laconia. First, a class of rich proprietors distributed throughout the principal cities, possessing most of the soil, and constituting separate oligarchies loosely hanging together.[2] Next the subject Achæans, Magnêtes, Perrhæbi, different from the Laconian Periœki, in this point, that they retained their ancient tribe-name and separate Amphiktyonic franchise. Thirdly, a class of serfs or dependent cultivators, corresponding to the Laconian Helots, who tilling the lands of the wealthy oligarchs, paid over a proportion of its produce, furnished the retainers by which these great families were surrounded, served as their followers in the cavalry, and were in a condition of villenage,—yet with the important reserve that they could not be sold out of the country,[3]

[1] Ahrens, De Dialect. Æolicâ, c. 1, 2.

[2] See Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3; Thucyd. ii. 99—100.

[3] The words ascribed by Xenophôn (Hellen. vi. 1, 11) to Jason of Pheræ, and the lines of Theocritus (xvi. 34), attest the numbers and vigour of the Thessalian Penestæ, and the great wealth of the Aleuadæ and Skopadæ. Both these families acquired celebrity from the verses of Simonides; he was patronised and his muse invoked by both of them; see Ælian, V. H. xii. 1; Ovid, Ibis, 512; Quintillian, xi. 2, 15. Pindar also boasts of his friendship with Thorax the Aleuad (Pyth. x. 99).

The Thessalian ἀνδραποδισταί alluded to in Aristophanês (Plutus, 521) must have sold men out of the country for slaves—either refractory Penestæ, or Perrhæbian, Magnetic, and Achæan freemen, seized by violence: the Athenian comic poet Mnêsimachus, in jesting on the voracity of the Pharsalians, exclaims, ap. Athenæ. x. p. 418—

ἁρά που
ὀπτὴν κατεσθίουσι πόλιν Ἀχαϊκήν.

Pagasæ was celebrated as a place of export for slaves (Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. 49).

Menôn of Pharsalus assisted the Athenians against Amphipolis with 200 or 300 "Penestæ on horseback, of

that they had a permanent tenure in the soil, and that they maintained among one another the relations of family and village. This last-mentioned order of men, in Thessaly called the Penestæ, is assimilated by all ancient authors to the Helots of Laconia, and in both cases the danger attending such a social arrangement is noticed by Plato and Aristotle. For the Helots as well as the Penestæ had their own common language and mutual sympathies, a separate residence, arms, and courage; to a certain extent, also, they possessed the means of acquiring property, since we are told that some of the Penestæ were richer than their masters.[1] So many means of action, combined with a degraded social position, gave rise to frequent revolt and incessant apprehensions. As a general rule, indeed, the cultivation of the soil by slaves or dependents, for the benefit of proprietors in the cities, prevailed throughout most parts of Greece. The rich men of Thêbes, Argos, Athens, or Elis, must have derived their incomes in the same manner; but it seems that there was often in other places a larger intermixture of bought foreign slaves, and also that the number, fellow-feeling and courage of the degraded village population was nowhere so great as in Thessaly and Laconia. Now the origin of the Penestæ in Thessaly is ascribed to the conquest of the territory by the Thesprotians, as that of the Helots in Laconia is traced to the Dorian conquest. The victors in both countries are said to have entered into a convention with the vanquished population, whereby the latter became serfs and tillers of the land for the benefit of the former, but were at the same time protected in their holdings, constituted subjects of the state, and secured against being sold away as slaves. Even in the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestæ, the quarters assigned to each were to a great degree separated: what was called the Free Agora could not be trodden by any Penest except when specially summoned.[2]

Condition of the population of Thessaly —a villein race—the Penestæ.

his own" (Πενέσταις ἰδίοις)—Demosthen. περὶ Συνταξ. c. 9, p. 173, cont. Aristocrat. c. 51, p. 687.

[1] Archemachus ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 264; Plato, Legg. vi. p. 777; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3, vii. 9, 9; Dionys. Halic. A. R. ii. 84.

Both Plato and Aristotle insist on the extreme danger of having numerous slaves, fellow-countrymen and of one language—(ὁμόφυλοι, ὁμόφωνοι, πατριῶται ἀλλήλων).

[2] Aristot. Polit. vii. 11, 2.

Who the people were, whom the conquest of Thessaly by the Thesprotians reduced to this predial villenage, we find differently stated. According to Theopompus, they were Perrhæbians and Magnêtes; according to others, Pelasgians; while Archemachus alleged them to have been Bœotians of the territory of Arnê[1]—some emigrating to escape the conquerors, others remaining and accepting the condition of serfs. But the conquest, assuming it as a fact, occurred at far too early a day to allow of our making out either the manner in which it came to pass or the state of things which preceded it. The Pelasgians whom Herodotus saw at Krêstôn are affirmed by him to have been the descendants of those who quitted Thessaly to escape[2] the invading Thesprotians; though others held that the Bœotians, driven on this occasion from their habitations on the Gulf of Pagasæ near the Achæans of Phthiôtis, precipitated themselves on Orchomenos and Bœotia, and settled in it, expelling the Minyæ and the Pelasgians.

Who the Penestæ were—doubtful.

Passing over the legends on this subject, and confining ourselves to historical time, we find an established quadruple division of Thessaly, said to have been introduced in the time of Aleuas, the ancestor (real or mythical) of the powerful Aleuadæ,—Thessaliôtis, Pelasgiôtis, Histiæôtis, Phthiôtis.[3] In Phthiôtis were comprehended the Achæans, whose chief towns were Miletæa, Itônus, Thebæ Phthiôtides, Alos, Larissa Kremastê and Pteleon, on or near the western coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ. Histiæôtis, to the north of the Peneius,

Quadruple division of Thessaly.

[1] Theopompus and Archemachus ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 264—266; compare Thucyd. ii. 12; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀρνη—the converse of this story in Strabo, ix. p. 401—411, of the Thessalian Arnê being settled from Bœotia. That the villeins or Penestæ were completely distinct from the circumjacent dependents—Achæans, Magnêtes, Perrhæbians, we see by Arist. Polit. ii. 6, 3. They had their eponymous hero Penestês, whose descent was traced to Thessalus son of Hêraklês: they were thus connected with the mythical father of the nation (Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1271).

[2] Herodot. i. 57; compare vii. 176.

[3] Hellanikus, Fragm. 28, ed. Didot; Harpocration, v. Τετραρχία: the quadruple division was older than Hekatæus (Steph. Byz. v. Κράννων).

Hekatæus connected the Perrhæbians with the genealogy of Æolus through Tyrô the daughter of Salmôneus: they passed as Αἰολεῖς (Hekatæus, Frag. 334, ed. Didot; Stephan. Byz. v. Φάλαννα and Γόννοι).

The territory of the city of Histiæa (in the north part of the island of Eubœa) was also called Histiæôtis. The double occurrence of this name (no uncommon thing in ancient Greece) seems to have given rise to the statement, that the Perrhæbi had subdued the northern parts of Eubœa, and carried over the inhabitants of the Eubœan Histiæa captive into the north-west of Thessaly (Strabo, ix. p 437, x. p. 446).

comprised the Perrhæbians with numerous towns strong in situation, but of no great size or importance; they occupied the passes of Olympus,[1] and are sometimes considered as extending westward across Pindus. Pelasgiôtis included the Magnêtes, together with that which was called the Pelasgic plain bordering on the western side of Pelion and Ossa.[2] Thessaliôtis comprised the central plain of Thessaly and the upper course of the river Peneius. This was the political classification of the Thessalian power, framed to suit a time when the separate cities were maintained in harmonious action by favourable circumstances or by some energetic individual ascendency; for their union was in general interrupted and disorderly, and we find certain cities standing aloof while the rest went to war.[3] Though a certain political junction, and obligations of some kind towards a common authority, were recognised in theory by all, and a chief or Tagus[4] was nominated to enforce obedience,—yet it frequently happened that the disputes of the cities among themselves prevented the choice of a Tagus, or drove him out of the country, and left the alliance little more than nominal. Larissa, Pharsalus[5] and Pheræ —each with its cluster of dependent towns as adjuncts—seem to have been nearly on a par in strength, and each torn by intestine faction, so that not only was the supremacy over common dependents relaxed, but even the means of repelling invaders greatly enfeebled. The dependence of the Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Achæans, and Malians, might under these circumstances be often loose and easy. But the condition of the Penestæ—who occupied the villages belonging to these great cities, in the central plain of Pelasgiôtis and Thessaliôtis, and from whom the Aleuadæ and Skopadæ derived their exuberance of landed produce—was noway mitigated, if it was not even aggravated, by such constant factions. Nor were there wanting cases in which the discontent of this subject class

Disorderly confederacy of the Thessalian cities.

[1] Pliny, H. N. iv. 1; Strabo, ix. p. 440.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 443.

[3] Diodor. xviii. 11; Thucyd. ii. 22.

[4] The inscription No. 1770 in Boeckh's Corpus Inscript. contains a letter of the Roman consul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, addressed to the city of Kyretiæ (north of Atrax in Perrhæbia). The letter is addressed, Κυρετιέων τοῖς ταγοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει—the title of Tagi seems thus to have been given to the magistrates of separate Thessalian cities. The Inscriptions of Thaumaki (No. 1773—1774) have the title ἄρχοντες, not ταγοί. The title ταγός was peculiar to Thessaly (Pollux, i. 123).

[5] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9; Diodor. xiv. 82; Thucyd. i. 3. Herod. vii. 6, calls the Aleuadæ Θεσσαλίης βασιλῆες.

was employed by members of the native oligarchy,[1] or even by foreign states, for the purpose of bringing about political revolutions.

"When Thessaly is under her Tagus, all the neighbouring people pay tribute to her; she can send into the field 6,000 cavalry and 10,000 hoplites or heavy-armed infantry,"[2] observed Jasôn, despot of Pheræ, to Polydamas of Pharsalus, in endeavouring to prevail on the latter to second his pretensions to that dignity. The impost due from the tributaries, seemingly considerable, was then realised with arrears, and the duties upon imports at the harbours of the Pagasæan gulf, imposed for the benefit of the confederacy, were then enforced with strictness; but the observation shows that while unanimous Thessaly was very powerful, her periods of unanimity were only occasional.[3] Among the nations which thus paid tribute to the fulness of Thessalian power, we may number not merely the Perrhæbi, Magnêtes, and Achæans of Phthiôtis, but also the Malians and Dolopes, and various tribes of Epirots extending to the westward of Pindus.[4] We may remark that they were all (except the Malians) javelin-men or light-armed troops, not serving in rank with the full panoply; a fact which in Greece counts as presumptive evidence of a lower civilization; the Magnêtes, too, had a peculiar close-fitting mode of dress, probably suited to movements in a mountainous country.[5] There was even a time when the Thessalian power threatened to extend southward of Thermopylæ, and subjugate the Phokians, Dorians, and Lokrians. So much were the Phokians alarmed at this danger, that they had built a wall across the pass of Thermopylæ for the purpose of more easily defending it against

Great power of Thessaly, when in a state of unanimity.

[1] Xenophon, Memorab. i. 2, 24; Hellenic. ii. 3, 37. The loss of the comedy called Πόλεις of Eupolis (see Meineke, Fragm. Comicor. Græc. p. 513) probably prevents us from understanding the sarcasm of Aristophanês (Vesp. 1263) about the παραπρέσβεια of Amynias among the Penestæ of Pharsalus; but the incident there alluded to can have nothing to do with the proceedings of Kritias, touched upon by Xenophôn.

[2] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9—12.

[3] Demosthen. Olynth. i. c. 3, p. 15, ii. c. 5, p. 21. The orator had occasion to denounce Philip as having got possession of the public authority of the Thessalian confederation, partly by intrigue, partly by force, and we thus hear of the λιμένες and the ἀγοραί which formed the revenue of the confederacy.

[4] Xenophon (Hellen. vi. 1, 7) numbers the Μαρακοί among these tributaries along with the Dolopes: the Maraces are named by Pliny (H. N. iv. 3) also along with the Dolopes, but we do not know where they dwelt.

[5] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9; Pindar. Pyth. iv. 80.

Thessalian invaders, who are reported to have penetrated more than once into the Phokian valleys, and to have sustained some severe defeats.[1] At what precise time these events happened, we find no information; but it must have been considerably earlier than the invasion of Xerxes, since the defensive wall which had been built at Thermopylæ by the Phokians was found by Leonidas in a state of ruin. But the Phokians, though they no longer felt the necessity of keeping up this wall, had not ceased to fear and hate the Thessalians—an antipathy which will be found to manifest itself palpably in connexion with the Persian invasion. On the whole the resistance of the Phokians was successful, for the power of the Thessalians never reached southward of the pass.

Achæans, Perrhæbi, Magnêtes, Malians, Dolopes, &c., all tributaries of the Thessalians, but all Amphiktyonic races.

It will be recollected that these different ancient races,—Perrhæbi, Magnêtes, Achæans, Malians, Dolopes,—though tributaries of the Thessalians, still retained their Amphiktyonic franchise, and were considered as legitimate Hellênes: all except the Malians are indeed mentioned in the Iliad. We shall rarely have occasion to speak much of them in the course of this history: they are found siding with Xerxes (chiefly by constraint) in his attack of Greece, and almost indifferent in the struggle between Sparta and Athens. That the Achæans of Phthiôtis are a portion of the same race as the Achæans of Peloponnêsus it seems reasonable to believe, though we trace no historical evidence to authenticate it. Achæa Phthiôtis is the seat of Hellên, the patriarch of the entire race,—of the primitive Hellas, by some treated as a town, by others as a district of some breadth,—and of the great national hero Achilles. Its connexion with the Peloponnesian Achæans is not unlike that of Dôris with the Peloponnesian Dorians.[3]

We have also to notice another ethnical kindred, the date and circumstances of which are given to us only in a mythical form, but which seems nevertheless to be in itself a reality,—that of the Magnêtes on Pelion and Ossa, with the two divisions of

[1] Herodot. vii. 176; viii. 27—28.

[2] The story of invading Thessalians at Kerêssus near Leuktra in Bœotia (Pausan. ix. 13, 1) is not at all probable.

[3] One story was, that these Achæans of Phthia went into Peloponnês is with Pelops, and settled in Laconia (Strabo, viii. p. 365).

Asiatic Magnêtes, or Magnesia on Mount Sipylus and Magnesia on the river Mæander. It is said that these two Asiatic homonymous towns were founded by migrations of the Thessalian Magnêtes, a body of whom became consecrated to the Delphian god, and chose a new abode under his directions. According to one story, these emigrants were warriors returning from the siege of Troy; according to another, they sought fresh seats to escape from the Thesprotian conquerors of Thessaly. There was a third story, according to which the Thessalian Magnêtes themselves were represented as colonists[1] from Delphi. Though we can elicit no distinct matter of fact from these legends, we may nevertheless admit the connexion of race between the Thessalian and the Asiatic Magnêtes as well as the reverential dependence of both, manifested in this supposed filiation, on the temple of Delphi. Of the Magnêtes in Krête, noticed by Plato as long extinct in his time, we cannot absolutely verify even the existence.

Asiatic Magnêtes.

Of the Malians, Thucydidês notices three tribes (γένη) as existing in his time—the Paralii, the Hierês (Priests), and the Trachinii, or men of Trachin:[2] it is possible that the second of the two may have been possessors of the sacred spot on which the Amphiktyonic meetings were held. The prevalence of the hoplites or heavy-armed infantry among the Malians indicates that we are stepping from Thessalian to more southerly Hellenic habits: the Malians recognized every man as

The Malians.

[1] Aristoteles ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 173; Conon, Narrat. 29; Strabo, xiv. p. 647.

Hoeck (Kreta, b. iii. vol. ii. p. 409) attempts (unsuccessfully, in my judgment) to reduce these stories into the form of substantial history.

[2] Thucyd. iii. 92. The distinction made by Skylax (c. 61) and Diodorus (xviii. 11) between Μηλιεῖς and Μαλιεῖς—the latter adjoining the former on the north—appears inadmissible, though Letronne still defends it (Périple de Marcien d'Héraclée, &c., Paris, 1839, p. 212).

Instead of Μαλιεῖς, we ought to read Λαμιεῖς, as O. Müller observes (Dorians, i. 6, p. 48).

It is remarkable that the important town of Lamia (the modern Zeitun) is not noticed either by Herodotus, Thucydidês, or Xenophôn; Skylax is the first who mentions it. The route of Xerxes towards Thermopylæ lay along the coast from Alos.

The Lamieis (assuming that to be the correct reading) occupied the northern coast of the Maliac Gulf, from the north bank of the Spercheius to the town of Echinus; in which position Dr. Cramer places the Μηλιεῖς Παράλιοι—an error, I think (Geography of Greece, vol. i. p. 436).

It is not improbable that Lamia first acquired importance during the course of those events towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, when the Lacedæmonians, in defence of Herakleia, attacked the Achæans of Phthiôtis, and even expelled the Œtæans for a time from their seats (see Thucyd. viii. 3; Diodor. xiv. 38).

a qualified citizen who either had served, or was serving, in the ranks with his full panoply.[1] Yet the panoply was probably not perfectly suitable to the mountainous regions by which they were surrounded; for at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the aggressive mountaineers of the neighbouring region of Œta had so harassed and overwhelmed them in war, that they were forced to throw themselves on the protection of Sparta, and the establishment of the Spartan colony of Herakleia near Trachin was the result of their urgent application. Of these mountaineers, described under the general name of Œtæans, the principal were the Ænianes (or Eniênes, as they are termed in the Homeric Catalogue as well as by Herodotus),—an ancient Hellenic[2] Amphiktyonic race, who are said to have passed through several successive migrations in Thessaly and Epirus, but who in the historical times had their settlement and their chief town Hypata in the upper valley of the Spercheius, on the northern declivity of Mount Œta. But other tribes were probably also included in the name, such as those Ætolian tribes, the Bomians and Kallians, whose high and cold abodes approached near to the Maliac Gulf. It is in this sense that we are to understand the name, as comprehending all the predatory tribes along this extensive mountain range, when we are told of the damage done by the Œtæans both to the Malians on the east, and to the Dorians on the south: but there are some cases in which the name Œtæans seems to designate expressly the Ænianes, especially when they are mentioned as exercising the Amphiktyonic franchise.[3]

The Œtæi.—The Ænianes.

The fine soil, abundant moisture, and genial exposure of the southerly declivities of Othrys[4]—especially the valley of the Spercheius, through which river all these waters pass away, and which annually gives forth a fertilising inundation—present a marked contrast with the barren, craggy, and naked masses of

[1] Aristot. Polit. iv. 10, 10.

[2] Plutarch, Quæstion. Græc. p. 294.

[3] Thucyd. iii. 92—97; viii. 3. Xenoph. Hellen. i. 2, 18; in another passage Xenophôn expressly distinguishes the Œtæi and the Ænianes (Hellen. iii. 5, 6). Diodor. xiv. 38. Æschines, De Fals. Leg. c. 44, p. 290.

[4] About the fertility as well as the beauty of this valley, see Dr. Holland's Travels, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 108, and Forchhammer (Hellenika, Griechenland, im Neuen das Alte, Berlin, 1837). I do not concur with Forchhammer in his attempts to resolve the mythes of Hêraklês, Achilles, and others into physical phænomena; but his descriptions of local scenery and attributes are most vivid and masterly.

Mount Œta, which forms one side of the pass of Thermopylæ. Southward of the pass, the Lokrians, Phokians, and Dorians occupied the mountains and passes between Thessaly and Bœotia. The coast opposite to the western side of Eubœa, from the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ as far as the Bœotian frontier at Anthêdôn, was possessed by the Lokrians, whose northern frontier town, Alpêni, was conterminous with the Malians. There was, however, one narrow strip of Phôkis—the town of Daphnus, where the Phokians also touched the Eubœan sea—which broke this continuity and divided the Lokrians into two sections,—Lokrians of Mount Knêmis, or Epiknemidian Lokrians, and Lokrians of Opus, or Opuntian Lokrians. The mountain called Knêmis, running southward parallel to the coast from the end of Œta, divided the former section from the inland Phokians and the upper valley of the Kephisus: farther southward, joining continuously with Mount Ptôon by means of an intervening mountain which is now called Chlomo, it separated the Lokrians of Opus from the territories of Orchomenus, Thêbes, and Anthêdôn, the north-eastern portions of Bœotia. Besides these two sections of the Lokrian name, there was also a third, completely separate, and said to have been colonised out from Opus,—the Lokrians surnamed Ozolæ,—who dwelt apart on the western side of Phôkis, along the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf. They reached from Amphissa—which overhung the plain of Krissa, and stood within seven miles of Delphi—to Naupaktus, near the narrow entrance of the Gulf. which latter town was taken from these Lokrians by the Athenians a little before the Peloponnesian war. Opus prided itself on being the mother-city of the Lokrian name, and the legends of Deukaliôn and Pyrrha found a home there as well as in Phthiôtis. Alpêni, Nikæa, Thronium, and Skarpheia, were towns, ancient but unimportant of the Epiknemidian Lokrians: but the whole length of this Lokrian coast is celebrated for its beauty and fertility, both by ancient and modern observers.[1]

Lokrians, Phokians, Dorians.

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 425; Forchhammer Hellenika, p. 11—12. Kynus is sometimes spoken of as the harbour of Opus, but it was a city of itself as old as the Homeric Catalogue, and of some moment in the later wars of Greece, when military position came to be more valued than legendary celebrity (Livy, xxviii. 6; Pausan. x. 1, 1; Skylax, c. 61—62); the latter counts Thronium and Knêmis or Knêmides as being Phokian, not Lokrian; which they

The Phokians were bounded on the north by the little territories called Dôris and Dryopis, which separated them from the Malians,—on the north-east, east and south-west by the different branches of Lokrians,—and on the south-east by the Bœotians. They touched the Eubœan sea (as has been mentioned) at Daphnus, the point where it approaches nearest to their chief town Elateia; their territory also comprised most part of the lofty and bleak range of Parnassus as far as its southerly termination, where a lower portion of it, called Kirphis, projects into the Corinthian Gulf, between the two bays of Antikyra and Krissa; the latter, with its once fertile plain, was in proximity to the sacred rock of the Delphian Apollo. Both Delphi and Krissa originally belonged to the Phokian race. But the sanctity of the temple, together with Lacedæmonian aid, enabled the Delphians to set up for themselves, disavowing their connexion with the Phokian brotherhood. Territorially speaking, the most valuable part of Phôkis[1] consisted in the valley of the river Kephisus, which takes its rise from Parnassus not far from the Phokian town of Lilæa, passes between Œta and Knêmis on one side and Parnassus on the other, and enters Bœotia near Chæroneia, discharging itself into the lake Kôpaïs. It was on the projecting mountain ledges and rocks on each side of this river that the numerous little Phokian towns were situated. Twenty-two of them were destroyed and broken up into villages by the Amphiktyonic order after the second Sacred War; Abæ (one of the few, if not the only one, that was spared) being protected by the sanctity of its temple and oracle. Of these cities the most important was Elateia, situated on the left bank of the Kephisus, and on the road from Lokris into Phôkis, in the natural march of an army from Thermopylæ into Bœotia. The Phokian towns[2] were embodied in an ancient confederacy, which

The Phokians.

were for a short time during the prosperity of the Phokians at the beginning of the Sacred War, though not permanently (Æschin. Fals. Legat. c. 42, p. 46). This serves as one presumption about the age of the Periplus of Skylax (see the notes of Klausen ad Skyl. p. 269). These Lokrian towns lay along the important road from Thermopylæ to Elateia and Bœotia (Pausan. vii. 15, 2; Livy, xxxiii. 3).

[1] Pausan. x. 33, 4.

[2] Pausan. x. 5. 1; Demosth. Fals. Leg c 22—28; Diodor. xvi. 60, with the note of Wesseling.

The tenth book of Pausanias, though the larger half of it is devoted to Delphi, tells us all that we know respecting the less important towns of Phôkis. Compare also Dr. Cramer's Geography of Greece, vol. ii. sect. 10; and Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii ch 13

Two funeral monuments of the

held its periodical meetings at a temple between Daulis and Delphi.

The little territory called Dôris and Dryopis occupied the southern declivity of Mount Œta, dividing Phôkis on the north and north-west from the Ætolians, Ænianes, and Malians. That which was called Dôris in the historical times, and which reached, in the time of Herodotus, nearly as far eastward as the Maliac Gulf, is said to have formed a part of what had been once called Dryopis; a territory which had comprised the summit of Œta as far as the Spercheius northward, and which had been inhabited by an old Hellenic tribe called Dryopes. The Dorians acquired their settlement in Dryopis by gift from Hêraklês, who along with the Malians (so ran the legend) had expelled the Dryopes, and compelled them to find for themselves new seats at Hermionê and Asinê, in the Argolic peninsula of Peloponnêsus—at Styra and Karystus in Eubœa—and in the island of Kythnus;[1] it is only in these five last-mentioned places that history recognises them. The territory of Dôris was distributed into four little townships—Pindus or Akyphas, Bœon, Kytinion, and Erineon—each of which seems to have occupied a separate valley belonging to one of the feeders of the river Kephisus—the only narrow spaces of cultivated ground which this "small and sad" region presented.[2] In itself this tetrapolis is so insignificant, that we shall rarely find occasion to mention it: but it acquired a factitious consequence by being regarded as the metropolis of the great Dorian cities in Peloponnêsus, and receiving on that ground special protection from Sparta. I do not here touch upon that string of ante-historical migrations—stated by Herodotus and illustrated by the ingenuity as well as decorated by the fancy of O. Müller—through which the Dorians are affiliated with the patriarch of the Hellenic race—moving originally out of Phthiôtis to Histiæôtis,

Dôris—Dryopis.

Historical Dryopes.

Phokian hero Schedius (who commands the Phokian troops before Troy and is slain in the Iliad) marked the two extremities of Phôkis,—one at Daphnus on the Eubœan sea, the other at Antikyra on the Corinthian Gulf (Strabo, ix. p. 425; Pausan. x. 36, 4).

[1] Herodot. viii. 31, 43, 46; Diodor. iv. 57; Aristot. ap. Strabo. viii. p. 373.

O. Müller (History of the Dorians, book i. chap. ii.) has given all that can be known about Dôris and Dryopis, together with some matters which appear to me very inadequately authenticated.

[2] Πόλεις μικραὶ καὶ λυπρόχωροι, Strabo, ix. p. 427.

then to Pindus, and lastly to Dôris. The residence of Dorians in Dôris is a fact which meets us at the commencement of history, like that of the Phokians and Lokrians in their respective territories.

The Ætolians.

We next pass to the Ætolians, whose extreme tribes covered the bleak heights of Æta and Korax, reaching almost within sight of the Maliac Gulf, where they bordered on the Dorians and Malians—while their central and western tribes stretched along the frontier of the Ozolian Lokrians to the flat plain, abundant in marsh and lake, near the mouth of the Euênus. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydidês they do not seem to have extended so far westward as the Achelôus, but in later times this latter river, throughout the greater part of its lower course, divided them from the Akarnanians:[1] on the north they touched upon the Dolopians and upon a parallel of latitude nearly as far north as Ambrakia. There were three great divisions of the Ætolian name—the Apodôti, Ophioneis and Eurytanes—each of which was subdivided into several different village tribes. The northern and eastern portion of the territory[2] consisted of very high mountain ranges, and even in the southern portion, the mountains Arakynthus, Kurion, Chalkis, Taphiassus, are found at no great distance from the sea; while the chief towns in Ætolia—Kalydôn, Pleurôn, Chalkis,—seem to have been situated eastward of the Euênus, between the last-mentioned mountains and the sea.[3] The first two towns have been greatly ennobled in legend, but are little named in history; while on the contrary, Thermus, the chief town of the historical Ætolians, and the place where the aggregate meeting and festival of the Ætolian name, for the choice of a Pan-Ætolic general, was convoked, is not noticed by any one earlier than Ephorus.[4] It was partly

[1] Herod. vii. 126; Thucyd. ii. 102.

[2] See the difficult journey of Fiedler from Wrachori northward by Karpenitz, and then across the north-western portion of the ancient Eurytanes (the southern continuation of Mount Tymphrêstus and Œta), into the upper valley of the Spercheius (Fiedler's Reise in Griechenland, vol. i. p. 177—191), a part of the longer journey from Missolonghi to Zeitun.

Skylax (c. 35) reckons Ætolia as extending inland as far as the boundaries of the Ænianes on the Spercheius—which is quite correct—Ætolia Epiktêtus—μέχρι της Οἰταίας, Strabo, x. p. 450.

[3] Strabo, x. p. 459—460. There is however great uncertainty about the position of these ancient towns: compare Kruse, Hellas, vol. iii. ch. xi. p. 233—255, and Brandstäter, Geschichte des Aetolischen Landes, p. 121—134.

[4] Ephorus, Fragm. 29, Marx. ap. Strabo, p. 463. The situation of Thermus, "the acropolis as it were of

legendary renown, partly ethnical kindred (publicly acknowledged on both sides) with the Eleans in Peloponnêsus, which authenticated the title of the Ætolians to rank as Hellens. But the great mass of the Apodôti, Eurytanes, and Ophioneis, in the inland mountains, were so rude in their manners, and so unintelligible[1] in their speech (which, however, was not barbaric, but very bad Hellenic), that this title might well seem disputable—in point of fact it was disputed in later times, when the Ætolian power and depredations had become obnoxious nearly to all Greece. And it is probably to this difference of manners between the Ætolians on the sea-coast and those in the interior, that we are to trace a geographical division mentioned by Strabo into Ancient Ætolia, and Ætolia Epiktêtus (or acquired). When or by whom this division was introduced, we do not know. It cannot be founded upon any conquest, for the inland Ætolians were the most unconquerable of mankind; and the affirmation which Ephorus applied to the whole Ætolian race—that it had never been reduced to subjection by any one—is most of all beyond dispute concerning the inland portion of it.[2]

Adjoining the Ætolians were the Akarnanians, the westernmost of extra-Peloponnesian Greeks. They extended to the Ionian sea, and seem, in the time of Thucydidês, to have occupied both banks of the river Achelôus in the lower part of its course—though the left bank appears afterwards as belonging to the Ætolians, so that the river came to constitute the boundary, often disputed and decided by arms, between them. The principal Akarnanian towns, Stratus and Œniadæ, were both on the right bank; the latter on the marshy and overflowed land near its mouth. Near the Akarnanians, towards the Gulf of Ambrakia, were found barbarian or non-Hellenic nations—the Agræans and the Amphilochians: in the midst of the latter, on the shores of

The Akarnanians.

all Ætolia," and placed on a spot almost unapproachable by an army, is to a certain extent, though not wholly, capable of being determined by the description which Polybius gives of the rapid march of Philip and the Macedonian army to surprise it. The maps, both of Kruse and Kiepert, place it too much on the north of the lake Trichônis: the map of Fiedler notes it more correctly to the east of that lake (Polyb. v. 7—8; compare Brandstäter, Geschichte des Aetol. Landes, p. 133).

[1] Thucyd. iii. 102—ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσάν εἰσι, καὶ ὠμοφάγοι ὡς λέγονται. It seems that Thucydidês had not himself seen or conversed with them, but he does not call them βάρβαροι.

[2] Ephorus, Fragment. 29, ed. Marx.; Skymn. Chius, v. 471; Strabo, x. p. 450.

the Ambrakian Gulf, the Greek colony called Argos Amphilochicum was established.

Of the five Hellenic subdivisions now enumerated—Lokrians, Phokians, Dorians (of Dôris) Ætolians, and Akarnanians (of whom Lokrians, Phokians, and Ætolians are comprised in the Homeric catalogue)—we have to say the same as of those north of Thermopylæ: there is no information respecting them from the commencement of the historical period down to the Persian war. Even that important event brings into action only the Lokrians of the Eubœan Sea, the Phokians, and the Dorians: we have to wait until near the Peloponnesian war before we require information respecting the Ozolian Lokrians, the Ætolians, and the Akarnanians. These last three were unquestionably the most backward members of the Hellenic aggregate. Though not absolutely without a central town, they lived dispersed in villages, retiring when attacked to inaccessible heights, perpetually armed and in readiness for aggression and plunder wherever they found an opportunity.[1] Very different was the condition of the Lokrians opposite Eubœa, the Phokians, and the Dorians. These were all orderly town communities, small indeed and poor, but not less well-administered than the average of Grecian townships, and perhaps exempt from those individual violences which so frequently troubled the Bœotian Thêbes or the great cities of Thessaly. Timæus affirmed (contrary, as it seems, to the supposition of Aristotle) that in early times there were no slaves either among the Lokrians or Phokians, and that the work required to be done for proprietors was performed by poor freemen;[2] a habit which is alleged to have been continued until the temporary prosperity of the Sacred War, when the plunder of the Delphian temple so greatly enriched the Phokian leaders. But this statement is too briefly given, and too imperfectly authenticated, to justify any inferences.

Ozolian Lokrians, Ætolians, and Akarnanians, were the rudest of all Greeks

We find in the poet Alkman (about 610 B.C.) the Erysichæan or Kalydonian shepherd named as a type of rude rusticity—the

[1] Thucyd. i. 6; iii. 94. Aristotle, however, included in his large collection of Πολιτεῖαι, an Ἀκαρνάνων Πολιτεία as well as an Αἰτωλῶν Πολιτεία (Aristotelis Rerum Publicarum Reliquiæ, ed. Neumann, p. 102; Strabo, vii. p. 321).

[2] Timæus, Fragm xvii. ed. Göller; Polyb. xii. 6—7; Athenæus, vi. p. 264.

antithesis of Sardis, where the poet was born.[1] And among the suitors who are represented as coming forward to claim the daughter of the Sikyonian Kleisthenês in marriage, there appears both the Thessalian Diaktoridês from Krannôn, a member of the Skopad family—and the Ætolian Malês, brother of that Titormus who in muscular strength surpassed all his contemporary Greeks, and who had seceded from mankind into the inmost recesses of Ætolia: this Ætolian seems to be set forth as a sort of antithesis to the delicate Smindyridês of Sybaris, the most luxurious of mankind. Herodotus introduces these characters into his dramatic picture of this memorable wedding.[2]

Between Phôkis and Lokris on one side, and Attica (from which it is divided by the mountains Kithærôn and Parnês) on the other, we find the important territory called Bœotia, with its ten or twelve autonomous cities, forming a sort of confederacy under the presidency of Thêbes, the most powerful among them. Even of this territory, destined during the second period of this history to play a part so conspicuous and effective, we know nothing during the first two centuries after 776 B.C. We first acquire some insight into it on occasion of the disputes between Thêbes and Platæa about the year 520 B.C. Orchomenus, on the north-west of the lake Kôpaïs, forms throughout the historical times one of the cities of the Bœotian league, seemingly the second after Thêbes. But I have already stated that the Orchomenian legends, the Catalogue and other allusions in Homer, and the traces of vast power and importance yet visible in the historical age, attest the early political existence of Orchomenus and its neighbourhood apart from Bœotia.[3] The

The Bœotians.

[1] This brief fragment of the Παρθένεια of Alkman is preserved by Stephan. Byz. (Ἐρυσίχη), and alluded to by Strabo, x. p. 460: see Welcker, Alkm. Fragm. xi., and Bergk, Alk. Fr. xii.

[2] Herodot. vi. 127.

[3] See an admirable topographical description of the north part of Bœotia—the lake Kôpaïs and its environs, in Forchhammer's Hellenika, p. 159—186, with an explanatory map. The two long laborious tunnels constructed by the old Orchomenians for the drainage of the lake, as an aid to the insufficiency of the natural Katabothra, are there very clearly laid down: one goes to the sea, the other into the neighbouring lake Hylika, which is surrounded by high rocky banks and can take more water without overflowing. The lake Kôpaïs is an enclosed basin receiving all the water from Dôris and Phôkis through the Kêphisus.

Forchhammer thinks that it was nothing but the similarity of the name Itônea (derived from *itéa, a willow-tree*) which gave rise to the tale of an immigration of people from the Thessalian to the Bœotian Itônê (p. 148).

The Homeric Catalogue presents Kôpæ, on the north of the lake, as Bœotian, but not Orchomenus, nor Asplêdôn (Iliad, ii. 502).

Orchomenus.

Amphiktyony in which Orchomenus participated at the holy island of Kalauria near the Argolic peninsula, seems to show that it must once have possessed a naval force and commerce, and that its territory must have touched the sea at Halæ and the lower town of Larymna, near the southern frontier of Lokris; this sea is separated by a very narrow space from the range of mountains which join Knêmis and Ptôon, and which enclose on the east both the basin of Orchomenus, Asplêdôn and Kôpæ, and the lake Kôpaïs. The migration of the Bœotians out of Thessaly into Bœotia (which is represented as a consequence of the conquest of the former country by the Thesprotians) is commonly assigned as the compulsory force which bœotised Orchomenus. By whatever cause or at whatever time (whether before or after 776 B.C.) the transition may have been effected, we find Orchomenus completely Bœotian throughout the known historical age—yet still retaining its local Minyeian legends, and subject to the jealous rivalry[1] of Thêbes, as being the second city in the Bœotian league. The direct road from the passes of Phôkis southward into Bœotia went through Chæroneia, leaving Lebadeia on the right and Orchomenus on the left hand, and passed the south-western edge of the lake Kôpaïs near the towns of Koroneia, Alalkomenæ, and Haliartus. Here stood, between Mount Helikon and the lake, on the road from Phôkis to Thêbes, the important military post called Tilphôssion.[2] The territory of this latter city occupied the greater part of central Bœotia south of the lake Kôpaïs; it comprehended Akræphia and Mount Ptôon, and probably touched the Eubœan Sea at the village of Salganeus south of Anthêdôn. South-west of Thêbes, bordering on the south-eastern extremity of Phôkis with the Phokian town of Bulis, stood the city of Thespiæ. Southward of the Asôpus, but northward of Kithærôn and Parnês, were Platæa and Tanagra: in the south-eastern corner of Bœotia stood Orôpus, the frequent subject of contention between Thêbes and Athens; and in the road between the Eubœan Chalkis and Thêbes, the town of Mykalêssus.

Cities of Bœotia

[1] See O. Müller, Orchomenos, cap. xx. p. 418 *seq.*

[2] See Demosthen. De Fals. Legat. c. 43—45. Another portion of this narrow road is probably meant by the pass of Korôneia—τὰ περὶ Κορώνειαν στενά (Diodor. xv. 52: Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 3, 15)—which Epameinôndas occupied to prevent the invasion of Kleombrotus from Phôkis.

From our first view of historical Bœotia downward, there appears a confederation which embraces the whole territory; and during the Peloponnesian war the Thebans invoke "the ancient constitutional maxims of the Bœotians" as a justification of extreme rigour, as well as of treacherous breach of the peace, against the recusant Platæans.[1] Of this confederation the greater cities were primary members, while the lesser were attached to one or other of them in a kind of dependent union. Neither the names nor the number of these primary members can be certainly known: there seem grounds for including Thêbes, Orchomenus, Lebadeia, Korôneia, Haliartus, Kôpæ, Anthêdôn, Tanagra, Thespiæ, and Platæa before its secession.[2] Akræphia with the neighbouring Mount Ptôon and its oracle, Skôlus, Glisas and other places, were dependencies of Thêbes: Chæroneia, Asplêdôn, Holmônes and Hyêttus, of Orchomenus: Siphæ, Leuktra, Kerêssus and Thisbê, of Thespiæ.[3] Certain generals or magistrates called Bœotarchs were chosen annually to manage the common affairs of the confederation. At the time of the battle of Delium in the Peloponnesian war, they were eleven in number, two of them from Thêbes; but whether this number was always maintained, or in what proportions the choice was made by the different cities, we find no distinct information. There were likewise during the Peloponnesian war four different senates, with whom the Bœotarchs consulted on matters of importance; a curious arrangement, of which we have no explanation. Lastly, there was the general concilium and religious festival—the Pambœotia—held periodically at Korôneia. Such were the forms, as far as we can make them out, of the Bœotian confederacy; each of the separate cities possessing its own senate and constitution, and having its political consciousness as an autonomous unit, yet with a certain habitual deference to the federal obligations. Substantially, the affairs of the confederation will be found in the hands of Thêbes, managed in the interests of Theban ascendency, which appears to have been sustained by

Confederation of Bœotia.

[1] Thucyd. ii. 2—κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν: compare the speech of the Thebans to the Lacedæmonians after the capture of Platæa, iii. 61, 65, 66.

[2] Thucyd. iv. 91; C. F. Hermann, Griechische Staatsalterthümer, sect. 179; Herodot. v. 79: Boeckh, Commentat. ad Inscriptt. Bœotic. ap. Corp. Ins. Gr., part v. p. 726.

[3] Herodot. viii. 135; ix. 15—43 Pausan. ix. 13, 1; ix. 23, 3; ix. 24, 3; ix. 32, 1—4. Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 4, 3—4; compare O. Müller, Orchomenos, cap. xx. p. 403.

no other feeling except respect for superior force and bravery. The discontents of the minor Bœotian towns, harshly repressed and punished, form an uninviting chapter in Grecian history.

Early legislation of Thêbes—Philolaus and Dioklês.

One piece of information we find, respecting Thêbes singly and apart from the other Bœotian towns, anterior to the year 700 B.C. Though brief and incompletely recorded, it is yet highly valuable, as one of the first incidents of solid and positive Grecian history. Dioklês the Corinthian stands enrolled as Olympic victor in the 13th Olympiad, or 728 B.C., at a time when the oligarchy called Bacchiadæ possessed the government of Corinth. The beauty of his person attracted towards him the attachment of Philolaus, one of the members of this oligarchical body,—a sentiment which Grecian manners did not proscribe; but it also provoked an incestuous passion on the part of his own mother Halkyonê, from which Dioklês shrunk with hatred and horror. He abandoned for ever his native city and retired to Thêbes, whither he was followed by Philolaus, and where both of them lived and died. Their tombs were yet shown in the time of Aristotle, close adjoining to each other, yet with an opposite frontage; that of Philolaus being so placed that the inmate could command a view of the lofty peak of his native city, while that of Dioklês was so disposed as to block out all prospect of the hateful spot. That which preserves to us the memory of so remarkable an incident is, the esteem entertained for Philolaus by the Thebans—a feeling so pronounced, that they invited him to make laws for them. We shall have occasion to point out one or two similar cases in which Grecian cities invoked the aid of an intelligent stranger; and the practice became common, among the Italian republics in the middle ages, to nominate a person not belonging to their city either as Podesta or as arbitrator in civil dissensions. It would have been highly interesting to know at length what laws Philolaus made for the Thebans; but Aristotle, with his usual conciseness, merely alludes to his regulations respecting the adoption of children and respecting the multiplication of offspring in each separate family. His laws were framed with the view to maintain the original number of lots of land, without either subdivision or consolidation; but by what means the purpose was to

be fulfilled we are not informed.[1] There existed a law at Thêbes, which perhaps may have been part of the scheme of Philolaus, prohibiting exposure of children, and empowering a father under the pressure of extreme poverty to bring his new-born infant to the magistrates, who sold it for a price to any citizen-purchaser, —taking from him the obligation to bring it up, but allowing him in return to consider the adult as his slave.[2] From these brief allusions, coming to us without accompanying illustration, we can draw no other inference, except that the great problem of population—the relation between the well-being of the citizens and their more or less rapid increase in numbers—had engaged the serious attention even of the earliest Grecian legislators. We may however observe that the old Corinthian legislator Pheidôn (whose precise date cannot be fixed) is stated by Aristotle[3] to have contemplated much the same object as that which is ascribed to Philolaus at Thêbes; an unchangeable number both of citizens and of lots of land, without any attempt to alter the unequal ratio of the lots, one to the other.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 6—7. Νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς (to the Thebans) ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περί τ' ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιΐας, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου νενομοθετημένον, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζηται τῶν κλήρων. A perplexing passage follows within three lines of this—Φιλολάου δὲ ἴδιόν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀνομάλωσις—which raises two questions: first, whether Philolaus can really be meant in the second passage, which talks of what is ἴδιον to Philolaus, while the first passage had already spoken of something ἰδίως νενομοθετημένον by the same person. Accordingly Göttling and M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire follow one of the MSS. by writing Φαλέου in place of Φιλολάου. Next, what is the meaning of ἀνομάλωσις? O. Müller (Dorians, ch. x. 5, p. 209) considers it to mean a "fresh equalisation, just as ἀναδασμός means a fresh division," adopting the translation of Victorius and Schlösser.

The point can hardly be decisively settled; but if this translation of ἀνομάλωσις be correct, there is good ground for preferring the word Φαλέου to Φιλολάου; since the proceeding described would harmonise better with the ideas of Phaleas (Aristot. Pol. ii. 4, 3).

[2] Ælian, V. H. ii. 7.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 3, 7. This Pheidôn seems different from Pheidôn of Argos, as far as we are enabled to judge.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLIEST HISTORICAL VIEW OF PELOPONNÊSUS. DORIANS IN ARGOS AND THE NEIGHBOURING CITIES.

WE now pass from the northern members to the heart and head of Greece—Peloponnêsus and Attica, taking the former first in order, and giving as much as can be ascertained respecting its early historical phænomena.

Distribution of Peloponnêsus about 450 B.C.

The traveller who entered Peloponnêsus from Bœotia during the youthful days of Herodotus and Thucydidês, found an array of powerful Doric cities conterminous to each other, and beginning at the Isthmus of Corinth. First came Megara, stretching across the isthmus from sea to sea, and occupying the high and rugged mountain-ridge called Geraneia: next Corinth, with its strong and conspicuous acropolis, and its territory including Mount Oneion as well as the portion of the isthmus at once most level and narrowest, which divided its two harbours called Lechæum and Kenchreæ. Westward of Corinth, along the Corinthian Gulf, stood Sikyôn, with a plain of uncommon fertility, between the two towns: southward of Sikyôn and Corinth were Phlius and Kleônæ, both conterminous, as well as Corinth, with Argos and the Argolic peninsula. The inmost bend of the Argolic Gulf, including a considerable space of flat and marshy ground adjoining to the sea, was possessed by Argos; the Argolic peninsula was divided by Argos with the Doric cities of Epidaurus and Trœzên, and the Dryopian city of Hermionê, the latter possessing the south-western corner.

Continuous Dorian states.

Proceeding southward along the western coast of the gulf, and passing over the little river called Tanos, the traveller found himself in the dominion of Sparta, which comprised the

entire southern region of the peninsula from its eastern to its western sea, where the river Neda flows into the latter. He first passed from Argos across the difficult mountain range called Parnôn (which bounds to the west the southern portion of Argolis), until he found himself in the valley of the river Œnus, which he followed until it joined the Eurôtas. In the larger valley of the Eurôtas, far removed from the sea, and accessible only through the most impracticable mountain roads, lay the five unwalled, unadorned, adjoining villages, which bore collectively the formidable name of Sparta. The whole valley of the Eurôtas, from Skiritis and Beleminatis at the border of Arcadia, to the Laconian Gulf—expanding in several parts into fertile plain, especially near to its mouth, where the towns of Gythium and Helos were found—belonged to Sparta; together with the cold and high mountain range to the eastward which projects into the promontory of Malea—and the still loftier chain of Taygetus to the westward, which ends in the promontory of Tænarus. On the other side of Taygetus, on the banks of the river Pamisus, which there flows into the Messenian Gulf, lay the plain of Messênê, the richest land in the peninsula. This plain had once yielded its ample produce to the free Messenian Dorians, resident in the towns of Stenyklêrus and Andania. But in the time of which we speak, the name of Messenians was borne only by a body of brave but homeless exiles, whose restoration to the land of their forefathers overpassed even the exile's proverbially sanguine hope. Their land was confounded with the western portion of Laconia, which reached in a south-westerly direction down to the extreme point of Cape Akritas, and northward as far as the river Neda.

Throughout his whole journey to the point last-mentioned from the borders of Bœotia and Megaris, the traveller would only step from one Dorian state into another. But on crossing from the south to the north bank of the river Neda, at a point near to its mouth, he would find himself out of Doric land altogether: first in the territory called Triphylia—next in that of Pisa or the Pisatid—thirdly in the more spacious and powerful state called Elis; these three comprising the coast-land of Peloponnêsus from the mouth of the Neda to that of the Larissus. The Triphylians, distributed into

Western Peloponnêsus.

a number of small townships, the largest of which was Lepreon —and the Pisatans, equally destitute of any centralising city— had both, at the period of which we are now speaking, been conquered by their more powerful northern neighbours of Elis, who enjoyed the advantage of a spacious territory united under one government: the middle portion, called the Hollow Elis, being for the most part fertile. The Eleians were a section of Ætolian immigrants into Peloponnêsus, but the Pisatans and Triphylians had both been originally independent inhabitants of the peninsula —the latter being affirmed to belong to the same race as the Minyæ who had occupied the ante-Bœotian Orchomenus: both too bore the ascendency of Elis with perpetual murmur and occasional resistance.

Northern Peloponnêsus—Achaia.

Crossing the river Larissus, and pursuing the northern coast of Peloponnêsus south of the Corinthian Gulf, the traveller would pass into Achaia—a name which designated the narrow strip of level land, and the projecting spurs and declivities, between that gulf and the northernmost mountains of the peninsula—Skollis, Erymanthus, Aroania, Krathis, and the towering eminence called Kyllênê. Achæan cities—twelve in number at least, if not more—divided this long strip of land amongst them, from the mouth of the Larissus and the north-western Cape Araxus on one side, to the western boundary of the Sikyonian territory on the other. According to the accounts of the ancient legends and the belief of Herodotus, this territory had been once occupied by Ionian inhabitants, whom the Achæans had expelled.

Central region—Arcadia.

In making this journey, the traveller would have finished the circuit of Peloponnêsus; but he would still have left untrodden the great central region, enclosed between the territories just enumerated—approaching nearest to the sea on the borders of Triphylia, but never touching it anywhere. This region was Arcadia, possessed by inhabitants who are uniformly represented as all of one race, and all aboriginal. It was high and bleak, full of wild mountain, rock, and forest, and abounding, to a degree unusual even in Greece, with those land-locked basins from whence the water finds only a subterraneous issue. It was distributed among a large number of distinct villages and cities. Many of the village tribes—the

Mænalii, Parrhasii, Azanes, &c., occupying the central and the western regions, were numbered among the rudest of the Greeks; but along its eastern frontier there were several Arcadian cities which ranked deservedly among the more civilised Peloponnesians. Tegea, Mantineia, Orchomenus, Stymphalus, Pheneus, possessed the whole eastern frontier of Arcadia from the borders of Laconia to those of Sikyôn and Pellênê in Achaia: Phigaleia at the south-western corner, near the borders of Triphylia, and Heræa on the north bank of the Alpheius, near the place where that river quits Arcadia to enter the Pisātis, were also towns deserving of notice. Towards the north of this cold and thinly-peopled region, near Pheneus, was situated the small town of Nonakris, adjoining to which rose the hardly accessible crags where the rivulet of Styx[1] flowed down: a point of common feeling for all Arcadians, from the terrific sanction which this water was understood to impart to their oaths.

The distribution of Peloponnêsus here sketched, suitable to the Persian invasion and the succeeding half century, may also be said (with some allowances) to be adapted to the whole interval between about B.C. 550—370; from the time of the conquest of Thyreatis by Sparta to the battle of Leuktra. But it is not the earliest distribution which history presents to us. Not presuming to critise the Homeric map of Peloponnêsus, and going back only to 776 B.C., we find this material difference—that Sparta occupies only a very small fraction of the large territory above described as belonging to her. Westward of the summit of Mount Taygetus are found another section of Dorians, independent of Sparta: the Messenian Dorians, whose city is on the hill of Stenyklêrus, near the south-western boundary of Arcadia, and

Difference between this distribution and that of 776 B.C.

[1] Herodot. vi. 74; Pausan. viii. 18, 2. See the description and print of the river Styx and the neighbouring rocks in Fiedler's Reise durch Griechenland, vol. i. p. 400.

He describes a scene amidst these rocks, in 1826, when the troops of Ibrahim Pasha were in the Morea, which realizes the fearful pictures of war after the manner of the ancient Gauls or Thracians. A crowd of 5000 Greeks of every age and sex had found shelter in a grassy and bushy spot embosomed amidst these crags—few of them armed. They were pursued by 5000 Egyptians and Arabians: a very small resistance, in such ground, would have kept the troops at bay, but the poor men either could not or would not offer it. They were forced to surrender: the youngest and most energetic cast themselves headlong from the rocks and perished: 3000 prisoners were carried away captive, and sold for slaves at Corinth, Patras, and Modon: all those who were unfit for sale were massacred on the spot by the Egyptian troops.

whose possessions cover the fertile plain of Messênê along the river Pamisus to its mouth in the Messenian Gulf: it is to be noted that Messênê was then the name of the plain generally, and that no town so called existed until after the battle of Leuktra. Again, eastward of the valley of the Eurôtas, the mountainous region and the western shores of the Argolic Gulf down to Cape Malea are also independent of Sparta; belonging to Argos, or rather to Dorian towns in union with Argos. All the great Dorian towns, from the borders of the Megarid to the eastern frontier of Arcadia, as above enumerated, appear to have existed in 776 B.C.: Achaia was in the same condition, so far as we are able to judge, as well as Arcadia, except in regard to its southern frontier conterminous with Sparta, of which more will hereafter be said. In respect to the western portion of Peloponnêsus, Elis (properly so called) appears to have embraced the same territory in 776 B.C. as in 550 B.C.: but the Pisatid had been recently conquered, and was yet imperfectly subjected by the Eleians; while Triphylia seems to have been quite independent of them. Respecting the south-western promontory of Peloponnêsus down to Cape Akritas, we are altogether without positive information: reasons will hereafter be given for believing that it did not at that time form part of the territory of Messenian Dorians.

Portions of the population which were believed to be indigenous: Arcadians, Kynurians, Achæans.

Of the different races or people whom Herodotus knew in Peloponnêsus, he believed three to be original—the Arcadians, the Achæans, and the Kynurians. The Achæans, though belonging indigenously to the peninsula, had yet removed from the southern portion of it to the northern, expelling the previous Ionian tenants: this is a part of the legend respecting the Dorian conquest or Return of the Herakleids, and we can neither verify nor contradict it. But neither the Arcadians nor the Kynurians had ever changed their abodes. Of the latter I have not before spoken, because they were never (so far as history knows them) an independent population. They occupied the larger portion[1] of the territory of Argolis, from Orneæ, near the

[1] This is the only way of reconciling Herodotus (viii. 73) with Thucydidês (iv. 56, and v. 41). The original extent of the Kynurian territory is a point on which neither of them had any means of very correct information; but there is no occasion to reject the one in favour of the other.

northern[1] or Phliasian border, to Thyrea and the Thyreatis, on the Laconian border: and though belonging originally (as Herodotus imagines rather than asserts) to the Ionic race—they had been so long subjects of Argos in his time that almost all evidence of their ante-Dorian condition had vanished.

Immigrant portions—Dorians, Ætolo-Eleians, Dryopes, Triphylians.

But the great Dorian states in Peloponnêsus—the capital powers in the peninsula—were all originally immigrants according to the belief not only of Herodotus, but of all the Grecian world: so also were the Ætolians of Elis, the Triphylians, and the Dryopes at Hermionê and Asinê. All these immigrations are so described as to give them a root in the Grecian legendary world: the Triphylians are traced back to Lêmnos, as the offspring of the Argonautic heroes,[2] and we are too uninformed about them to venture upon any historical guesses. But respecting the Dorians, it may perhaps be possible, by examining the first historical situation in which they are presented to us, to offer some conjectures as to the probable circumstances under which they arrived. The legendary narrative of it has already been given in the first chapter of this volume[3]—that great mythical event called the Return of the Children of Hêraklês, by which the first establishment of the Dorians in the promised land of Peloponnêsus was explained to the full satisfaction of Grecian faith. One single armament and expedition, acting by the special direction of the Delphian god, and conducted by three brothers, lineal descendants of the principal Achæo-Dorian hero through Hyllus (the eponymus of the principal tribe)—the national heroes of the pre-existing population vanquished and expelled, and the greater part of the peninsula both acquired and partitioned at a stroke—the circumstances of the partition adjusted to the historical relations of Laconia and Messenia—the friendly power of Ætolian Elis, with its Olympic games as the bond of union in Peloponnêsus, attached to this event as an appendage in the person of Oxylus—all these particulars compose a narrative well-calculated to impress the retrospective imagination of a Greek. They exhibit an epical

Legendary account of the Dorian immigration.

[1] Herod. viii. 73. Οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι, ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῆται αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες, δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι καὶ περίοικοι. [2] Herodot. iv. 145—146. Ἴωνες· ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ, ὑπό τε Ἀργείων [3] Vol. I. ch. xviii. p. 438 of this edition.

fitness and sufficiency which it would be unseasonable to impair by historical criticism.

Alexandrine chronology from the Return of the Herakleids to the first Olympiad.

The Alexandrine chronology sets down a period of 328 years from the Return of the Herakleids to the first Olympiad (1104 B.C.—776 B.C.),—a period measured by the lists of the kings of Sparta, on the trustworthiness of which some remarks have already been offered. Of these 328 years, the first 250, at the least, are altogether barren of facts; and even if we admitted them to be historical, we should have nothing to recount except a succession of royal names. Being unable either to guarantee the entire list, or to discover any valid test for discriminating the historical and the non-historical items, I here enumerate the Lacedæmonian kings as they appear in Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici. There were two joint kings at Sparta, throughout nearly all the historical time of independent Greece, deducing their descent from Hêraklês through Eurysthenês and Proklês, the twin sons of Aristodêmus; the latter being one of those three Herakleid brothers to whom the conquest of the peninsula is ascribed :—

SPARTAN KINGS.

Line of Eurysthenês.			*Line of Proklês.*		
Eurysthenês	reigned	42 years.	Proklês	reigned	51 years.
Agis	"	31 "	Soüs	"	— "
Echestratus	"	35 "	Eurypôn	"	— "
Labôtas	"	37 "	Prytanis	"	49 "
Doryssus	"	29 "	Eunomus	"	45 "
Agesilaus	"	44 "	Charilaus	"	60 "
Archelaus	"	60 "	Nikander	"	38 "
Teleklus	"	40 "	Theopompus	"	10 "
Alkamenês	"	10 "			
		328			

Both Theopompus and Alkamenês reigned considerably longer, but the chronologists affirm that the year 776 B.C. (or the first Olympiad) occurred in the tenth year of each of their reigns. It is necessary to add, with regard to this list, that there are some material discrepancies between different authors even as to the names of individual kings, and still more as to the duration of their reigns, as may be seen both in Mr. Clinton's chronology and in Müller's Appendix to the History of the Dorians.[1] The

[1] Herodotus omits Soüs between Polydektês and Eurypôn, and inserts Eunomus between Prytanis and Proklês: moreover the accounts of

alleged sum total cannot be made to agree with the items without great licence of conjecture. O. Müller observes,[1] in reference to this Alexandrine chronology, "that our materials only enable us to restore it to its original state, not to verify its correctness". In point of fact they are insufficient even for the former purpose, as the dissensions among learned critics attest.

Herakleid kings of Corinth.

We have a succession of names still more barren of facts, in the case of the Dorian sovereigns of Corinth. This city had its own line of Herakleids, descended from Hêraklês, but not through Hyllus. Hippotês, the progenitor of the Corinthian Herakleids, was reported in the legend to have originally joined the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnêsus, but to have quitted them in consequence of having slain the prophet Karnus.[2] The three brothers, when they became masters of the peninsula, sent for Alètês the son of Hippotês, and placed him in possession of Corinth, over which the chrono-

the Lacedæmonians, as he states them, represented Lykurgus the lawgiver as uncle and guardian of Labôtas, of *the Eurystheneid house*,— while Simonidês made him son of Eunomus, of *the Prokleid line*: compare Herod. i. 65; viii. 131. Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 2.

Some excellent remarks on this early series of Spartan kings will be found in Sir G. C. Lewis's article in the Philol. Museum, vol. ii. p. 42—48, in a review of Dr. Arnold on the Spartan Constitution.

Compare also Larcher, Chronologie d'Hérodote, ch. 13, p. 484—514. He lengthens many of the reigns considerably, in order to suit the earlier epoch which he assigns to the capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids.

[1] History of the Dorians, vol. ii. Append. p. 442.

[2] This story—that the heroic ancestor of the great Corinthian Bacchiadæ had slain the holy man Karnus, and had been punished for it by long banishment and privation—leads to the conjecture, that the Corinthians did not celebrate the festival of the Karneia, common to the Dorians generally.

Herodotus tells us, with regard to the Ionic cities, that all of them celebrated the festival of Apaturia, except Ephesus and Kolophôn; and that these two cities did not celebrate it, "because of a certain reason of murder committed,"—οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσιν Ἀπατούρια· καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν (Herod. i. 147).

The murder of Karnus by Hippotês was probably the φόνου σκῆψις which forbade the Corinthians from celebrating the Karneia; at least this supposition gives to the legend a special pertinence which is otherwise wanting to it. Respecting the Karneia and Hyacinthia see Schoell De Origine Græci Dramatis, p. 70—78. Tübingen, 1828.

There were various singular customs connected with the Grecian festivals, which it was usual to account for by some legendary tale. Thus no native of Elis ever entered himself as a competitor, or contended for the prize, at the Isthmian games. The legendary reason given for this was, that Hêraklês had waylaid and slain (at Kleônæ) the two Molionid brothers, when they were proceeding to the Isthmian games as Theôrs or sacred envoys from the Eleian king Augeas. Redress was in vain demanded for the outrage, and Molionê, mother of the slain envoys, imprecated a curse upon the Eleians generally if they should ever visit the Isthmian festival. This legend is the φόνου σκῆψις, explaining why no Eleian runner or wrestler was ever known to contend there (Pausan. ii. 15. [illegible]—4. Ister, Fragment. 46; d. Didot.)

logists make him begin to reign thirty years after the Herakleid conquest. His successors are thus given :—

Alêtês	reigned	38	years.
Ixion	,,	38	,,
Agelas	,,	37	,,
Prymnis	,,	35	,,
Bacchis	,,	35	,,
Agelas	,,	30	,,
Eudêmus	,,	25	,,
Aristomêdês	,,	35	,,
Agêmôn	,,	16	,,
Alexander	,,	25	,,
Telestês	,,	12	,,
Automenês	,,	1	,,
		327	

Such was the celebrity of Bacchis, we are told, that those who succeeded him took the name of Bacchiads in place of Aletiads or Herakleids. One year after the accession of Automenês, the family of the Bacchiads generally, amounting to two hundred persons, determined to abolish royalty, to constitute themselves a standing oligarchy, and to elect out of their own number an annual Prytanis. Thus commenced the oligarchy of the Bacchiads, which lasted for ninety years, until it was subverted by Kypselus in 657 B.C.[1] Reckoning the thirty years previous to the beginning of the reign of Alêtês, the chronologists thus provide an interval of 447 years between the Return of the Herakleids and the accession of Kypselus, and 357 years between the same period and the commencement of the Bacchiad oligarchy. The Bacchiad oligarchy is unquestionably historical; the conquest of the Herakleids belongs to the legendary world; while the interval between the two is filled up, as in so many other cases, by a mere barren genealogy.

When we jump this vacant space, and place ourselves at the first opening of history, we find that although ultimately Sparta came to hold the first place, not only in Peloponnêsus, but in all Hellas, this was not the case at the earliest moment of which we have historical cognizance. Argos, and the neighbouring towns connected with her by a bond of semi-religious, semi-political union,—Sikyôn, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Trœzên,—were at first of greater power and consideration than Sparta; a fact which

Argos and the neighbouring Dorians greater than Sparta in 776 B.C.

[1] Diodor. Fragm. lib. vii. p. 14, with the note of Wesseling. Strabo (viii. p. 378) states the Bacchiad oligarchy to have lasted nearly 200 years.

the legend of the Herakleids seems to recognise by making Têmenus the eldest brother of the three. And Herodotus assures us that at one time all the eastern coast of Peloponnêsus down to Cape Malea, including the island of Kythêra, all which came afterwards to constitute a material part of Laconia, had belonged to Argos.[1] Down to the time of the first Messenian war, the comparative importance of the Dorian establishments in Peloponnêsus appears to have been in the order in which the legend placed them,—Argos first,[2] Sparta second, Messênê third. It will be seen hereafter that the Argeians never lost the recollection of this early pre-eminence, from which the growth of Sparta had extruded them; and the liberty of entire Hellas was more than once in danger from their disastrous jealousy of a more fortunate competitor.

At a short distance of about three miles from Argos, and at the exact point where that city approaches nearest to the sea,[3] was situated the isolated hillock called Temenion, noticed both by Strabo and Pausanias. It was a small village deriving both its name and its celebrity from the chapel and tomb of the hero Têmenus, who was there worshipped by the Dorians; and the statement which Pausanias heard was, that Têmenus with his invading Dorians had seized and fortified the spot, and employed it as an armed post to make war upon Tisamenus and the Achæans. What renders this report deserving of the greater attention is, that the same thing is affirmed with regard to the eminence called Solygeius near Corinth: this too was believed to be the place which the Dorian assailants had occupied and fortified against the pre-existing Corinthians in the city. Situated close upon the Sarônic Gulf, it was the spot which invaders

Early settlements of the Dorians at Argos and Corinth —Temenion —Hill of Solygeius.

[1] Herodot. i. 82. The historian adds, besides Kythêra, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. What other islands are meant I do not distinctly understand.

[2] So Plato (Legg. iii. p. 692), whose mind is full of the old mythe and the tripartite distribution of Peloponnêsus among the Herakleids, — ἡ δ' αὖ, πρωτεύουσα ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν διανομὴν, ἡ περὶ τὸ Ἄργος, &c.

[3] Pausan. ii. 38, 1; Strabo, viii. p. 368. Professor Ross observes respecting the line of coast near Argos, "The seaside is thoroughly flat and for the most part marshy: only at the single point where Argos comes nearest to the coast—between the mouth, now choked by sand, of the united Inachus and Charadrus, and the efflux of the Erasinus, overgrown with weeds and bulrushes,—stands an eminence of some elevation and composed of firmer earth, upon which the ancient Temenion was placed". (Reisen im Peloponnes, vol. i. sect. 5, p. 149 Berlin, 1841.)

landing from that gulf would naturally seize upon, and which Nikias with his powerful Athenian fleet did actually seize and occupy against Corinth in the Peloponnesian war.[1] In early days the only way of overpowering the inhabitants of a fortified town, generally also planted in a position itself very defensible, was—that the invaders, entrenching themselves in the neighbourhood, harassed the inhabitants and ruined their produce until they brought them to terms. Even during the Peloponnesian war, when the art of besieging had made some progress, we read of several instances in which this mode of aggressive warfare was adopted with efficient results.[2] We may readily believe that the Dorians obtained admittance both into Argos and Corinth in this manner. And it is remarkable that, except Sikyôn (which is affirmed to have been surprised by night), these were the only towns in the Argolic region which are said to have resisted them; the story being, that Phlius, Epidaurus, and Trœzên had admitted the Dorian intruders without opposition, although a certain portion of the previous inhabitants seceded. We shall hereafter see that the non-Dorian population of Sikyôn and Corinth still remained considerable.

Dorian settlers arrived by sea.

The separate statements which we thus find, and the position of the Temenion and the Solygeius, lead to two conjectures—first, that the acquisitions of the Dorians in Peloponnêsus were also isolated and gradual, not at all conformable to the rapid strides of the old Herakleid legend; next, that the Dorian invaders of Argos and Corinth made their attack from the Argolic and the Sarônic Gulfs—by sea and not by land. It is indeed difficult to see how they can have got to Temenion in any other way than by sea; and a glance at the map will show that the eminence Solygeius presents itself,[3] with reference to Corinth, as the nearest and most convenient holding-ground for a maritime invader, conformably to the scheme of operations laid by Nikias. To illustrate the supposition of a Dorian attack by sea on Corinth, we may refer to a story quoted from Aristotle (which we find embodied in the explanation of an old adage) representing Hippotês the father of Alêtês as having

[1] Thucyd. iv. 42.
[2] Thucyd. i. 122; iii. 85; vii. 18—27; viii. 38—40.
[3] Thucyd. iv. 42.

crossed the Maliac Gulf[1] (the sea immediately bordering on the ancient Malians, Dryopians and Dorians) in ships for the purpose of colonising. And if it be safe to trust the mention of Dorians in the Odyssey, as a part of the population of the island of Krête, we there have an example of Dorian settlements which must have been effected by sea, and that too at a very early period. "We must suppose (observes O. Müller,[2] in reference to these Kretan Dorians) that the Dorians, pressed by want or restless from inactivity, constructed piratical canoes, manned these frail and narrow barks with soldiers who themselves worked at the oar, and thus being changed from mountaineers into seamen—the Normans of Greece—set sail for the distant island of Krête." In the same manner we may conceive the expeditions of the Dorians against Argos and Corinth to have been effected: and whatever difficulties may attach to this hypothesis, certain it is that the difficulties of a long land march, along such a territory as Greece, are still more serious.

Early Dorians in Krête.

The supposition of Dorian emigrations by sea, from the Maliac Gulf to the north-eastern promontory of Peloponnêsus, is farther borne out by the analogy of the Dryopes or Dryopians. During the historical times, this people occupied several detached settlements in various parts of Greece, all maritime and some insular:—they were found at Hermionê, Asinê, and Eiôn, in the Argolic peninsula (very near to the important Dorian towns constituting the Amphiktyony of Argos[3])—at Styra and Karystus in the island of Eubœa—in the island of Kythnus, and even at Cyprus. These dispersed colonies can only have been planted by expeditions over the sea. Now we are told that the original Dryopis, the native country of this people, comprehended both the territory near the river Spercheius,

The Dryopians—their settlements formed by sea.

[1] Aristot. ap. Prov. Vatican. iv. 4, Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον—also Prov. Suidas, x. 2.

[2] Hist. of Dorians, ch. i. 9. Andrôn positively affirms that the Dorians came from Histiæôtis to Krête; but his affirmation does not seem to me to constitute any additional evidence of the fact: it is a conjecture adapted to the passage in the Odyssey (xix. 174), as the mention of Achæans and Pelasgians evidently shows.

Aristotle (ap. Strab. viii. p. 374) appears to have believed that the Herakleids returned to Argos out of the Attic Tetrapolis (where, according to the Athenian legend, they had obtained shelter when persecuted by Eurystheus), accompanying a body of Ionians who then settled at Epidaurus. He cannot therefore have connected the Dorian occupation of Argos with the expedition from Naupaktus.

[3] Herod. viii. 43—46; Diodor. iv. 37; Pausan. iv. 34, 6.

and north of Œta, afterwards occupied by the Malians, as well as the neighbouring district south of Œta, which was afterwards called Dôris. From hence the Dryopians were expelled—according to one story, by the Dorians—according to another, by Hêraklês and the Malians: however this may be, it was from the Maliac Gulf that they started on shipboard in quest of new homes, which some of them found on the headlands of the Argolic peninsula.[1] And it was from this very country, according to Herodotus,[2] that the Dorians also set forth, in order to reach Peloponnêsus. Nor does it seem unreasonable to imagine, that the same means of conveyance, which bore the Dryopians from the Maliac Gulf to Hermionê and Asinê, also carried the Dorians from the same place to the Temenion and the hill Solygeius.

Dorian settlements in Argos quite distinct from those in Sparta and in Messenia.

The legend represents Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, Phlius, and Kleônæ, as all occupied by Dorian colonists from Argos, under the different sons of Têmenus: the first three are on the sea, and fit places for the occupation of maritime invaders. Argos and the Dorian towns in and near the Argolic peninsula are to be regarded as a cluster of settlements by themselves, completely distinct from Sparta and the Messenian Stenyklêrus, which appear to have been formed under totally different conditions. First, both of them are very far inland—Stenyklêrus not easy, Sparta very difficult, of access from the sea; next, we know that the conquests of Sparta were gradually made down the valley of the Eurôtas seaward. Both these acquisitions present the appearance of having been made from the land-side, and perhaps in the direction which the Herakleid legend describes—by warriors entering Peloponnêsus across the narrow mouth of the Corinthian Gulf through the aid or invitation of those Ætolian settlers who at the same time colonised Elis. The early and intimate connexion (on which I shall touch presently) between Sparta and the Olympic games as administered by the Eleians, as well as the leading part ascribed to Lykurgus in the

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 373; ix. p. 434. Herodot. viii. 43. Pherekydês, Fr. 23 and 38, ed. Didot. Steph. Byz. v. Δρυόπη. Apollodor. ii. 7, 7. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1213.

[2] Herodot. i. 56.—ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. To the same purpose, viii. 31—43.

constitution of the solemn Olympic truce, tend to strengthen such a persuasion.

How Sparta came constantly to gain upon Argos will be matter for future explanation:[1] at present it is sufficient to remark, that the ascendency of Argos was derived not exclusively from her own territory, but came in part from her position as metropolis of an alliance of autonomous neighbouring cities, all Dorian and all colonised from herself—and this was an element of power essentially fluctuating. What Thêbes was to the cities of Bœotia, of which she either was, or professed to have been, the founder[2]—the same was Argos in reference to Kleônæ, Phlius, Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, and Ægina. These towns formed, in mythical language, "the lot of Têmenus,"[3]—in real matter of fact the confederated allies or subordinates of Argos: the first four of them were said to have been *dorised* by the sons or immediate relatives of Têmenus, and the kings of Argos, as acknowledged descendants of the latter, claimed and exercised a sort of *suzerainetê* over them. Hermionê, Asinê, and Nauplia seem also to have been under the supremacy of Argos, though not colonies.[4] But this supremacy was not claimed directly and nakedly: agreeably to the ideas of the time, the ostensible purposes of the Argeian confederacy or Amphiktyony were religious, though its secondary, and not less real effects, were political. The great patron-god of the league was Apollo

Early position of Argos—metropolis of the neighbouring Dorian cities.

[1] See Herodot. vii. 148. The Argeians say to the Lacedæmonians, in reference to the chief command of the Greeks—*καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν*, &c. Schweighäuser and others explain the point by reference to the command of Agamemnôn; but this is at best only a part of the foundation of their claim: they had a more recent historical reality to plead also: compare Strabo, viii. p. 376.

[2] *Ἡμῶν κτισάντων* (so runs the accusation of the Theban orators against the captive Platæans, before their Lacedæmonian judges, Thucyd. iii. 61) *Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας—οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐξὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον.*

[3] Respecting Pheidôn, king of Argos, Ephorus said—*τὴν λῆξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη* (ap. Strabo. viii. p. 358).

[4] The worship of Apollo Pythæus, adopted from Argos both at Hermionê and Asinê, shows the connexion between them and Argos (Pausan. ii. 35, 2; ii. 36, 5): but Pausanias can hardly be justified in saying that the Argeians actually *dorised* Hermionê; it was Dryopian in the time of Herodotus, and seemingly for a long time afterwards (Herodot. viii. 43). The Hermionian Inscription, No. 1193, in Boeckh's Collection, recognises their old Dryopian connexion with Asinê in Laconia: that town had once been neighbour of Hermionê, but was destroyed by the Argeians, and the inhabitants received a new home from the Spartans. The dialect of the

Pythāeus, in whose name the obligations incumbent on the members of the league were imposed. While in each of the confederated cities there was a temple to this god, his most holy and central sanctuary was on the Larissa or acropolis of Argos. At this central Argeian sanctuary solemn sacrifices were offered by Epidaurus as well as by other members of the confederacy, and, as it should seem, accompanied by money payments[1]—which the Argeians, as chief administrators on behalf of the common god, took upon them to enforce against defaulters, and actually tried to enforce during the Peloponnesian war against Epidaurus. On another occasion, during the 66th Olympiad (B.C. 514), they imposed the large fine of 500 talents upon each of the two states Sikyôn and Ægina, for having lent ships to the Spartan king Kleomenês wherewith he invaded the Argeian territory. The Æginetans set the claim at defiance, but the Sikyonians acknowledged its justice, and only demurred to its amount, professing themselves ready to pay 100 talents.[2] There can be no doubt that at this later period the ascendency of Argos over the members of her primitive confederacy had become practically inoperative; but the tenor of the cases mentioned shows that her claims were revivals of bygone privileges, which had once been effective and valuable.

How valuable the privileges of Argos were, before the great rise of the Spartan power,—how important an ascendency they conferred in the hands of an energetic man, and how easily they admitted of being used in furtherance of ambitious views,—is shown by the remarkable case of Pheidôn the Temenid. The few facts which we learn respecting this prince exhibit to us, for the first time, something like a real position of parties in the Peloponnêsus, wherein the actual conflict of living, historical men and cities comes out in tolerable distinctness.

Pheidôn the Temenid—king of Argos.

Pheidôn was designated by Ephorus as the tenth, and by

Hermionians (probably that of the Dryopians generally) was Doric. See Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorică, p. 2—12.

[1] Thucyd. v. 53. Κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι. The word εἰσπραξις, which the historian uses in regard to the claim of Argos against Epidaurus, seems to imply a money-payment withheld: compare the offerings exacted by Athens from Epidaurus (Herod. v. 82).

The peculiar and intimate connexion between the Argeians, and Apollo with his surname of Pythāeus, was dwelt upon by the Argeian poetess Telesilla (Pausan. ii. 36. 2).

[2] Herod. vi. 92. See O. Müller, History of the Dorians, ch. 7, 13.

Theopompus as the sixth, in lineal descent from Têmenus. Respecting the date of his existence, opinions the most discrepant and irreconcilable have been delivered; but there seems good reason for referring him to the period a little before and a little after the 8th Olympiad,—between 770 B.C. and 730 B.C.[1] Of the preceding kings of Argos we hear little; one of them, Eratus, is said to have expelled the Dryopian inhabitants of Asinê from their town on the Argolic peninsula, in consequence of their having co-operated with the Spartan king Nikander when he invaded the Argeian territory, seemingly during the generation preceding Pheidôn; there is another, Damokratidas, whose date cannot be positively determined, but he appears rather as subsequent than as anterior to Pheidôn.[2] We are informed however that these anterior kings, even beginning with Medôn, the grandson of Têmenus, had been forced to submit to great abridgment of their power and privileges, and that a form of government substantially popular, though nominally regal, had been established.[3] Pheidôn, breaking through the limits imposed, made himself despot of Argos. He then re-established the power of Argos over all the cities of her confederacy, which had before been so nearly dissolved as to leave all the members practically inde-

[1] Ephor. Fragm. 15, ed. Marx; ap. Strabo. vii. p. 358; Theopompus, Fragm. lib. iv.

The Parian Marble makes Pheidôn the eleventh from Hêraklês and places him B.C. 895; Herodotus, on the contrary (in a passage which affords considerable grounds for discussion), places him at a period which cannot be much higher than 600 B.C. (vi. 127). Some authors suspect the text of Herodotus to be incorrect: at any rate, the real epoch of Pheidôn is determined by the eighth Olympiad. Several critics suppose *two* Pheidôns, each king of Argos—among others, O. Müller (Dorians, iii. 6, 10); but there is nothing to countenance this except the impossibility of reconciling Herodotus with the other authorities. And Weissenborn, in a dissertation of some length, vindicates the emendation of Pausanias proposed by some former critics,—altering the eighth Olympiad, which now stands in the text of Pausanias, into the *twenty-eighth*, as the date of Pheidôn's usurpation at the Olympic games. Weissenborn endeavours to show that Pheidôn cannot have flourished earlier than 600 B.C.: but his arguments do not appear to me very forcible, and certainly not sufficient to justify so grave an alteration in the number of Pausanias (Beiträge zur Griechischen Alterthumskunde, p. 18, Jena, 1844). Mr. Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. 1, App. 1, p. 249) places Pheidôn between 783 and 744 B.C.: also Boeckh ad Corp. Inscript. No. 2374, p. 335, and Müller, Æginetica, p. 63.

[2] Pausan. ii. 36, 5; iv. 35, 2.

[3] Pausan. ii. 19, 1. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὡς Μήδωνι τῷ Κείσου καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειφθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον. This passage has all the air of transferring back to the *early* government of Argos feelings which were only true of the *later*. It is curious, that in this chapter, though devoted to the Argeian regal line and government, Pausanias takes no notice of Pheidôn: he mentions him only with reference to the disputed Olympic ceremony.

pendent.[1] Next, he is said to have acquired dominion over Corinth, and to have endeavoured to assure it by treacherously entrapping 1000 of her warlike citizens: but his artifice was divulged and frustrated by Abrôn, one of his confidential friends.[2] He is farther reported to have aimed at extending his sway over the greater part of Peloponnêsus,—laying claim, as the descendant of Hêraklês through the eldest son of Hyllus, to all the cities which that restless and irresistible hero had ever taken.[3] According to Grecian ideas, this legendary title was always seriously construed and often admitted as conclusive; though of course, where there were strong opposing interests, reasons would be found to elude it. Pheidôn would have the same ground of right as that which, 250 years afterwards, determined the Herakleid Dôrieus, brother of Kleomenês king of Sparta, to acquire for himself the territory near Mount Eryx and Sicily, because his progenitor[4] Hêraklês had conquered it before him. So numerous however were the legends respecting the conquests of Hêraklês, that the claim of Pheidôn must have covered the greater part of Peloponnêsus, except Sparta and the plain of Messêne, which were already in the hands of Herakleids.

His claim and projects as representative of Hêraklês.

Nor was the ambition of Pheidôn satisfied even with these large pretensions. He farther claimed the right of presiding at the celebration of those religious games or Agônes which had been instituted by Hêraklês,—and amongst these was numbered the Olympic Agôn, then, however, enjoying but a slender fraction of the lustre which afterwards came to attach to it. The presidency of any of the more celebrated festivals current throughout Greece was a privilege immensely prized. It was at once dignified and lucrative, and the course of our history will present more than

He claims the right of presiding at the Olympic games.

[1] Ephorus, *ut supra*. Φείδωνα τὸν Ἀργεῖον, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ Τημένου, δυνάμει δὲ ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν, ἀφ' ἧς τήν τε λῆξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη, &c. What is meant by *the lot of Têmenus* has been already explained.

[2] Plutarch. Narrat. Amator. p 772; Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iv. 1212; compare Didymus, ap. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 27.

I cannot, however, believe that Pheidôn, the ancient Corinthian lawgiver mentioned by Aristotle, is the same person as Pheidôn the king of Argos (Polit. ii. 6, 4).

[3] Ephor. *ut suprà*. Πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἱρεθείσαις πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοῦν τιθέναι αὐτὸν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἔθηκε· τοῦτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακόν, &c.

[4] Herodot. v. 43.

one example in which blood was shed to determine what state should enjoy it. Pheidôn marched to Olympia, at the epoch of the 8th recorded Olympiad, or 747 B.C.; on the occasion of which event we are made acquainted with the real state of parties in the peninsula.

Relations of Pisa with Pheidôn, and of Sparta with Elis.

The plain of Olympia—now ennobled only by immortal recollections, but once crowded with all the decorations of religion and art, and forming for many centuries the brightest centre of attraction known in the ancient world—was situated on the river Alpheius in the territory called the Pisatid, hard by the borders of Arcadia. At what time its agonistic festival, recurring every fourth year at the first full moon after the summer solstice, first began or first acquired its character of special sanctity, we have no means of determining. As with so many of the native waters of Greece—we follow the stream upward to a certain point, but the fountain-head and the earlier flow of history are buried under mountains of unsearchable legend. The first celebration of the Olympic contests was ascribed by Grecian legendary faith to Hêraklês—and the site of the place, in the middle of the Pisatid with its eight small townships, is quite sufficient to prove that the inhabitants of that little territory were warranted in describing themselves as the original administrators of the ceremony.[1] But this state of things seems to have been altered by the Ætolian settlement in Elis, which is represented as having been conducted by Oxylus and identified with the Return of the Herakleids. The Ætolo-Eleians, bordering upon the Pisatid to the north, employed their superior power in subduing their weaker neighbours,[2] who thus lost their autonomy and became annexed to the territory of Elis. It was the general rule throughout Greece, that a victorious state undertook to perform[3] the current services of the conquered people towards the gods—such services being conceived as attaching to the soil. Hence the celebration of the Olympic games became numbered among the incumbencies of Elis, just in the same way as the worship of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr, when Eleusis lost its autonomy, was included among the religious obligations of Athens. The Pisatans however never

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 4, 28; Diodor. xv. 78.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 354.

[3] Thucyd. iv. 98.

willingly acquiesced in this absorption of what had once been their separate privilege. They long maintained their conviction that the celebration of the games was their right, and strove on several occasions to regain it. Of those occasions the earliest, so far as we hear, was connected with the intervention of Pheidôn. It was at their invitation that the king of Argos went to Olympia, and celebrated the games himself, in conjunction with the Pisatans, as the lineal successor of Hêraklês; while the Eleians, being thus forcibly dispossessed, refused to include the 8th Olympiad in their register of the victorious runners. But their humiliation did not last long, for the Spartans took their part, and the contest ended in the defeat of Pheidôn. In the next Olympiad, the Eleian management and the regular enrolment appear as before. The Spartans are even said to have confirmed Elis in her possession both of Pisatis and Triphylia.[1]

Conflict between Pheidôn and the Spartans, at or about the 8th Olympiad, 748 B.C.

Unfortunately these scanty particulars are all which we learn respecting the armed conflict at the 8th Olympiad, in which the religious and the political grounds of quarrel are so intimately blended—as we shall find to be often the case in Grecian history. But there is one act of Pheidôn yet more memorable, of which also nothing beyond a meagre notice has come down to us. He first coined both copper and silver money in Ægina, and first established a scale of weights and measures,[2] which, through his influence, became adopted throughout Peloponnêsus, and acquired ultimately footing both in all the Dorian states, and in Bœotia, Thessaly, northern Hellas generally, and Macedonia—under the name of the Æginæan scale. There arose subsequently another rival scale in Greece, called the Euboic, differing considerably from the Æginæan. We do not know at what time the Euboic came in, but it was employed both at Athens and in the Ionic cities generally, as well as in Eubœa—being modified at Athens, so far as money was concerned, by Solôn's debasement of the coinage.

Pheidôn the earliest Greek who coined money and determined a scale of weight.

[1] Pausan. v. 22, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 354—358; Herodot. vi. 127. The name of the victor (Antiklês the Messenian), however, belonging to the 8th Olympiad, appears duly in the lists; it must have been supplied afterwards.

[2] Herodot. vi. 127; Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. p. 358—376.

The copious and valuable information contained in M. Boeckh's recent publication on Metrology has thrown new light upon these monetary and statical scales.[1] He has shown that both the Æginæan and the Euboic scales —the former standing to the latter in the proportion of 6 : 5—had contemporaneous currency in different parts of the Persian empire; the divisions and denominations of the scale being the same in both, 100 drachmæ to a mina, and 60 minæ to a talent. The Babylonian talent, mina, and drachma are identical with the Æginæan: the word mina is of Asiatic origin; and it has now been rendered highly probable, that the scale circulated by Pheidôn was borrowed immediately from the Phœnicians, and by them originally from the Babylonians. The Babylonian, Hebraic, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Grecian scales of weight (which were subsequently followed wherever coined money was introduced) are found to be so nearly conformable, as to warrant a belief that they are all deduced from one common origin; and that origin the Chaldæan priesthood of Babylon. It is to Pheidôn, and to his position as chief of the Argeian confederacy, that the Greeks owe the first introduction of the Babylonian scale of weight, and the first employment of coined and stamped money.

Coincidence of the Æginæan scale with the Babylonian.

If we maturely weigh the few but striking acts of Pheidôn which have been preserved to us, and which there is no reason to discredit, we shall find ourselves introduced to an early historical state of Peloponnêsus very different from that to which another century will bring us. That Argos, with the federative cities attached to her, was at this early time decidedly the commanding power in that peninsula, is sufficiently shown by the establishment and reception of the Pheidonian weights, measures, and monetary system—while the other incidents mentioned completely

Argos at this time the first state in Peloponnêsus.

[1] Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfusse, und Masse des Alterthums in ihrem Zusammenhange dargestellt, von Aug. Boeckh; Berlin, 1838.

See chap. 7, 1—3. But I cannot agree with M. Boeckh in thinking that Pheidôn, in celebrating the Olympic games, deduced from the Olympic stadium, and formally adopted, the measure of the *foot*, or that he at all settled measures of *length*. In general, I do not think that M. Boeckh's conclusions are well made out, in respect to the Grecian measures of *length* and *capacity*. In an examination of this eminently learned treatise (inserted in the Classical Museum, 1844, vol. i.) I endeavoured to set forth both the new and interesting points established by the author, and the various others in which he appeared to me to have failed.

harmonise with the same idea. Against the oppression of Elis, the Pisatans invoked Pheidôn—partly as exercising a primacy in Peloponnêsus, just as the inhabitants of Lepreum in Triphylia,[1] three centuries afterwards, called in the aid of Sparta for the same object, at a time when Sparta possessed the headship—and partly as the lineal representative of Hêraklês, who had founded those games from the management of which they had been unjustly extruded. On the other hand, Sparta appears as a second-rate power. The Æginæan scale of weight and measure was adopted there as elsewhere[2]—the Messenian Dorians were still equal and independent—and we find Sparta interfering to assist Elis by virtue of an obligation growing (so the legend represents it) out of the common Ætolo-Dorian immigration: not at all from any acknowledged primacy, such as we shall see her enjoying hereafter. The first coinage of copper and silver money is a capital event in Grecian history, and must be held to imply considerable commerce as well as those extensive views which belong only to a conspicuous and leading position. The ambition of Pheidôn to resume all the acquisitions made by his ancestor Hêraklês, suggests the same large estimate of his actual power. He is characterised as a despot, and even as the most insolent of all despots:[3] how far he deserved such a reputation, we have no means of judging. We may remark, however, that he lived before the age of despots or tyrants, properly so called, and before the Herakleid lineage had yet lost its primary, half-political, half-religious character. Moreover, the later historians have invested his actions with a colour of exorbitant aggression, by applying them to a state of things which belonged to their time, and not to his. Thus Ephorus represents him as having deprived the Lacedæmonians of the headship of Peloponnêsus, which they never possessed until long after him—and also as setting at nought the sworn inviolability of the territory of the Eleians, enjoyed by the latter as celebrators of the Olympic games;

[1] Thucyd. v. 31.

[2] Plutarch, Apophthegm. Laconic., p. 226; Dikæarchus ap. Athenæ., iv. p. 141.

The Æginæan mina, drachma and obolus were the denominations employed in stipulations among the Peloponnesian states (Thucyd. v. 47).

[3] Herodot. vi. 127. Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου — τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων. Pausanias (vi. 22, 2) copies the expression.

Aristotle cites Pheidôn as a person who, being a βασιλεύς, made himself a τύραννος (Politic. viii. 8, 5).

whereas the Agonothesia, or right of superintendence claimed by Elis, had not at that time acquired the sanction of prescription—while the conquest of Pisa by the Eleians themselves had proved that this sacred function did not protect the territory of a weaker people.

Her subsequent decline, from the relaxation of her confederacy of cities.

How Pheidôn fell, and how the Argeians lost that supremacy which they once evidently possessed, we have no positive details to inform us: with respect to the latter points, however, we can discern a sufficient explanation. The Argeians stood predominant as an entire and unanimous confederacy, which required a vigorous and able hand to render its internal organisation effective or its ascendency respected without. No such leader afterwards appeared at Argos, the whole history of which city is destitute of eminent individuals: her line of kings continued at least down to the Persian war,[1] but seemingly with only titular functions, for the government had long been decidedly popular. The statements which represent the government as popular anterior to the time of Pheidôn, appear unworthy of trust. That prince is rather to be taken as wielding the old, undiminished prerogatives of the Herakleid kings, but wielding them with unusual effect—enforcing relaxed privileges, and appealing to the old heroic sentiment in reference to Hêraklês, rather than revolutionising the existing relations either of Argos or of Peloponnêsus. It was in fact the great and steady growth of Sparta, for three centuries after the Lykurgean institutions, which operated as a cause of subversion to the previous order of command and obedience in Greece.

Dorians in the Argolic peninsula—their early commerce with the Dorian islands in the Ægean.

The assertion made by Herodotus—that in earlier times the whole eastern coast of Laconia, as far as Cape Malea, including the island of Kythêra and several other islands, had belonged to Argos—is referred by O. Müller to about the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B.C. Perhaps it had ceased to be true at that period; but that it was true in the age of Pheidôn, there seem good grounds for believing. What is probably meant is, that the Dorian towns on this coast, Prasiæ, Zarêx, Epidaurus Limêra, and Bœæ, were once autonomous, and members of the Argeian

[1] Herodot. vii. 149.

confederacy—a fact highly probable, on independent evidence, with respect to Epidaurus Limêra, inasmuch as that town was a settlement from Epidaurus in the Argolic peninsula: and Bœæ too had its own œkist and eponymus, the Herakleid Bœus,[1] no-way connected with Sparta—perhaps derived from the same source as the name of the town Bœon in Dôris. The Argeian confederated towns would thus comprehend the whole coast of the Argolic and Sarônic gulfs, from Kythêra as far as Ægina, besides other islands which we do not know: Ægina had received a colony of Dorians from Argos and Epidaurus, upon which latter town it continued for some time in a state of dependence.[2] It will at once be seen that this extent of coast implies a considerable degree of commerce and maritime activity. We have besides to consider the range of Doric colonies in the southern islands of the Ægean and in the south-western corner of Asia Minor—Krête, Kôs, Rhodes (with its three distinct cities), Halikarnassus, Knidus, Myndus, Nisyrus, Symê, Karpathus, Kalydna, &c. Of the Doric establishments here named, several are connected (as has been before stated) with the great emigration of the Têmenid Althæmenês from Argos: but what we particularly observe is, that they are often referred as colonies promiscuously to Argos, Trœzên, Epidaurus[3]—more frequently however, as it seems, to Argos. All these settlements are doubtless older than Pheidôn, and we may conceive them as proceeding conjointly from the allied Dorian towns in the Argolic peninsula, at a time when they were more in the habit of united action than they afterwards became: a captain of emigrants selected from the line of Hêraklês and Têmenus was suitable to the feelings of all of them. We may thus look back to a period, at the very beginning of the

[1] Pausan. iii. 22, 9; iii. 23, 4.

[2] Herodot. v. 83; Strabo, viii. p. 375.

[3] Rhodes, Kôs, Knidus, and Halikarnassus are all treated by Strabo (xiv. p. 653) as colonies of Argos: Rhodes is so described by Thucydidês (vii. 57), and Kôs by Tacitus (xii. 61). Kôs, Kalydna, and Nisyrus are described by Herodotus as colonies of Epidaurus (vii. 99): Halikarnassus passes sometimes for a colony of Trœzên, sometimes of Trœzên and Argos conjointly:—"Cum Melas et Areuanius ab Argis et Trœzene coloniam communem eo loco induxerunt, barbaros Caras et Lelegas ejecerunt (Vitruv. ii. 8, 12; Steph. Byz. v. Ἁλικάρνασσος)". Compare Strabo, x. p. 479; Conon, Narr. 47; Diodor. v. 80.

Raoul Rochette (Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. iii. ch. 9) and O. Müller (History of the Dorians, ch. 6) have collected the facts about these Asiatic Dori

The little town of Bœæ had its counterpart of the same name in Krête (Steph. Byz. v. Βοῖον).

Olympiads, when the maritime Dorians on the east of Peloponnêsus maintained a considerable intercourse and commerce not only among themselves, but also with their settlements on the Asiatic coast and islands. That the Argolic peninsula formed an early centre for maritime rendezvous, we may farther infer from the very ancient Amphiktyony of the seven cities (Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasiæ, Nauplia, and the Minyeian Orchomenus), on the holy island of Kalauria, off the harbour of Trœzên.[1]

The view here given of the early ascendency of Argos, as the head of the Peloponnesian Dorians and the metropolis of the Asiatic Dorians, enables us to understand the capital innovation of Pheidôn—the first coinage, and the first determinate scale of weight and measure known in Greece. Of the value of such improvements, in the history of Grecian civilization, it is superfluous to speak, especially when we recollect that the Hellenic states, having no political unity, were only held together by the aggregate of spontaneous uniformities, in language, religion, sympathies, recreations, and general habits. We see both how Pheidôn came to contract the wish, and how he acquired the power, to introduce throughout so much of the Grecian world a uniform scale. We also see that the Asiatic Dorians form the link between him and Phœnicia, from whence the scale was derived, just as the Euboic scale came in all probability, through the Ionic cities in Asia, from Lydia. It is asserted by Ephorus, and admitted even by the ablest modern critics, that Pheidôn first coined money "in Ægina":[2] other authors (erroneously believing that his scale was the Euboic scale) alleged that his coinage had been carried on "in a place of Argos called Eubœa".[3] Now both these statements appear highly improbable, and both are traceable to the same mistake—of supposing that the title by which the scale had come to be commonly known, must necessarily be derived from the place in which the coinage had been struck. There is every reason to conclude, that what Pheidôn did was done in Argos, and nowhere else: his coinage and scale were the earliest known in Greece, and seem

From hence arose the coinage of money, &c., by Pheidôn.

[1] Strabo, p. 374.

[2] Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 376; Boeckh, Metrologie, Abschn. 7, 1: see also the Marmor Parium, Epoch. 30.

[3] Etymologicon Magn. Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα.

to have been known by his own name, "the Pheidonian measures," under which designation they were described by Aristotle in his account of the constitution of Argos.[1] They probably did not come to bear the specific epithet of *Æginæan* until there was another scale in vogue, the *Euboïc*, from which to distinguish them; and both the epithets were probably derived, not from the place where the scale first originated, but from the people whose commercial activity tended to make them most generally known—in the one case, the Æginetans; in the other case the inhabitants of Chalkis and Eretria. I think, therefore, that we are to look upon the Pheidonian measures as emanating from Argos, and as having no greater connexion, originally, with Ægina, than with any other city dependent upon Argos.

Pheidonian coinage and statical scale—belong originally to Argos, not to Ægina.

There is moreover another point which deserves notice. What was known by the name of the Æginæan scale, as contrasted with and standing in a definite ratio (6 : 5) with the Euboic scale, related only to weight and money, so far as our knowledge extends:[2] we have no evidence to show that the same ratio extended either to measures of length or measures of capacity. But there seems grounds for believing that the Pheidonian regulations, taken in their full comprehension, embraced measures of capacity as well as weights: Pheidôn, at the same time when he determined the talent, mina, and drachma, seems also to have fixed the dry and liquid measures—the medimnus and metrêtês, with their parts and multiples: and there existed[3] Pheidonian measures of capacity, though not of length, so far as we know. The Æginæan scale may thus have comprised only a portion of what was established by Pheidôn, namely that which related to weight and money.

[1] Pollux, Onomastic. x. 179. Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ Φείδων τι ἀγγεῖον ἐλαιηρὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτρων ὠνομασμένον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἀργείων πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει.

Also Ephorus ap. Strab. viii. p. 358. καὶ μέτρα ἐξεδρε τὰ Φειδώνεια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμοὺς, καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον, &c.

[2] This differs from Boeckh's opinion: see the note in page 241.

[3] Theophrast. Character., c. 13; Pollux, x. 179.

CHAPTER V.

ÆTOLO-DORIAN IMMIGRATION INTO PELOPONNÊSUS—ELIS, LACONIA, AND MESSENIA.

IT has already been stated that the territory properly called Elis, apart from the enlargement which it acquired by conquest, included the westernmost land in Peloponnêsus, south of Achaia, and west of Mount Pholoê and Olenus in Arcadia—but not extending so far southward as the river Alpheius, the course of which lay along the southern portion of Pisatis and on the borders of Triphylia. This territory, which appears in the Odyssey as "the divine Elis, where the Epeians hold sway,"[1] is in the historical times occupied by a population of Ætolian origin. The connexion of race between the historical Eleians and the historical Ætolians was recognised by both parties, nor is there any ground for disputing it.[2]

Ætolian immigration into Peloponnêsus.

That Ætolian invaders or immigrants into Elis would cross from Naupaktus or some neighbouring point in the Corinthian Gulf, is in the natural course of things—and such is the course which Oxylus, the conductor of the invasion, is represented by the Herakleid legend as taking. That legend (as has been already recounted) introduces Oxylus as the guide of the three Herakleid brothers—Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus—and as stipulating with them that in the new distribution about to take place of Peloponnêsus, he shall be allowed to possess the Eleian territory, coupled with many holy privileges as to the celebration of the Olympic games.

In the preceding chapter, I have endeavoured to show that the settlements of the Dorians in and near the Argolic peninsula, so

[1] Odyss. xv. 297. [2] Strabo, x. p. 479.

far as the probabilities of the case enable us to judge, were not accomplished by any inroad in this direction. But the localities occupied by the Dorians of Sparta, and by the Dorians of Stenyklêrus in the territory called Messênê, lead us to a different conclusion. The easiest and most natural road through which immigrants could reach either of these two spots, is through the Eleian and Pisatid country. Colonel Leake observes[1] that the direct road from the Eleian territory to Sparta, ascending the valley of the Alpheius near Olympia to the sources of its branch the Theius, and from thence descending the Eurôtas, affords the only easy march towards that very inaccessible city: and both ancients and moderns have remarked the vicinity of the source of the Alpheius to that of the Eurôtas. The situation of Stenyklêrus and Andania, the original settlements of the Messenian Dorians, adjoining closely the Arcadian Parrhasii, is only at a short distance from the course of the Alpheius; being thus reached most easily by the same route. Dismissing the idea of a great collective Dorian armament, powerful enough to grasp at once the entire peninsula,—we may conceive two moderate detachments of hardy mountaineers from the cold regions in and near Dôris, attaching themselves to the Ætolians their neighbours, who were proceeding to the invasion of Elis. After having aided the Ætolians both to occupy Elis and to subdue the Pisatid, these Dorians advanced up the valley of the Alpheius in quest of settlements for themselves. One of these bodies ripens into the stately, stubborn, and victorious Spartans; the other into the short-lived, trampled, and struggling Messenians.

Dorians of Sparta and Stenyklêrus—accompanying or following them across the Corinthian Gulf.

Settlement at Sparta made by marching along the valleys of the Alpheius and Eurôtas.

Amidst the darkness which overclouds these original settlements, we seem to discern something like special causes to determine both of them. With respect to the Spartan Dorians, we are told that a person named Philonomus betrayed Sparta to them, persuading the sovereign in possession to retire with his people into the habitations of the Ionians in the north of the peninsula—and that he received as a recompense for this

[1] Leake, Travels in Morea, vol. iii. ch. 23, p. 29; compare Diodor. xv. 66. The distance from Olympia to Sparta, as marked on a pillar which Pausanias saw at Olympia, was 660 stadia,—about 77 English miles (Pausan. vi. 16, 6).

acceptable service Amyklæ with the district around it. It is farther stated—and this important fact there seems no reason to doubt—that Amyklæ, though only twenty stadia or two miles and a half distant from Sparta, retained both its independence and its Achæan inhabitants long after the Dorian immigrants had acquired possession of the latter place, and was only taken by them under the reign of Têleklus, one generation before the first Olympiad.[1] Without presuming to fill up by conjecture incurable gaps in the statements of our authorities, we may from hence reasonably presume that the Dorians were induced to invade, and enabled to acquire, Sparta, by the invitation and assistance of a party in the interior of the country. Again, with respect to the Messenian Dorians, a different but not less effectual temptation was presented by the alliance of the Arcadians in the south-western portion of that central region of Peloponnêsus. Krêsphontês the Herakleid leader, it is said, espoused the daughter[2] of the Arcadian king Kypselus, which procured for him the support of a powerful section of Arcadia. His settlement at Stenyklêrus was a considerable distance from the sea, at the north-east corner of Messenia,[3] close to the Arcadian frontier; and it will be seen hereafter that this Arcadian alliance is a constant and material element in the disputes of the Messenian Dorians with Sparta.

Causes which favoured the settlement.

We may thus trace a reasonable sequence of events, showing how two bodies of Dorians, having first assisted the Ætolo-Eleians to conquer the Pisatid, and thus finding themselves on the banks of the Alpheius, followed the upward course of that river, the one to settle at Sparta, the other at Stenyklêrus. The historian Ephorus, from whom our scanty fragments of information respecting these early settlements are derived—it is important to note that he lived in the age immediately succeeding the first foundation of Messênê as a city, the restitution of the long-exiled Messenians, and the amputation of the fertile western half of Laconia for their benefit, by Epameinôndas—imparts to these proceedings an immediate decisiveness of effect which does not properly belong to them; as

Settlements confined at first to Sparta and Stenyklêrus.

[1] Strabo, viii. pp. 364, 365; Pausan. iii. 2, 5: compare the story of Krius, Pausan. iii. 13, 3.

[2] Pausan. iv. 3, 3; viii. 29, 4.

[3] Strabo (viii. p. 366) blames Euripidês for calling Messênê an inland country; but the poet seems to have been quite correct in doing so.

if the Spartans had become at once possessed of all Laconia, and the Messenians of all Messenia; Pausanias, too, speaks as if the Arcadians collectively had assisted and allied themselves with Kresphontês. This is the general spirit which pervades his account, though the particular facts, in so far as we find any such, do not always harmonise with it. Now we are ignorant of the pre-existing divisions of the country either east or west of Mount Taygetus, at the time when the Dorians invaded it. But to treat the one and the other as integral kingdoms, handed over at once to two Dorian leaders, is an illusion borrowed from the old legend, from the historicizing fancies of Ephorus, and from the fact that in the well-known times this whole territory came to be really united under the Spartan power.

At what date the Dorian settlements at Sparta and Stenyklêrus were effected we have no means of determining. Yet that there existed between them in the earliest times a degree of fraternity which did not prevail between Lacedæmôn and Argos, we may fairly presume from the common temple, with joint religious sacrifices, of Artemis Limnatis (or Artemis on the Marsh) erected on the confines of Messenia and Laconia.[1] Our first view of the two, at all approaching to distinctness, seems to date from a period about half a century earlier than the first Olympiad (776 B.C.),—about the reign of king Têleklus of the Eurysthenêid or Agid line, and the introduction of the Lykurgean discipline. Têleklus stands in the list as the eighth king dating from Eurysthenês. But how many of the seven kings before him are to be considered as real persons—or how much, out of the brief warlike expeditions ascribed to them, is to be treated as authentic history—I pretend not to define.

First view of historical Sparta.

The earliest determinable event in the *internal* history of Sparta is the introduction of the Lykurgean discipline; the earliest *external* events are the conquest of Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, effected by king Têleklus, and the first quarrel with the Messenians, in which that prince was slain. When we come to see how deplorably great was the confusion and ignorance which reigned with reference to a matter so pre-eminently important as Lykurgus and his legislation, we shall not be inclined to think

[1] Pausan. iv. 2, 2. μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἵ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

that facts much less important and belonging to an earlier epoch, can have been handed down upon any good authority. And in like manner when we learn that Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ (all south of Sparta, and the first only two and a half miles distant from that city) were independent of the Spartans until the reign of Têleklus, we shall require some decisive testimony before we can believe that a community, so small and so hemmed in as Sparta must then have been, had in earlier times undertaken expeditions against Helos on the sea-coast, against Kleitôr on the extreme northern side of Arcadia, against the Kynurians, or against the Argeians. If Helos and Kynuria were conquered by these early kings, it appears that they had to be conquered a second time by kings succeeding Têleklus. It would be more natural that we should hear when and how they conquered the places nearer to them,—Sellasia, or Belemina, the valley of the Œnus or the upper valley of the Eurôtas. But these seem to be assumed as matters of course; the proceedings ascribed to the early Spartan kings are such only as might beseem the palmy days when Sparta was undisputed mistress of all Laconia.

The succession of Messenian kings, beginning with Kresphontês, the Herakleid brother, and continuing from father to son,—Æpytus, Glaukus, Isthmius, Dotadas, Subotas, Phintas, the last being contemporary with Têleklus,—is still less marked by incident than that of the early Spartan kings. It is said that the reign of Kresphontês was troubled, and himself ultimately slain, by mutinies among his subjects; Æpytus, then a youth, having escaped into Arcadia, was afterwards restored to the throne by the Arcadians, Spartans, and Argeians.[1] From Æpytus the Messenian line of kings are stated to have been denominated Æpytids in preference to Herakleids — which affords another proof of their intimate connexion with the Arcadians, since Æpytus was a very ancient name in Arcadian heroic antiquity.[2] Messenian kings.

There is considerable resemblance between the alleged behaviour of Kresphontês on first settling at Stenyklêrus, and that of Eurys-

1 Pausan. iv. 3, 5—6.

2 Homer, Iliad, ii. 604.—

Οἳ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην, ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,
Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον.

Schol. *ad loc.* ὁ δ' Αἴπυτος ἀρχαιότατος ἥρως, Ἀρκὰς τὸ γένος.

thenês and Proklês at Sparta—so far as we gather from statements, alike meagre and uncertified, resting on the authority of Ephorus. Both are said to have tried to place the pre-existing inhabitants of the country on a level with their own Dorian bands; both provoked discontents and incurred obloquy, with their contemporaries as well as with posterity, by the attempt; nor did either permanently succeed. Kresphontês was forced to concentrate all his Dorians in Stenyklêrus, while, after all, the discontents ended in his violent death. And Agis, the son of Eurysthenês, is said to have reversed all the liberal tentatives of his father, so as to bring the whole of Laconia into subjection and dependence on the Dorians at Sparta, with the single exception of Amyklæ. So odious to the Spartan Dorians was the conduct of Eurysthenês, that they refused to acknowledge him as their œkist, and conferred that honour upon Agis; the two lines of kings being called Agids and Eurypontids, instead of Eurystheneids and Prokleids.[1] We see in these statements the same tone of mind as that which pervades the Panathenaic oration of Isokratês the master of Ephorus,—the facts of an unknown period so coloured as to suit an *idéal* of haughty Dorian exclusiveness.

Analogous representations in regard to the early proceedings both of Spartans and Messenians.

Again as Eurysthenês and Proklês appear, in the picture of Ephorus, to carry their authority at once over the whole of Laconia, so too does Kresphontês over the whole of Messenia,—over the entire south-western region of Peloponnêsus, westward of Mount Taygetus and Cape Tænarus, and southward of the river Neda. He sends an envoy to Pylus and Rhium, the western and southern portions of the south-western promontory

[1] Compare the two citations from Ephorus, Strabo, viii. p. 361—365. Unfortunately a portion of the latter citation is incurably mutilated in the text; O. Müller (History of the Dorians, Book I. chap. v. 13) has proposed an ingenious conjecture, which however cannot be considered as trustworthy. Grosskurd, the German translator, usually skilful in these restorations, leaves the passage untouched.

For a new colouring of the death of Kresphontês, adjusted by Isokratês so as to suit the purpose of the address which he puts into the mouth of Archidâmus king of Sparta, see the discourse in his works which passes under that name (Or. iv. p. 120—122). Isokratês says that the Messenian Dorians slew Kresphontês, whose children fled as suppliants to Sparta, imploring revenge for the death of their father, and surrendering the territory to the Spartans. The Delphian god advised the latter to accept the tender, and they accordingly attacked the Messenians, avenged Kresphontês, and appropriated the territory.

Isokratês always starts from the basis of the old legend,—the triple Dorian conquest made all at once: compare Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 270—287.

of Peloponnêsus, treating the entire territory as if it were one sovereignty, and inviting the inhabitants to submit under equal laws.[1] But it has already been observed, that this supposed oneness and indivisibility is not less uncertified in regard to Messenia than in regard to Laconia. How large a proportion of the former territory these kings of Stenyklêrus may have ruled, we have no means of determining, but there were certainly portions of it which they did not rule, not merely during the reign of Têleklus at Sparta, but still later, during the first Messenian war. For not only we are informed that Têleklus established three townships, Poiêssa, Echeiæ[2] and Tragium, near the Messenian Gulf and on the course of the river Nedon, but we read also a farther matter of evidence in the roll of Olympic victors. Every competitor for the prize at one of these great festivals was always entered as member of some autonomous Hellenic community, which constituted his title to approach the lists: if successful, he was proclaimed with the name of the community to which he belonged. Now during the first ten Olympiads seven winners are proclaimed as Messenians; in the eleventh Olympiad we find the name of Oxythemis Korônæus,—Oxythemis, not of Korôneia in Bœotia, but of Korônê in the western bend of the Messenian Gulf,[3] some miles on the right bank of the Pamîsus, and a

The kings of Stenyklêrus did not possess all Messenia.

[1] Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 361. Dr. Thirlwall observes (Hist. of Greece, ch. vii. p. 300, 2nd edit.), "The Messenian Pylus seems long to have retained its independence, and to have been occupied for several centuries by one branch of the family of Neleus; for descendants of Nestôr are mentioned as allies of the Messenians in their struggle with Sparta in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.".

For this assertion Dr. Thirlwall cites Strabo (viii. p. 355). I agree with him as to the matter of fact: I see no proof that the Dorians of Stenyklêrus ever ruled over what is called the Messenian Pylus; for, of course, if they did not rule over it before the second Messenian war, they never acquired it at all. But on reference to the passage in Strabo, it will not be found to prove anything to the point; for Strabo is speaking, not of the Messenian Pylus, but of the *Triphylian Pylus:* he takes pains to show that Nestôr had nothing to do with the *Messenian Pylus*,—Νέστορος ἀπόγονοι means the inhabitants of Triphylia near Lepreum: compare p. 350.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 360. Concerning the situation of Korônê in the Messenian Gulf, see Pausanias, iv. 34, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 361; and the observations of Colonel Leake, Travels in Morea, ch. x. vol i. p. 439—448. He places it near the modern Petalidhi, seemingly on good grounds.

[3] See Mr. Clinton's Chronological Tables for the year 732 B.C.: O. Müller (in the Chronological Table subjoined to his history of the Dorians) calls this victor *Oxythemis of Korôneia*, in Bœotia. But this is inadmissible, on two grounds: 1. The occurrence of a Bœotian competitor in that early day at the Olympic games. The first eleven victors (I put aside Oxythemis, because he is the subject of the argument) are all from western and southern Peloponnêsus: then come victors from Corinth, Megara, and Epidaurus; then

considerable distance to the north of the modern Coron. Now if Korônê had then been comprehended in Messenia, Oxythemis would have been proclaimed as a Messenian like the seven winners who preceded him; and the fact of his being proclaimed as a Korônæan proves that Korônê was then an independent community, not under the dominion of the Dorians of Stenyklêrus. It seems clear therefore that the latter did not reign over the whole territory commonly known as Messenia, though we are unable to assign the proportion of it which they actually possessed.

Olympic festival—the early point of union of Spartans, Messenians, and Eleians.

The Olympic festival, in its origin doubtless a privilege of the neighbouring Pisatans, seems to have derived its great and gradually expanding importance from the Ætolo-Eleian settlement in Peloponnêsus, combined with the Dorians of Laconia and Messenia. Lykurgus of Sparta and Iphitus of Elis are alleged to have joined their efforts for the purpose of establishing both the sanctity of the Olympic truce and the inviolability of the Eleian territory. Hence though this tale is not to be construed as matter of fact,

from Athens; there is one from Thêbes in the 41st Olympiad. I infer from hence that the celebrity and frequentation of the Olympic games increased only by degrees, and had not got beyond Peloponnêsus in the eighth century B.C. The name Koronæus, Κορωναῖος, is the proper and formal title for a citizen of Korônê, not for a citizen of Korôneia; the latter styles himself Κορωνεύς. The ethnical name Κορωνεύς as belonging to Korôneia in Bœotia is placed beyond doubt by several inscriptions in Boeckh's collection; especially No. 1583, in which a citizen of that town is proclaimed as victorious at the festival of the Charitesia at Orchomenus: compare Nos. 1587—1593, in which the same ethnical name occurs. The Bœotian Inscriptions attest in like manner the prevalence of the same etymological law in forming ethnical names, for the towns near Korôneia: thus, *Chærôneia* makes Χαιρωνεύς; *Lebadeia*, Λεβαδεύς; *Elateia*, Ἐλατεύς or Ἐλατειεύς.

The Inscriptions afford evidence perfectly decisive as to the ethnical title under which a citizen of Korôneia in Bœotia would have caused himself to be entered and proclaimed at the Olympic games; better than the evidence of Herodotus and Thucydidês, who both call them Κορωναῖοι (Herodot. v. 79; Thucyd. iv. 93; Polybius agrees with the Inscription, and speaks of the Κορωνεῖς, Λεβαδεῖς, Χαιρωνεῖς (xxvii. 1). O. Müller himself admits in another place (Orchomenos, p. 480) that the proper ethnical name is Κορωνεύς. The reading of Strabo (ix. p. 411) is not trustworthy: see Grosskurd *ad loc.*: compare Steph. Byz., Κορώνεια and Κορώνη.

In regard to the formation of ethnical names, it seems the general rule, that a town ending in η or αι preceded by a consonant had its ethnical derivative in αιος; such as Σκιώνη, Τορώνη, Κύμη, Θῆβαι, Ἀθῆναι; while names ending in εια had their ethnicon in ευς, as Ἀλεξάνδρεια, Ἀμάσεια, Σελεύκεια, Ἀνσιμάχεια (the recent cities thus founded by the successors of Alexander are perhaps the best evidences that can be taken of the analogies of the language), Μελάμπεια, Μελίτεια, in addition to the Bœotian names of towns above quoted. There is, however, great irregularity in particular cases, and the number of towns called by the same name created an anxiety to vary the ethnicon for each: see Stephan. Byz. v. Ἡράκλεια.

we may see that the Lacedæmonians regarded the Olympic games as a portion of their own antiquities. Moreover, it is certain both that the dignity of the festival increased simultaneously with their ascendency,[1] and that their peculiar fashions were very early introduced into the practice of the Olympic competitors. Probably the three bands of co-operating invaders, Ætolians and Spartan and Messenian Dorians, may have adopted this festival as a periodical renovation of mutual union and fraternity; from which cause the games became an attractive centre for the western portion of Peloponnêsus, before they were much frequented by people from the eastern, or still more from extra-Peloponnesian, Hellas. For it cannot be altogether accidental, when we read the names of the first twelve proclaimed Olympic victors (occupying nearly half a century from 776 B.C. downwards), to find that seven of them are Messenians, three Eleians, one from Dymê in Achaia, and one from Korônê; while after the twelfth Olympiad, Corinthians, and Megarians and Epidaurians begin to occur; later still, extra-Peloponnesian victors. We may reasonably infer from hence that the Olympic ceremonies were at this early period chiefly frequented by visitors and competitors from the western regions of Peloponnêsus, and that the affluence to them from the more distant parts of the Hellenic world did not become considerable until the first Messenian war had closed.

Having thus set forth the conjectures, to which our very scanty knowledge points, respecting the first establishment of the Ætolian and Dorian settlements in Elis, Laconia, and Messenia, connected as they are with the steadily-increasing dignity and frequentation of the Olympic festival, I proceed in the next chapter to that memorable circumstance which both determined the character and brought about the political ascendency, of the Spartans separately: I mean the laws and discipline of Lykurgus.

Of the pre-existing inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia, whom we are accustomed to call Achæans and Pylians, so little is known, that we cannot at all measure the difference between them and their Dorian invaders, either in dialect, in habits, or

[1] The entire nakedness of the competitors at Olympia was adopted from the Spartan practice, seemingly in the 14th Olympiad, as is testified by the epigram on Orsippus the Megarian. Previous to that period, the Olympic competitors had διαζώματα περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα (Thucyd. i. 6).

in intelligence. There appear no traces of any difference of dialect among the various parts of the population of Laconia: the Messenian allies of Athens, in the Peloponnesian war, speak the same dialect as the Helots, and the same also as the Ambrakiotic colonists from Corinth: all Doric.[1] Nor are we to suppose that the Doric dialect was at all peculiar to the people called Dorians. As far as can be made out by the evidence of inscriptions, it seems to have been the dialect of the Phokians, Delphians, Lokrians, Ætolians, and Achæans of Phthiôtis: with respect to the latter, the inscriptions of Thaumaki in Achæa Phthiôtis afford a proof the more curious and the more cogent of native dialect, because the Phthiôts were both immediate neighbours and subjects of the Thessalians, who spoke a variety of the Æolic. So too, within Peloponnêsus, we find evidences of Doric dialect among the Achæans in the north of Peloponnêsus—the Dryopic inhabitants of Hermionê[2]—and the Eleuthero-Lacônes, or Laconian townships (compounded of Periœki and Helots), emancipated by the Romans in the second century B.C. Concerning the speech of that population whom the invading Dorians found in Laconia, we have no means of judging: the presumption would rather be that it did not differ materially from the Doric. Thucydidês designates the Corinthians, whom the invading Dorians attacked from the hill Solygeius, as being Æolians, and Strabo speaks both of the Achæans as an Æolic nation and of the Æolic dialect as having been originally preponderant in Peloponnêsus.[3] But we do not readily see what means of information either of these authors possessed respecting the speech of a time which must have been four centuries anterior even to Thucydidês.

Previous inhabitants of southern Peloponnêsus—how far different from the Dorians.

Of that which is called the Æolic dialect there are three marked and distinguishable varieties—the Lesbian, the Thessalian, and the Bœotian; the Thessalian forming a mean term between the other two. Ahrens has shown that the ancient grammatical critics are accustomed to affirm peculiarities, as belonging to the Æolic dialect generally, which in truth belong only to the Lesbian variety of it, or to the poems

Doric and Æolic dialect.

[1] Thucyd. iii. 112; iv. 41: compare vii. 44, about the sameness of sound of the war-shout or pæan, delivered by all the different Dorians.

[2] Corpus Inscriptt. Boeckh. Nos. 1771, 1772, 1773; Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorica, sect. i.-ii. 48.

[3] Thucyd. iv. 42: Strabo, viii. p. 333.

of Alkæus and Sappho, which these critics attentively studied. Lesbian Æolic, Thessalian Æolic, and Bœotian Æolic are all different: and if, abstracting from these differences, we confine our attention to that which is common to all three, we shall find little to distinguish this abstract Æolic from the abstract Doric, or that which is common to the many varieties of the Doric dialect.[1] These two are sisters, presenting both of them more or less the Latin side of the Greek language, while the relationship of either of them to the Attic and Ionic is more distant. Now it seems that (putting aside Attica) the speech of all Greece,[2] from Perrhæbia and Mount Olympus to Cape Malea and Cape Akritas, consisted of different varieties either of the Doric or of the Æolic dialect; this being true (as far as we are able to judge) not less of the aboriginal Arcadians than of the rest. The Laconian dialect contained more specialities of its own, and approached nearer to the Æolic, and to the Eleian, than any other variety of the Dorian: it stands at the extreme of what has been classified as the strict Dorian—that is, the farthest removed from Ionic and Attic. The Kretan towns manifest also a strict Dorism; as well as the Lacedæmonian colony of Tarentum, and seemingly most of the Italiotic Greeks, though some of them are called Achæan colonies. Most of the other varieties of the Doric dialect (Phokian, Lokrian, Delphian, Achæan of Phthiôtis) exhibit a form departing less widely from the Ionic and Attic: Argos and the towns in the Argolic peninsula seem to form a stepping-stone between the two.

[1] See the valuable work of Ahrens, De Dialecto Æolicâ, sect. 51. He observes, in reference to the Lesbian, Thessalian, and Bœotian dialects:—"Tres illas dialectos, quæ optimo jure Æolicæ vocari videntur—quia, qui illis usi sunt, Æoles erant—comparantem mirum habere oportet, quod Asianorum Æolum et Bœotorum dialecti tantum inter se distant, quantum vix ab aliâ quâvis Græcæ linguæ dialecto". (He then enumerates many points of difference): "Contra tot tantasque differentias pauca reperiuntur eaque fere levia, quæ utrique dialecto, neque simul Doricæ, communia sint ... Vides his comparatis tantum interesse inter utramque dialectum, ut dubitare liceat, an Æoles Bœoti non magis cum Æolibus Asianis conjuncti fuerint, quam qui hodie miro quodam casu Saxones vocantur antiquis Saxonibus. Nihilominus Thessalicâ dialecto in comparationem vocatâ, diversissima quæ videntur aliquo vinculo conjungere licet. Quamvis enim pauca de eâ comperta habeamus, hoc tamen certum est, alia Thessalis cum Lesbiis, alia cum solis Bœotis communia esse." (P. 222—223.)

[2] About the Æolic dialect of the Perrhæbians see Stephanus Byz. v Γόννος, and ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 335.

The Attic judgment in comparing these different varieties of Greek speech is expressed in the story of a man being asked—Whether the Bœotians or the Thessalians were most barbaric in speech? He answered—the Eleians (Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 304).

These positions represent all our scanty information respecting those varieties of Grecian speech which are not known to us by written works. The little presumption which can be raised upon them favours the belief that the Dorian invaders of Laconia and Messenia found there a dialect little different from that which they brought with them—a conclusion which it is the more necessary to state distinctly, since the work of O. Müller has caused an exaggerated estimate to be formed of the distinctive peculiarities whereby Dorism was parted off from the rest of Hellas.

CHAPTER VI.

LAWS AND DISCIPLINE OF LYKURGUS AT SPARTA.

PLUTARCH begins his biography of Lykurgus with the following ominous words :—

Lykurgus—authorities of Plutarch respecting him.

"Concerning the lawgiver Lycurgus we can assert absolutely nothing which is not controverted : there are different stories in respect to his birth, his travels, his death, and also his mode of proceeding, political as well as legislative: least of all is the time in which he lived agreed upon".

And this exordium is but too well borne out by the unsatisfactory nature of the accounts which we read, not only in Plutarch himself, but in those other authors out of whom we are obliged to make up our idea of the memorable Lykurgean system. If we examine the sources from which Plutarch's life of Lykurgus is deduced, it will appear that—excepting the poets Alkman, Tyrtæus, and Simonidês, from whom he has borrowed less than we could have wished—he has no authorities older than Xenophôn and Plato : Aristotle is cited several times, and is unquestionably the best of his witnesses, but the greater number of them belong to the century subsequent to that philosopher. Neither Herodotus nor Ephorus is named, though the former furnishes some brief but interesting particulars—and the latter also (as far as we can judge from the fragments remaining) entered at large into the proceedings of the Spartan lawgiver.[1]

Uncertainties about his genealogy.

Lykurgus is described by Herodotus as uncle and guardian to king Labôtas, of the Eurystheneid or Agid line of Spartan kings ; and this would place him, according to the received chronology, about 220 years before the first recorded Olympiad (about B.C. 996).[2] All the

[1] See Heeren, Dissertatio de Fontibus Plutarchi, p. 19—25.

[2] Herodot. i. 65. Moreover, Herodotus gives this as the statement of the Lacedæmonians themselves.

other accounts, on the contrary, seem to represent him as a younger brother, belonging to the other or Prokleid line of Spartan kings, though they do not perfectly agree respecting his parentage. While Simonidês stated him to be the son of Prytanis, Dieutychidas described him as grandson of Prytanis, son of Eunomus, brother of Polydektês, and uncle as well as guardian to Charilaus—thus making him eleventh in descent from Hêraklês.[1] This latter account was adopted by Aristotle, coinciding, according to the received chronology, with the date of Iphitus the Eleian, and the first celebration of the Olympic games by Lykurgus and Iphitus conjointly,[2] which Aristotle accepted as a fact. Lykurgus, on the hypothesis here mentioned, would stand about B.C. 880, a century before the recorded Olympiads. Eratosthenês and Apollodôrus placed him "not a few years earlier than the first Olympiad". If they meant hereby the epoch commonly assigned as the Olympiad of Iphitus, their date would coincide pretty nearly with that of Herodotus; if on the other hand they meant the first recorded Olympiad (B.C. 776), they would be found not much removed from the opinion of Aristotle. An unequivocal proof of the inextricable confusion in ancient times respecting the epoch of the great Spartan lawgiver is indirectly afforded by Timæus, who supposed

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 1. According to Dionys. Halik. (Ant. Rom. ii. 49) Lykurgus was uncle, not son, of Eunomus.

Aristotle considers Lykurgus as guardian of Charilaus (Politic. ii. 7, 1): compare v. 10, 3. See O. Müller (Hist. of Dorians, i. 7, 3).

[2] Phlegôn also adds Kleosthenês of Pisa (De Olympiis ap. Meursii Opp. vii. p. 128). It appears that there existed a quoit at Olympia, upon which the formula of the Olympic truce was inscribed together with the names of Iphitus and Lykurgus as the joint authors and proclaimers of it. Aristotle believed this to be genuine, and accepted it as an evidence of the fact which it professed to certify: and O. Müller is also disposed to admit it as genuine—that is, as *contemporary* with the times to which it professes to relate. I come to a different conclusion: that the quoit existed, I do not doubt; but that the inscription upon it was actually set down in writing in or near B.C. 880, would be at variance with the reasonable probabilities resulting from Grecian palæography. Had this ancient and memorable instrument existed at Olympia in the days of Herodotus, he could hardly have assigned to Lykurgus the epoch which we now read in his writings.

The assertions in Müller's History of the Dorians (i. 7, 7), about Lykurgus, Iphitus, and Kleosthenês, "drawing up the fundamental law of the Olympic armistice," are unsupported by any sufficient evidence. In the later times of established majesty of the Olympic festival, the Eleians did undoubtedly exercise the power which he describes; but to connect this with any deliberate regulation of Iphitus and Lykurgus, is in my judgment incorrect. See the mention of a similar truce proclaimed throughout Triphylia by the Makistians as presidents of the common festival at the temple of the Samian Poseidôn (Strabo, viii. p. 343).

that there had existed two persons named Lykurgus, and that the acts of both had been ascribed to one. It *is* plain from hence that there was no certainty attainable, even in the third century before the Christian æra, respecting the date or parentage of Lykurgus.

Probable date of Lykurgus.

Thucydidês, without mentioning the name of Lykurgus, informs us that it was "400 years and somewhat more" anterior to the close of the Peloponnesian war,[1] when the Spartans emerged from their previous state of desperate internal disorder, and entered upon "their present polity". We may fairly presume that this alludes to the Lykurgean discipline and constitution, which Thucydidês must thus have conceived as introduced about B.C. 830—820—coinciding with something near the commencement of the reign of king Têleklus. In so far as it is possible to form an opinion, amidst evidence at once so scanty and so discordant, I incline to adopt the opinion of Thucydidês as to the time at which the Lykurgean constitution was introduced at Sparta. The state of "eunomy" and good order which that constitution brought about—combined with the healing of great previous internal sedition, which had tended much to enfeeble them—is represented (and with great plausibility) as the grand cause of the victorious career beginning with king Têleklus, the conqueror of Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ. Therefore it would seem, in the absence of better evidence, that a date, connecting the fresh stimulus of the new discipline with the reign of Têleklus, is more probable than any epoch either later or earlier.[2]

[1] Thucyd. i. 18.

[2] Mr. Clinton fixes the legislation of Lykurgus, "in conformity with Thucydidês," at about 817 B.C., and his regency at 852 B.C., about thirty-five years previous (Fasti Hellen. v. i. c. 7, p. 141): he also places the Olympiad of Iphitus B.C. 828 (F. H. vol. ii. p. 410; App. c. 22).

In that chapter, Mr. Clinton collects and discusses the various statements respecting the date of Lykurgus: compare also Larcher ad Herodot. i. 67, and Chronologie, p. 486—492.

The differences in these statements must, after all, be taken as they stand, for they cannot be reconciled except by the help of arbitrary suppositions, which only mislead us by producing a show of agreement where there is none in reality. I agree with Mr. Clinton in thinking that the assertion of Thucydidês is here to be taken as the best authority. But I altogether dissent from the proceeding which he (in common with Larcher, Wesseling, Sir John Marsham, and others) employs with regard to the passage of Herodotus where that author calls Lykurgus the guardian and uncle of Labôtas (of the Eurystheneid line). Mr. Clinton says —"From the notoriety of the fact that Lykurgus was ascribed to the other house (the Prokleids), it is manifest that *the passage must be corrupted*" (p. 144); and he then goes on to correct the

Opinion of O. Müller (that Sparta is the perfect type of Dorian character and tendencies) is incorrect. Peculiarity of Sparta.

O. Müller,[1] after glancing at the strange and improbable circumstances handed down to us respecting Lykurgus, observes "that we have absolutely no account of him as an individual person". This remark is perfectly just, but another remark made by the same distinguished author, respecting the Lykurgean system of laws, appears to me erroneous—and requires more especially to be noticed, inasmuch as the corollaries deduced from it pervade a large portion of his valuable history of the Dorians. He affirms that the laws of Sparta were considered the true Doric institutions, and that their origin was identical with that of the people: Sparta is, in his view, the full type of Dorian principles, tendencies, and sentiments—and is so treated throughout his entire work.[2] But such an opinion is at once gratuitous (for the passage of Pindar cited in support of it is scarcely of any value) and contrary to the whole tenor of ancient evidence. The institutions of Sparta were not Dorian, but peculiar to herself;[3] distinguishing her not less from Argos, Corinth, Megara, Epidaurus, Sikyôn, Korkyra, or Knidus, than from Athens or Thêbes. Krête was the only other portion of Greece in which there prevailed institutions in many respects analogous, yet still dissimilar in those two attributes which form the real mark and pinch of Spartan legislation, viz., the military discipline and the rigorous private training. There

text of Herodotus, agreeably to the proposition of Sir J. Marsham.

This proceeding seems to me inadmissible. The text of Herodotus reads perfectly well, and is not contradicted by anything to be found elsewhere *in Herodotus himself:* moreover, we have here a positive guarantee of its accuracy, for Mr. Clinton himself admits that it stood in the days of Pausanias just as we now read it (Pausan. iii. 2, 3). By what right then do we alter it? or what do we gain by doing so? Our only right to do so is the assumption that there must have been uniformity of belief, and means of satisfactory ascertainment (respecting facts and persons of the ninth and tenth centuries before the Christian æra) existing among Greeks of the fifth and succeeding centuries; an assumption which I hold to be incorrect. And all we gain is, an illusory unanimity produced by gratuitously putting words into the mouth of one of our witnesses.

If we can prove Herodotus to have been erroneously informed, it is right to do so; but we have no ground for altering his deposition. It affords a clear proof that there were very different stories as to the mere question, to which of the two lines of Herakleids the Spartan lawgiver belonged—and that there was an enormous difference as to the time in which he lived.

[1] History of the Dorians, i. 7, 6.

[2] History of the Dorians, iii. 1, 8. Alf. Kopstadt recognizes this as an error in Müller's work: see his recent valuable Dissertation "De Rerum Laconicarum Constitutionis Lycurgeæ Origine et Indole," Gryphiæ, 1849, sect. 3, p. 18.

[3] Among the many other evidences to this point, see Aristotle, Ethic. x. 9; Xenophon, Republ. Laced. 10, 8.

were doubtless Dorians in Krête, but we have no proof that these peculiar institutions belonged to them more than to the other inhabitants of the island. That the Spartans had an original organization and tendencies, common to them with the other Dorians, we may readily conceive; but the Lykurgean constitution impressed upon them a peculiar tendency which took them out of the general march, and rendered them the least fit of all states to be cited as an example of the class-attributes of Dorism. One of the essential causes, which made the Spartan institutions work so impressively upon the Grecian mind, was their perfect singularity, combined with the conspicuous ascendency of the state in which they were manifested; while the Kretan communities, even admitting their partial resemblance (which was chiefly in the institution of the Syssitia, and was altogether more in form than in spirit) to Sparta, were too insignificant to attract notice except from speculative observers. It is therefore a mistake on the part of O. Müller to treat Sparta as the type and representative of Dorians generally, and very many of the positions advanced in his History of the Dorians require to be modified when this mistake is pointed out.

Early date of Lykurgus.

The first capital fact to notice respecting the institutions ascribed to Lykurgus is the very early period at which they had their commencement: it seems impossible to place this period later than 825 B.C. We do not find, nor have we a right to expect, trustworthy history in reference to events so early. If we have one foot on historical ground, inasmuch as the institutions themselves are real, the other foot still floats in the unfaithful region of mythe, when we strive to comprehend the generating causes: the mist yet prevails which hinders us from distinguishing between the god and the man. The light in which Lykurgus appeared, to an intelligent Greek of the fifth century before the Christian æra, is so clearly, yet briefly depicted, in the following passage of Herodotus, that I cannot do better than translate it:—

View taken of Lykurgus by Herodotus.

"In the very early times (Herodotus observes) the Spartans were among themselves the most lawless of all Greeks, and unapproachable by foreigners. Their transition to good legal order took place in the following manner. When Lycurgus, a Spartan of consideration, visited Delphi to

consult the oracle, the instant that he entered the sanctuary, the Pythian priestess exclaimed,—

"'Thou art come, Lycurgus, to my fat shrine, beloved by Zeus and by all the Olympic gods. Is it as God or as man that I am to address thee in the spirit? I hesitate—and yet, Lycurgus, I incline more to call thee a god.'"

(So spake the Pythian priestess.) "Moreover, in addition to these words, some affirm that the Pythia revealed to him the order of things now established among the Spartans. *But the Lacedæmonians themselves* say, that Lycurgus, when guardian of his nephew Labôtas king of the Spartans, introduced these institutions out of Krête. No sooner had he obtained this guardianship than he changed all the institutions into their present form, and took security against any transgression of it. Next, he constituted the military divisions, the Enômoties and the Triakads, as well as the Syssitia or public mess: he also, farther, appointed the ephors and the senate. By this means the Spartans passed from bad to good order: to Lycurgus, after his death, they built a temple, and they still worship him reverentially. And as might naturally be expected in a productive soil, and with no inconsiderable numbers of men, they immediately took a start forward, and flourished so much that they could not be content to remain tranquil within their own limits," &c.

Little said about Lykurgus in the earlier authors.

Such is our oldest statement (coming from Herodotus) respecting Lykurgus, ascribing to him that entire order of things which the writer witnessed at Sparta. Thucydidês also, though not mentioning Lykurgus, agrees in stating that the system among the Lacedæmonians, as he saw it, had been adopted by them four centuries previously, had rescued them from the most intolerable disorders, and had immediately conducted them to prosperity and success.[1] Hellanikus, whose writings a little preceded those of Herodotus, not only did not (any more than Thucydidês) make mention of Lykurgus, but can hardly be thought to have attached any importance to the name; since he attributed the constitution of Sparta to the first kings, Eurysthenês and Proklês.[2]

But those later writers, from whom Plutarch chiefly compiled his biography, profess to be far better informed on the subject of

[1] Herodot. i. 65—66; Thucyd. i. 18.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 363.

Lykurgus, and enter more into detail. His father, we are told, was assassinated during the preceding state of lawlessness; his elder brother Polydektês died early, leaving a pregnant widow, who made to Lykurgus propositions that he should marry her and become king. But Lykurgus, repudiating the offer with indignation, awaited the birth of his young nephew Charilaus, held up the child publicly in the agora as the future king of Sparta, and immediately relinquished the authority which he had provisionally exercised. However, the widow and her brother Leonidas raised slanderous accusations against him, of designs menacing to the life of the infant king,—accusations which he deemed it proper to obviate by a temporary absence. Accordingly he left Sparta and went to Krête, where he studied the polity and customs of the different cities; next he visited Ionia and Egypt, and (as some authors affirmed) Libya, Iberia, and even India. While in Ionia, he is reported to have obtained from the descendants of Kreophylus a copy of the Homeric poems, which had not up to that time become known in Peloponnêsus: there were not wanting authors, indeed, who said that he had conversed with Homer himself.[1]

Copious details of Plutarch.

Regency of Lykurgus—his long absence from Sparta.

Meanwhile the young king Charilaus grew up and assumed the sceptre, as representing the Prokleid or Eurypontid family. But the reins of government had become more relaxed, and the disorders worse than ever, when Lykurgus returned. Finding that the two kings as well as the people were weary of so disastrous a condition, he set himself to the task of applying a corrective, and with this view consulted the Delphian oracle; from which he received strong assurances of the divine encouragement, together with one or more special injunctions (the primitive Rhetræ of the constitution) which he brought with him to Sparta.[2] He then suddenly presented himself in the agora, with thirty of the most distinguished Spartans, all in arms, as his guards and partisans. King Charilaus, though at first terrified, when informed

He is sent by the Delphian oracle to reform the state.

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. 3, 4, 5.

[2] For an instructive review of the text as well as the meaning of this ancient Rhetra, see Urlichs, Ueber die Lycurgischen Rhetræ, published since the first edition of this History. His refutation of the changes of Göttling seems to me complete: but his own conjectures are not all equally plausible: nor can I subscribe to his explanation of ἀφίστασθαι.

of the designs of his uncle, stood forward willingly to second them; while the bulk of the Spartans respectfully submitted to the venerable Herakleid who came as reformer and missionary from Delphi.[1] Such were the steps by which Lykurgus acquired his ascendency: we have now to see how he employed it.

His institutions ascribed to him—senate and popular assembly—ephors.

His first proceeding, pursuant to the Rhetra or Compact brought from Delphi, was to constitute the Spartan Senate, consisting of twenty-eight ancient men; making an aggregate of thirty in conjunction with the two kings, who sat and voted in it. With this were combined periodical assemblies of the Spartan people, in the open air, between the river Knakiôn and the bridge Babyka. Yet no discussion was permitted in these assemblies,—their functions were limited to the simple acceptance or rejection of that which had previously been determined in the senate.[2]

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 5—6. Hermippus, the scholar of Aristotle, professed to give the names of twenty out of these thirty devoted partisans.

There was, however, a different story, which represented that Lykurgus, on his return from his travels, found Charilaus governing like a despot (Heraclid. Pontic. c. 2).

[2] The words of the old Rhetra—Διὸς Ἑλλανίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἑλλανίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα, καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα, γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις, καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας καὶ Κνακίωνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δάμῳ δ' ἀγορὰν εἶμεν καὶ κράτος. (Plutarch, *ib.*)

The reading ἀγορὰν (last word but three) is that of Coray's edition: other readings proposed are κυρίαν, ἀνωγάν, ἀγορίαν, &c. The MSS. however are incurably corrupt, and none of the conjectures can be pronounced certain.

The Rhetra contains various remarkable archaisms,—ἀπελλάζειν—ἀφίστασθαι—the latter word, in the sense of putting the question for decision, corresponding to the function of the Ἀφεστήρ at Knidus (Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 4; see Schneider, Lexicon, *ad voc.*).

O. Müller connects τριάκοντα with ὠβάς, and lays it down that there were thirty Obês at Sparta: I rather agree with those critics who place the comma after ὠβάξαντα, and refer the number thirty to the senate. Urlichs, in his Dissertation über die Lycurgisch. Rhetren (published in the Rheinisches Museum for 1847, p. 204), introduces the word πρεσβυγενέας after τριάκοντα, which seems a just conjecture when we look to the addition afterwards made by Theopompus. The statements of Müller about the Obês seem to me to rest on no authority.

The word Rhetra means a solemn compact, either originally emanating from, or subsequently sanctioned by the gods, who are always parties to such agreements; see the old Treaty between the Eleians and Heræans,—Ἁ Ϝράτρα, between the two,—commemorated in the valuable inscription still preserved,—as ancient, according to Boeckh, as Olymp. 40—60 (Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. No. II. p. 26, Part I.). The words of Tyrtæus imply such a compact between contracting parties: first the kings, then the senate, lastly the people—εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους—where the participle last occurring applies not to the people alone, but to all the three. The Rhetra of Lykurgus emanated from the Delphian god; but the kings, senate and people all bound themselves, both to each other and to the gods, to obey it. The explanations given of the phrase by Nitzsch and Schomann (in Dr. Thirlwall's note, ch. viii. 334) seem to me less satisfactory than what appears in C. F. Hermann (Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, s. 23).

Nitzsch (Histor. Homer. sect. xiv. p.

Such was the Spartan political constitution as fixed by Lykurgus; but a century afterwards (so Plutarch's account runs), under the kings Polydôrus and Theopompus, two important alterations were made. A rider was then attached to the old Lykurgean Rhetra, by which it was provided that "in case the people decided crookedly, the senate with the kings should reverse their decisions":[1] while another change, perhaps intended as a

50—55) does not take sufficient account of the distinction between the meaning of *ῥήτρα* in the early and in the later times. In the time of the Ephor Epitadeus, or of Agis III., he is right in saying that *ῥήτρα* is equivalent to *scitum* —still, however, with an idea of greater solemnity and unchangeability than is implied in the word *νόμος*, analogous to what is understood by a fundamental or organic enactment in modern ideas. The old ideas of a mandate from the Delphian god, and a compact between the kings and the citizens, which had once been connected with the word, gradually dropped away from it. There is no contradiction in Plutarch, therefore, such as that to which Nitzsch alludes (p. 54).

Kopstadt's Dissertation (p. 22, 30) touches on the same subject. I agree with Kopstadt (Dissert. p. 28—30) in thinking it probable that Plutarch copied the words of the old Lykurgean constitutional Rhetra, from the account given by Aristotle of the Spartan polity.

King Theopompus probably brought from the Delphian oracle the important rider which he tacked to the mandate as originally brought by Lykurgus—*οἱ βασιλεῖς Θεόπομπος καὶ Πολύδωρος τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν*. The authority of the oracle, together with their own influence, would enable them to get these words accepted by the people.

[1] *Αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἕλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας εἶμεν.* (Plutarch, *ib.*)

Plutarch tells us that the primitive Rhetra, anterior to this addition, specially enjoined the assembled citizens either to adopt or reject, without change, the Rhetra proposed by the kings and senate, and that the rider was introduced because the assembly had disobeyed this injunction, and adopted amendments of its own. It is this latter sense which he puts on the word *σκολιάν*. Urlichs (Ueber Lyc. Rhetr. p. 232) and Nitzsch (Hist. Homer. p. 54) follow him, and the latter even construes the epithet *Εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταμειβομένους* of Tyrtæus in a corresponding sense: he says, "Populus iis (rhetris) *εὐθείαις, i.e. nihil inflexis*, suffragari jubetur: nam lex cujus Tyrtæus admonet, ita sanxerat —si populus rogationem *inflexam* (*i.e.* non nisi ad suum arbitrium immutatam) accipere voluerit, senatores et auctores abolento totam".

Now in the first place, it seems highly improbable that the primitive Rhetra, with its antique simplicity, would contain any such preconceived speciality of restriction upon the competence of the assembly. That restriction received its formal commencement only from the rider annexed by king Theopompus, which evidently betokens a previous dispute and refractory behaviour on the part of the assembly.

In the second place, the explanation which these authors give of the words *σκολιάν* and *εὐθείαις*, is not conformable to the ancient Greek, as we find it in Homer and Hesiod: and these early analogies are the proper test, seeing that we are dealing with a very ancient document. In Hesiod, *ἰθύς* and *σκολιός* are used in a sense which almost exactly corresponds to *right* and *wrong* (which words indeed in their primitive etymology may be traced back to the meaning of *straight* and *crooked*). See Hesiod. Opp. Di. 36, 192, 218, 221, 226, 230, 250, 262, 264; also Theogon. 27, and Fragm. 217, ed. Göttling: where the phrases are constantly repeated, *ἰθεῖαι δίκαι, σκολιαὶ δίκαι, σκολιοὶ μῦθοι*. There is also the remarkable expression, Op. Di. 9, *ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιόν*: compare v. 263, *ἰθύνετε μύθους*: also Homer, Iliad, xvi. 387, *Οἳ βίῃ εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας*: and xxiii. 580, *ἰθεῖα*: xviii. 508, *ὃς μετὰ ταῖσι δίκην ἰθύνατα εἴπῃ*, &c.

If we judge by these analogies, we shall see that the words of Tyrtæus, *εὐθείαις ῥήτραις*, mean "*straightforward*,

sort of compensation for this bridle on the popular assembly, introduced into the constitution a new executive Directory of five men, called the Ephors. This Board—annually chosen, by some capricious method the result of which could not well be foreseen, and open to be filled by every Spartan citizen,—either originally received, or gradually drew to itself, functions so extensive and commanding, in regard to internal administration and police, as to limit the authority of the kings to little more than the exclusive command of the military force. Herodotus was informed at Sparta that the ephors as well as the senate had been constituted by Lykurgus; but the authority of Aristotle as well as the internal probability of the case, sanctions the belief that they were subsequently added.[1]

Constitution ascribed to Lykurgus agrees with that which we find in Homer.

Taking the political constitution of Sparta ascribed to Lykurgus, it appears not to have differed materially from the rude organization exhibited in the Homeric poems, where we always find a council of chiefs or old men and occasional meetings of a listening agora. It is hard to suppose that the Spartan kings can ever have governed without some formalities of this sort: so that the innovation (if innovation there really was) ascribed to Lykurgus, must have consisted in some new details respecting the senate and the agora,—in fixing the number[2] thirty, and the life-tenure of the former—and the special place of meeting of the

honest, statutes of conventions"—not *propositions adopted without change*, as Nitzsch supposes. And so the words σκολιὰν ἔλοιτο mean, "adopt a *wrong or dishonest determination*"—not a determination different from what was proposed to them.

These words gave to the kings and senate power to cancel any decision of the public assembly which they disapproved. It retained only the power of refusing assent to some substantive propositions of the authorities, first of the kings and senate, afterwards of the ephors. And this limited power it seems always to have preserved.

Kopstadt explains well the expression σκολιάν, as the antithesis to the epithet of Tyrtæus, εὐθείαις ῥήτραις (Dissertat. sect. 15, p. 124).

[1] Herod. i. 65; compare Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 7; Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 1 (where he gives the answer of king Theopompus).

Aristotle tells us that the ephors were chosen, but not *how* they were chosen; only that it was in some manner excessively puerile,—παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν (ii. 6, 16).

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in his note to the passage of Aristotle, presumes that they were of course chosen in the same manner as the senators; but there seems no sufficient ground in Aristotle to countenance this. Nor is it easy to reconcile the words of Aristotle respecting the election of the senators, where he assimilates it to an αἵρεσις δυναστευτική (Polit. v. 5, 8; ii. 6, 18), with the description which Plutarch (Lycurg. 26) gives of that election.

[2] Kopstadt agrees in this supposition, that the number of the senate was probably not peremptorily fixed before the Lykurgean reform (Dissertat., ut sup., sect. 13, p. 109).

latter as well as the extent of privilege which it was to exercise; consecrating the whole by the erection of the temples of Zeus Hellanius and Athênê Hellania. The view of the subject presented by Plutarch as well as by Plato,[1] as if the senate were an entire novelty, does not consist with the pictures of the old epic. Hence we may more naturally imagine that the Lykurgean political constitution, apart from the ephors who were afterwards tacked to it, presents only the old features of the heroic government of Greece, defined and regularised in a particular manner. The presence of two co-existent and co-ordinate kings, indeed, succeeding in hereditary descent and both belonging to the gens of Herakleids, is something peculiar to Sparta—the origin of which receives no other explanation than a reference to the twin sons of Aristodêmus, Eurysthenês and Prokles. These two primitive ancestors are a type of the two lines of Spartan kings; for they are said to have passed their lives in perpetual dissensions, which was the habitual state of the two contemporaneous kings at Sparta. While the co-existence of the pair of kings, equal in power and constantly thwarting each other, had often a baleful effect upon the course of public measures, it was nevertheless a security to the state against successful violence,[2] ending in the establishment of a despotism, on the part of any ambitious individual among the regal line.

Pair of kings at Sparta—their constant dissensions—a security to the state against despotism.

During five successive centuries of Spartan history, from Polydôrus and Theopompus downward, no such violence was attempted by any of the kings,[3] until the times of Agis III. and Kleomenês III. (240 B.C. to 220 B.C.). The importance of Greece had at this last-mentioned period irretrievably declined, and the independent political action which she once possessed had become subordinate to the more powerful force either of the Ætolian mountaineers (the rudest among her own sons) or to Epirotic, Macedonian, and Asiatic foreigners, preparatory to the final

[1] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 691; Plato, Epist. viii. 354, B.

[2] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 691; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 20.

[3] The conspiracy of Pausanias, after the repulse of Xerxes, was against the liberty of combined Hellas, to constitute himself satrap of Hellas under the Persian monarch, rather than against the established Lacedæmonian government; though undoubtedly one portion of his project was to excite the Helots to revolt, and Aristotle treats him as specially aiming to put down the power of the ephors (Polit. v. 5, 6; compare Thucyd. i. 128—134; Herodot. v. 32).

absorption by the Romans. But amongst all the Grecian states, Sparta had declined the most; her ascendency was totally gone, and her peculiar training and discipline (to which she had chiefly owed it) had degenerated in every way. Under these untoward circumstances, two young kings, Agis and Kleomenês—the former a generous enthusiast, the latter more violent and ambitious—conceived the design of restoring the Lykurgean constitution in its supposed pristine purity, with the hope of reviving both the spirit of the people and the ascendency of the state. But the Lykurgean constitution had been, even in the time of Xenophôn,[1] in part, an *iléal*, not fully realised in practice—much less was it a reality in the days of Kleomenês and Agis; moreover it was an *idéal* which admitted of being coloured according to the fancy or feelings of those reformers who professed, and probably believed, that they were aiming at its genuine restoration. What the reforming kings found most in their way was, the uncontrolled authority, and the conservative dispositions, of the ephors—which they naturally contrasted with the original fulness of the kingly power, when kings and senate stood alone. Among the various ways in which men's ideas of what the primitive constitution *had* been, were modified by the feelings of their own time (we shall presently see some other instances of this), is probably to be reckoned the assertion of Kleomenês respecting the first appointment of the ephors. Kleomenês affirmed that the ephors had originally been nothing more than subordinates and deputies of the kings chosen by the latter to perform for a time their duties during the long absence of the Messenian war. Starting from this humble position, and profiting by the dissensions of the two kings,[2] they had in process of time, especially by the ambition of the ephor Asterôpus, found means first to constitute themselves an independent board, then to usurp to themselves more and more of the kingly authority, until they at last reduced the kings to a state of intolerable humiliation and impotence. As a proof of the primitive relation between the kings and the ephors, he alluded to that which was the custom at Sparta in his own time. When the ephors sent for either of the kings, the

Idea of Kleomenês III. respecting the first appointment of the Ephors.

[1] Xenophon, Republic. Laced. c. 14. τὸ ἀρχεῖον (the ephors) ἰσχύειν ἐκ
[2] Plutarch, Agis, c. 12. Τοῦτο γὰρ διαφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων, &c.

latter had a right to refuse obedience to two successive summonses, but the third summons he was bound to obey.[1]

It is obvious that the fact here adduced by Kleomenês (a curious point in Spartan manners) contributes little to prove the conclusion which he deduced from it of the original nomination of the ephors as mere deputies by the kings. That they were first appointed at the time of the Messenian war is probable, and coincides with the tale that king Theopompus was a consenting party to the measure—that their functions were at first comparatively circumscribed, and extended by successive encroachments, is also probable. But they seem to have been from the beginning a board of specially popular origin, in contraposition to the kings and the senate. One proof of this is to be found in the ancient oath, which was every month interchanged between the kings and the ephors; the king swearing for himself, that he would exercise his regal functions according to the established laws—the ephors swearing on behalf of the city, that his authority should on that condition remain unshaken.[2] This mutual compact, which probably formed a part of the ceremony during the monthly sacrifices offered by the king,[3] continued down to a time when it must have become a pure form, and when the kings had long been subordinate in power to the ephors. But it evidently began first as a reality—when the king was predominant and effective chief of the state, and when the ephors, clothed with functions chiefly defensive, served as guarantees to the people against abuse of the regal authority. Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero,[4] all interpret the original institution of the ephors as designed to protect the people and restrain the kings: the latter assimilates them to the tribunes at Rome.

Popular origin of the board of ephors—oath interchanged between them and the kings.

[1] Plutarch, Kleomenês, c. 10. *σημεῖον δὲ τούτου, τὸ μέχρι νῦν, μεταπεμπομένων τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἐφόρων*, &c.

[2] Xenophon, Republic. Lacedæmon. c. 15. *Καὶ ὅρκους μὲν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται· Ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ἐστὶ, τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν· τῇ δὲ πόλει, ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου, ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν.*

[3] Herodot. vi. 57.

[4] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 692; Aristot. Polit. v. 11, 1; Cicero de Republic. Fragm. ii. 33, ed. Maii—"Ut contra consulare imperium tribuni plebis, sic illi (ephori) contra vim regiam constituti";—also De Legg. iii. 7, and Valer. Max. iv. i.

Compare Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 7; Tittmann, Griechische Staatsverfassung, p. 108, *seqq.*

Subordination of the kings, and supremacy of the ephors, during the historical times.

Such were the relations which had once subsisted between the kings and the ephors: though in later times these relations had been so completely reversed, that Polybius considers the former as essentially subordinate to the latter—reckoning it as a point of duty in the kings to respect the ephors "as their fathers".[1] And such is decidedly the state of things throughout all the better known period of history which we shall hereafter traverse. The ephors are the general directors of public affairs[2] and the supreme controlling board holding in check every other authority in the state, without any assignable limit to their powers. The extraordinary ascendency of these magistrates is particularly manifested in the fact stated by Aristotle, that they exempted themselves from the public discipline, so that their self-indulgent year of office stood in marked contrast with the toilsome exercises and sober mess common to rich and poor alike. The kings are reduced to a certain number of special functions, combined with privileges partly religious, partly honorary: their most important political attribute is, that they are *ex officio* generals of the military force on foreign expeditions. But even here we trace the sensible decline of their power. For whereas Herodotus was informed, and it probably had been the old privilege, that the king could levy war against whomsoever he chose, and that no Spartan could impede him on pain of committing sacrilege[3]—we shall see throughout the best known periods of this history that it is usually the ephors (with or without the senate and public assembly) who determine upon war—the king only takes the command when the army is put on the march. Aristotle seems to treat the Spartan king as a sort of hereditary general; but even in this privilege shackles were put upon him—for two out of the five ephors accompanied the army, and their power seems to have been not seldom invoked to ensure obedience to his orders.[4]

[1] Polyb. xxiv. 8.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 14—16: Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ διαιτα τῶν Ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἐστί· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρὸν, &c.

[3] Herodot. vi. 56.

[4] Aristot. ii. 7, 4; Xenoph. Republ. Laced. c. 13. Παυσανίας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν, Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 4, 29; φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ Ἔφοροι, iii. 2, 23.

A special restriction was put on the functions of the king, as military commander-in-chief, in 417 B.C., after the ill-conducted expedition of Agis son of Archidāmus against Argos. It was

The direct political powers of the kings were thus greatly curtailed; yet importance in many ways was still left to them. They possessed large royal domains in many of the townships of the Perioeki: they received frequent occasional presents, and when victims were offered to the gods, the skins and other portions belonged to them as perquisites;[1] they had their votes in the senate, which, if they were absent, were given on their behalf by such of the other senators as were most nearly related to them: the adoption of children received its formal accomplishment in their presence—and conflicting claims at law, for the hand of an unbequeathed orphan heiress, were adjudicated by them. But above all, their root was deep in the religious feelings of the people. Their pre-eminent lineage connected the entire state with a divine paternity. They, the chiefs of the Herakleids, were the special grantees of the soil of Sparta from the gods—the occupation of the Dorians being only sanctified and blest by Zeus for the purpose of establishing the children of Hêraklês in the valley of the Eurôtas.[2] They represented the state in its relations with the gods, being by right priests of Zeus Lacedæmôn (the ideas of the god and the country coalescing into one) and of Zeus Uranius, and offering the monthly sacrifices necessary to ensure divine protection to the people. Though individual persons might sometimes be put aside, nothing short of a new divine revelation could induce the Spartans to step out of the genuine lineage of Eurysthenês and Proklês. Moreover, the remarkable mourning ceremony which took place at the death of every king, seems to indicate that the two kingly families—which counted themselves Achæan,[3] not Dorian—were considered as the great common bond of union

Position and privileges of the kings.

then provided that ten Spartan counsellors should always accompany the king in every expedition (Thucyd. v. 63).

[1] The hide-money (δερματικόν) arising from the numerous victims offered at public sacrifices at Athens, is accounted for as a special item of the public revenue in the careful economy of that city: see Boeckh, Public Econ. of Athens, iii. 7, p. 333, Eng. Trans.; Corpus Inscription. No. 157.

[2] Tyrtæus, Fragm. 1, ed. Bergk; Strabo, xviii. p. 362:—

Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·
Οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
Εὐρείαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

Compare Thucyd. v. 16; Herodot. v. 39; Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 3; Plutarch, Lysand. c. 22.

[3] Herod. v. 72. See the account in Plutarch of the abortive stratagem of Lysander to make the kingly dignity elective by putting forward a youth who passed for the son of Apollo (Plutarch, Lysand. c. 25—26).

between the three component parts of the population of Laconia —Spartans, Periœki, and Helots. Not merely was it required, on this occasion, that two members of every house in Sparta should appear in sackcloth and ashes—but the death of the king was formally made known throughout every part of Laconia; and deputies from the townships of the Periœki and the villages of the Helots, to the number of several thousand, were summoned to Sparta to take their share in the profuse and public demonstrations of sorrow,[1] which lasted for ten days, and which imparted to the funeral obsequies a superhuman solemnity. Nor ought we to forget, in enumerating the privileges of the Spartan king, that he (conjointly with two officers called Pythii nominated by him) carried on the communications between the state and the temple of Delphi, and had the custody of oracles and prophecies generally. In most of the Grecian states, such inspired declarations were treasured up, and consulted in cases of public emergency: but the intercourse of Sparta with the Delphian oracle was peculiarly frequent and intimate, and the responses of the Pythian priestess met with more reverential attention from the Spartans than from any other Greeks.[2] So much the more important were the king's functions, as the medium of this intercourse: the oracle always upheld his dignity, and often even seconded his underhand personal schemes.[3]

Sustained by so great a force of traditional reverence, a Spartan king of military talent and individual energy like Agesilaus exercised great ascendency; but such cases were very rare, and we shall find the king throughout the historical period only a secondary force, available on special occasions. For real political orders, in the greatest cases as well as the least, the Spartan looks to the council of ephors, to whom obedience is paid with a degree of precision which nothing short of the Spartan discipline could have brought about —by the most powerful citizens not less than by the meanest.[4] Both the internal police and the foreign affairs of the state are in the hands of the ephors, who exercise an authority approaching

Power of the ephors.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 1. Ἄγις— ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς.

[2] For the privileges of the Spartan kings, see Herodot. vi. 56—57; Xenophon, Republ. Laced. c. 15; Plato, Alcib. i. p. 123.

[3] Herodot. vi. 66, and Thucyd. v. 16, furnish examples of this.

[4] Xenophon, Republ. Laced. c. 8, 2, and Agesilaus, cap. 7, 2.

to despotism, and altogether without accountability. They appoint and direct the body of 300 young and active citizens, who performed the immediate police of Laconia: they cashier at pleasure any subordinate functionary, and inflict fine or arrest at their own discretion: they assemble the military force, on occasion of foreign war, and determine its destination, though the king has the actual command of it: they imprison on suspicion even the regent or the king himself:[1] they sit as judges, sometimes individually and sometimes as a board, upon causes and complaints of great moment, and they judge without the restraint of written laws, the use of which was peremptorily forbidden by a special Rhetra,[2] erroneously connected with Lykurgus himself, but at any rate ancient. On certain occasions of peculiar moment

[1] Xenoph. Rep. Laced. 8, 4; Thucyd. i. 131; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 14—*ἀρχὴν λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύραννον*. Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 13—*μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις*.

Plato, in his Republic, in like manner disapproves of any general enactments tying up beforehand the discretion of perfectly educated men like his guardians, who will always do what is best on each special occasion (Republic, iv. p. 425).

[2] Besides the primitive constitutional Rhetra mentioned above, page 265, various other Rhetræ are also attributed to Lykurgus; and Plutarch singles out three under the title of "The Three Rhetræ," as if they were either the only genuine Lykurgean Rhetræ, or at least stood distinguished by some peculiar sanctity from all others (Plutarch, Quæst. Roman. c. 87. Agesilaus, c. 26).

These three were (Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 13; comp. Apophth. Lacon. p. 227):—1. Not to resort to written laws. 2. Not to employ in house-building any other tools than the axe and the saw. 3. Not to undertake military expeditions often against the same enemies.

I agree with Nitzsch (Histor. Homer. p. 61—65) that these Rhetræ, though doubtless not actually Lykurgean, are nevertheless ancient (that is, probably dating somewhere between 650—550 B.C.) and not the mere fictions of recent writers, as Schömann (Ant. Jur. Pub. iv. 1; xiv. p. 132) and Urlichs (p. 241) seem to believe. And though Plutarch specifies the number *three*, yet there seem to have been still more, as the language of Tyrtæus must be held to indicate; out of which, from causes which we do not now understand, the three which Plutarch distinguishes excited particular notice.

These maxims or precepts of state were probably preserved along with the dicta of the Delphian oracle, from which authority doubtless many of them may have emanated—such as the famous ancient prophecy Ἃ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν (Krebs, Lectiones Diodoreæ, p. 140. Aristotel. Περὶ Πολιτειῶν, ap. Schol. ad Eurip. Andromach. 446. Schömann, Comm. ad Plutarch. Ag. et Cleomen. p. 123).

Nitzsch has good remarks in explanation of the prohibition against "using written laws". This prohibition was probably called forth by the circumstance that other Grecian states were employing lawgivers like Zaleukus, Drako, Charondas, or Solôn—to present them at once with a series of written enactments or provisions. Some Spartans may have proposed that an analogous lawgiver should be nominated for Sparta; upon which proposition a negative was put in the most solemn manner possible, by a formal Rhetra, perhaps passed after advice from Delphi. There is no such contradiction therefore (when we thus conceive the event), as some authors represent, in forbidding the use of written laws by a Rhetra itself put into writing. To employ a phrase in greater analogy with modern controversies—"The Spartans, on the direction of the oracle, resolve to retain their unwritten common law, and not to codify".

they take the sense of the senate and the public assembly[1]—such seems to have been the habit on questions of war and peace. It appears however that persons charged with homicide, treason, or capital offences generally, were tried before the senate. We read of several instances in which the kings were tried and severely fined, and in which their houses were condemned to be razed to the ground, probably by the senate on the proposition of the ephors: in one instance, it seems that the ephors inflicted by their own authority a fine even upon Agesilaus.[2]

Public assembly.

War and peace appear to have been submitted, on most, if not on all occasions, to the senate and the public assembly; no matter could reach the latter until it had passed through the former. And we find some few occasions on which the decision of the public assembly was a real expression of opinion, and operative as to the result—as for example, the assembly which immediately preceded and resolved upon the Peloponnesian war. Here, in addition to the serious hazard of the case and the general caution of a Spartan temperament, there was the great personal weight and experience of king Archidāmus opposed to the war, though the ephors were favourable to it.[3] The public assembly, under such peculiar circumstances, really manifested an opinion and came to a division. But for the most part, it seems to have been little better than an inoperative formality. The general rule permitted no open discussion, nor could any private citizen speak except by special leave from the magistrates. Perhaps even the general liberty to discuss, if given, might have been of no avail, for not only was there no power of public speaking, but no habit of canvassing public measures, at Sparta: nothing was more characteristic of the government than the extreme secrecy of its proceedings.[4] The

[1] Ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (Xen. Hellen. iii. 2, 23).

[2] The case of *Leotychidēs*, Herod. vi. 72; of *Pleistoanax*, Thucyd. ii. 21—v. 16; *Agis* II. Thucyd. v. 63; *Agis* III., Plutarch, Agis, c. 19: see Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 5.

Respecting the ephors generally, see Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterthumskunde, v. 4, 42, vol. i. p. 223; Cragius, Rep. Lac. ii. 4, p. 121.

Aristotle distinctly marks the ephors as ἀνυπεύθυνοι: so that the story alluded to briefly in the Rhetoric (iii. 18) is not easy to be understood.

[3] Thucyd. i. 67, 80, 87. ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν τὸν εἰωθότα.

[4] Thucyd. iv. 68. τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν: compare iv. 74; also his remarkable expression about so distinguished a man as Brasidas, ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν, and iv. 24, about the Lacedæmonian envoys to Athens. Compare Schömann, Antiq. Jur. Pub. Græc. iv. 1, 80, p. 122. Aristotel. Polit. ii. 8, 3.

propositions brought forward by the magistrates were either accepted or rejected, without any licence of amending. There could be no attraction to invite the citizen to be present at such an assembly; and we may gather from the language of Xenophôn that in his time it consisted only of a certain number of notables specially summoned in addition to the senate, which latter body is itself called "the lesser Ekklesia".[1] Indeed the constant and formidable diminution in the number of qualified citizens was alone sufficient to thin the attendance of the assembly, as well as to break down any imposing force which it might once have possessed.

An assembly thus circumstanced—though always retained as a formality, and though its consent on considerable matters and for the passing of laws (which however seems to have been a rare occurrence at Sparta) was indispensable—could be very little of a practical check upon the administration of the ephors. The Senate, a permanent body with the kings included in it, was the only real check upon them, and must have been to a certain extent a concurrent body in the government—though the large and imposing language in which its political supremacy is spoken of by Demosthenês and Isokratês exceeds greatly the reality of the case. Its most important function was that of a court of criminal justice, before whom every man put on trial for his life was arraigned.[2] But both in this and in their other duties, we find the senators as well as the kings and the ephors charged with corruption and venality.[3] As they were not appointed until sixty years of age and then held their offices for

The Senate.

[1] Τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν (Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 8), which means the γέροντες or senate, and none besides, except the ephors, who convoked it. (See Lachmann, Spart. Verfass., sect. 12, p. 216.) What is still more to be noted is the expression οἱ ἔκκλητοι as the equivalent of ἡ ἐκκλησία (compare Hellen. v. 2, 11; vi. 3, 3), evidently showing a special and limited number of persons convened: see also ii. 4, 38; iv. 6, 3; v. 2, 33; Thucyd. v. 77.

The expression οἱ ἔκκλητοι could never have got into use as an equivalent for the Athenian ecclesia.

[2] Xenoph. Repub. Laced. 10; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 17; iii. 1, 7; Demosthen. cont. Leptin. c. 23, p. 489; Isokratês, Or. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 266. The language of Demosthenês seems particularly inaccurate.

Plutarch (Agesilaus, c. 32), on occasion of some suspected conspirators who were put to death by Agesilaus and the ephors, when Sparta was in imminent danger from the attack of Epameinôndas, asserts, that this was the first time that any Spartan had ever been put to death without trial.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 18. Compare also Thucydid. i. 131 about the guilty Pausanias,—πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολήν: Herodot. v. 72; Thucyd. v. 16—about the kings Leotychidês and Pleistoanax; the brave and able Gylippus—Plutarch, Lysand. c. 16.

life, we may readily believe that some of them continued to act after the period of extreme and disqualifying senility—which, though the extraordinary respect of the Lacedæmonians for old age would doubtless tolerate it, could not fail to impair the influence of the body as a concurrent element of government.

Spartan constitution —a close oligarchy.

The brief sketch here given of the Spartan government will show, that though Greek theorists found a difficulty in determining under what class they should arrange it,[1] it was in substance a close, unscrupulous, and well-obeyed oligarchy—including within it as subordinate those portions which had once been dominant, the kings and the senate, and softening the odium, without abating the mischief, of the system, by its annual change of the ruling ephors. We must at the same time distinguish the government from the Lykurgean discipline and education, which doubtless tended much to equalise rich and poor, in respect to practical life, habits, and enjoyments. Herodotus (and seemingly also Xenophôn) thought that the form just described was that which the government had originally received from the hand of Lykurgus. Now, though there is good reason for supposing otherwise, and for believing the ephors to be a subsequent addition—yet the mere fact, that Herodotus was so informed at Sparta, points our attention to one important attribute of the Spartan polity, which it is proper to bring into view. This attribute is, its unparalleled steadiness for four or five successive centuries, in the midst of governments like the Grecian, all of which had undergone more or less of fluctuation.

Long duration of the constitution without formal change —one cause of the respect in Greece and pride in the Spartans themselves.

No considerable revolution—not even any palpable or formal change—occurred in it from the days of the Messenian war down to those of Agis III.: in spite of the irreparable blow which the power and territory of the state sustained from Epameinôndas and the Thebans, the form of government nevertheless remained unchanged. It was the only government in Greece which could trace an unbroken peaceable descent from a high antiquity and from its real or supposed

[1] The ephors are sometimes considered as a democratical element, because every Spartan citizen had a chance of becoming ephor; sometimes as a despotical element, because in the exercise of their power they were subject to little restraint and no responsibility; see Plato, Legg. iv. p. 712; Aristot. Polit. ii. 3, 10; iv. 7, 4, 5.

founder. Now this was one of the main circumstances (among others which will hereafter be mentioned) of the astonishing ascendency which the Spartans acquired over the Hellenic mind, and which they will not be found at all to deserve by any superior ability in the conduct of affairs. The steadiness of their political sympathies—exhibited at one time by putting down the tyrants or despots, at another by overthrowing the democracies—stood in the place of ability, and even the recognised failings of their government were often covered by the sentiment of respect for its early commencement and uninterrupted continuance. If such a feeling acted on the Greeks generally,[1] much more powerful was its action upon the Spartans themselves in inflaming that haughty exclusiveness for which they stood distinguished. And it is to be observed that the Spartan mind continued to be cast on the old-fashioned scale, and unsusceptible of modernizing influences, longer than that of most other people of Greece. The ancient legendary faith, and devoted submission to the Delphian oracle, remained among them unabated, at a time when various influences had considerably undermined it among their fellow-Hellens and neighbours. But though the unchanged title and forms of the government thus contributed to its imposing effect, both at home and abroad, the causes of internal degeneracy were not the less really at work, in undermining its efficiency. It has been already stated that the number of qualified citizens went on continually diminishing, and even of this diminished number a larger proportion than before were needy, since the landed property tended constantly to concentrate itself in fewer hands. There grew up in this way a body of discontent, which had not originally existed, both among the poorer citizens, and among those who had lost their franchise as citizens; thus aggravating the danger arising from Perioeki and Helots, who will be presently noticed.

We pass from the political constitution of Sparta to the civil ranks and distribution, economical relations, and lastly the peculiar system of habits, education and discipline, said to have been established among the Lacedæmonians by Lykurgus. Here again we shall find ourselves imperfectly informed as to the

[1] A specimen of the way in which this antiquity was lauded may be seen in Isokratês, Or. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 288.

existing institutions, and surrounded by confusion when we try to explain how those institutions arose.

Dorians divided into three tribes—Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes.

It seems however ascertained that the Dorians in all their settlements were divided into three tribes—the Hylleis, the Pamphyli, and the Dymanes: in all Dorian cities, moreover, there were distinguished Herakleid families from whom œkists were chosen when new colonies were formed. These three tribes can be traced at Argos, Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, Megara, Korkyra, and seemingly also at Sparta.[1] The Hylleis recognised, as their eponym and progenitor, Hyllus the son of Hêraklês, and were therefore in their own belief descended from Hêraklês himself: we may suppose the Herakleids, specially so called, comprising the two regal families, to have been the Elder Brethren of the tribe of Hylleis, the whole of whom are sometimes spoken of as Herakleids or descendants of Hêraklês.[2] But there seem to have been also at Sparta, as in other Dorian towns, non-Dorian inhabitants, apart from these three tribes and embodied in tribes of their own. One of these, the Ægeids, said to have come from Thêbes as allies of the Dorian invaders, is named by Aristotle, Pindar, and Herodotus[3]—while the Ægialeis at Sikyôn, the tribe Hyrnêthia at Argos and Epidaurus, and others whose titles we do not know at Corinth, represent in like manner the non-Dorian portions of their respective communities.[4] At Corinth the total number of tribes is said to have been eight.[5] But at Sparta, though we seem to make out the existence of the three Dorian

[1] Herodot. v. 68; Stephan. Byz. v. Ὑλλέες and Δυμᾶν; O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 5, 2; Boeckh ad Corp. Inscrip. No. 1123.

Thucyd i. 24, about Phalius the Herakleid at Corinth.

[2] See Tyrtæus, Fragm. 8, 1, ed. Schneidewin, and Pindar, Pyth. i. 61, v. 71, where the expressions "descendants of Hêraklês" plainly comprehended more than the two kingly families. Plutarch. Lysand. c. 22; Diodor. xi. 58.

[3] Herodot. iv. 149; Pindar, Pyth. v. 67; Aristot. Ἀκκων. Πολιτ. p. 127, Fragm. ed. Neumann. The Talthybiadæ, or heralds at Sparta, formed a family or caste apart (Herod. vii. 134).

O. Müller supposes, without any proof, that the Ægeids *must* have been adopted into one of the three Dorian tribes; this is one of the corollaries from his fundamental supposition, that Sparta is the type of pure Dorism (vol. ii. p. 78). Kopstadt thinks (Dissertat. p. 67) that I have done injustice to O. Müller in not assenting to his proof: but on studying the point over again, I can see no reason for modifying what is here stated in the text. The section of Schömann's work (Antiq. Jur. Publ. Græc., iv. 1, 6, p. 115) on this subject asserts a great deal more than can be proved.

[4] Herod. v. 68—92; Boeckh, Corp. Inscrip. Nos. 1130, 1131; Stephan. Byz. v. Ὑρνίθιον; Pausan. ii. 28, 3.

[5] Photius, Πάντα ὀκτώ; also Proverb. Vatic. Suidas, xi. 64; compare Hesychius, v. Κυνόφαλοι.

tribes, we do not know how many tribes there were in all; still less do we know what relation the Obæ, or Obês, another subordinate distribution of the people, bore to the tribes. In the ancient Rhetra of Lykurgus, the Tribes and Obês are directed to be maintained unaltered: but the statement of O. Müller and Boeckh[1]—that there were thirty Obês in all, ten to each tribe—rests upon no other existence than a peculiar punctuation of this Rhetra, which various other critics reject; and seemingly with good reason. We are thus left without any information respecting the Obê, though we know that it was an old, peculiar, and lasting division among the Spartan people, since it occurs in the oldest Rhetra of Lykurgus, as well as in late inscriptions of the date of the Roman empire. In similar inscriptions and in the account of Pausanias, there is however recognised a classification of Spartans distinct from and independent of the three old Dorian tribes, and founded upon the different quarters of the city—Limnæ, Mesoa, Pitanê and Kynosura;[2] from one of these four was derived the usual description of a Spartan in the days of Herodotus. There is reason to suppose that the old Dorian tribes became antiquated at Sparta (as the four old Ionian tribes did at Athens), and that the topical classification derived from the quarters of the city superseded it—these quarters having been originally the separate villages, of the aggregate of which Sparta was composed.[3] That the number of the old senators, thirty, was connected with the three Dorian tribes, deriving ten members from each, is probable enough, though there is no proof of it.

Local distinctions known among the Spartans.

Of the population of Laconia three main divisions are recognised—Spartans, Periœki, and Helots. The first of the three were the full qualified citizens, who lived in Sparta itself, fulfilled

[1] Müller, Dorians, iii. 5, 3—7; Boeckh ad Corp. Inscription. Part. iv. sect. 3, p. 609.

[2] Pausan. iii. 16, 6; Herodot. iii. 55; Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. Nr. 1241, 1338, 1347, 1425; Steph. Byz. v. Μεσόα; Strabo, viii. p. 364; Hesych. v. Πιτάνη.

There is much confusion and discrepancy of opinion about the Spartan tribes. Cragius admits six (De Republ. Lacon. i. 6); Meursius, eight (Rep. Lacon. i. 7); Barthélemy (Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, iv. p. 185) makes them five. Manso has discussed the subject at large, but I think not very satisfactorily, in the eighth Beilage to the first book of his History of Sparta (vol. ii. p. 125); and Dr. Thirlwall's second Appendix (vol. i. p. 517) both notices all the different modern opinions on this obscure topic, and adds several useful criticisms. Our scanty stock of original evidence leaves much room for divergent hypotheses, and little chance of any certain conclusion.

[3] Thucyd. i. 10.

all the exigencies of the Lykurgean discipline, paid their quota to the Syssitia or public mess, and were alone eligible to honours[1] or public offices. These men had neither time nor taste even for cultivation of the land, still less for trade or handicraft: such occupations were inconsistent with the prescribed training, even if they had not been positively interdicted. They were maintained from the lands round the city, and from the large proportion of Laconia which belonged to them; the land being tilled for them by Helots, who seem to have paid over to them a fixed proportion of the produce: in some cases at least as much as one half.[2] Each Spartan retained his qualification, and transmitted it to his children, on two conditions—first, that of submitting to the prescribed discipline; next, that of paying each his stipulated quota to the public mess, which was only maintained by these individual contributions. The multiplication of children in the poorer families, after acquisitions of new territory ceased, continually augmented both the number and the proportion of citizens who were unable to fulfil the second of these conditions, and who therefore lost their franchise: so that there arose towards the close of the Peloponnesian war a distinction, among the Spartans themselves, unknown to the earlier times—the reduced number of fully qualified citizens being called The Equals or Peers—the disfranchised poor, The Inferiors. The latter, disfranchised as they were, nevertheless did not become Perioeki: it was probably still competent to them to resume their qualification, should any favourable accident enable them to make their contributions to the public mess.

Population of Laconia —1. Spartans.

The Perioekus was also a freeman and a citizen, not of Sparta, but of some one of the hundred townships of Laconia.[3] Both he and the community to which he belonged

2. Perioeki.

[1] One or two Perioekic officers appear in military command towards the end of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. viii. 6, 22), but these seem rare exceptions even as to foreign service by sea or land, while a Perioekus as magistrate at Sparta was unheard of.

[2] One half was paid by the enslaved Messenians (Tyrtæus, Frag. 4, Bergk): ἥμισυ πᾶν, ὅσσον κάρπον ἄρουρα φέρει.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 362. Stephanus Byz. alludes to this total of 100 townships in his notice of several different items among them—'Ανθάνα—πόλις Λακωνικὴ μία τῶν ἑκατόν; also v. 'Αφροδισιάς, Βοῖαι, Ανδράχιον, &c.; but he probably copied Strabo, and therefore cannot pass for a distinct authority. The total of 100 townships belongs to the maximum of Spartan power, after the conquest and before the severance of Messenia; for Aulôn, Boiæ and

received their orders only from Sparta, having no political sphere of their own, and no share in determining the movements of the Spartan authorities. In the island of Kythêra,[1] which formed one of the Periœkic townships, a Spartan bailiff resided as administrator. But whether the same was the case with others, we cannot affirm: nor is it safe to reason from one of these townships to all—there may have been considerable differences in the mode of dealing with one and another. For they were spread through the whole of Laconia, some near and some distant from Sparta: the free inhabitants of Amyklæ must have been Periœki, as well as those of Kythêra, Thuria, Ætheia, or Aulôn: nor can we presume that the feeling on the part of the Spartan authorities towards all of them was the same. Between the Spartans and their neighbours, the numerous Periœki of Amyklæ, there must have subsisted a degree of intercourse and mutual relation in which the more distant Periœki did not partake—besides that both the religious edifices and the festivals of Amyklæ were most reverentially adopted by the Spartans and exalted into a national dignity: and we seem to perceive, on some occasions, a degree of consideration manifested for the Amyklæan hoplites,[2] such as perhaps other Periœki might not have obtained. The class-name, Periœki[3]—Circum-residents, or dwellers around

Methônê (the extreme places) are included among them.

Mr. Clinton (Fast. Hellen. ii. p. 401) has collected the names of above 60 out of the 100.

[1] Thucyd. iv. 53.

[2] Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 5, 11: Herod. ix. 7; Thucyd. v. 18—23. The Amyklæan festival of the Hyacinthia, and the Amyklæan temple of Apollo, seem to stand foremost in the mind of the Spartan authorities. Αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων (Thucyd. iv. 8), who are ready before the rest and march against the Athenians at Pylus, probably include the Amyklæans.

Laconia generally is called by Thucydidês (iii. 16) as the περιοικίς of Sparta.

[3] The word περίοικοι is sometimes used to signify simply "surrounding neighbour states," in its natural geographical sense: see Thucyd. i. 17, and Aristot. Polit. ii. 7, 1.

But the more usual employment of it is, to mean the unprivileged or less privileged members of the same political aggregate living without the city, in contrast with the full privileged burghers who lived within it. Aristotle uses it to signify in Krête the class corresponding to the Lacedæmonian Helots (Pol. ii. 7, 3): there did not exist in Krête any class corresponding to the Lacedæmonian Periœki. In Krête there were not two stages of inferiority—there was only one, and that one is marked by the word περίοικοι; while the Lacedæmonian Periœkus had the Helot below him. To an Athenian the word conveyed the idea of undefined degradation.

To understand better the *status* of the Periœkus, we may contrast him with the Metœkus or Metic. The latter resides in the city, but he is an alien resident on sufferance, not a native: he pays a special tax, stands excluded from all political functions, and cannot even approach the magistrate except through a friendly citizen or Prostatês (ἐπὶ προστάτου οἰκεῖν—Lycurgus cont. Leocrat. c. 21—53): he bears arms for the defence of the state.

the city—usually denoted native inhabitants of inferior political condition as contrasted with the full-privileged burghers who lived in the city, but it did not mark any precise or uniform degree of inferiority. It is sometimes so used by Aristotle as to imply a condition no better than that of the Helots, so that in a large sense, all the inhabitants of Laconia (Helots as well as the rest) might have been included in it. But when used in reference to Laconia, it bears a technical sense whereby it is placed in contraposition with the Spartan on one side, and with the Helot on the other: it means native freemen and proprietors, grouped in subordinate communities[1] with more or less power of local management, but (like the subject towns belonging to Bern,

The situation of a Metic was however very different in different cities of Greece. At Athens that class were well protected in person and property, numerous and domiciliated: at Sparta, there were at first none—the Xenêlasy excluded them; but this must have been relaxed long before the days of Agis III.

The Periœkus differs from the Metic in being a native of the soil, subject by birth to the city law.

M. Kopstadt (in his Dissertation above cited on Lacedæmonian affairs, sect. 7, p. 60) expresses much surprise at that which I advance in this note respecting Krête and Lacedæmôn—that in Krête there was no class of men analogous to the Lacedæmonian Periœki, but only two classes—*i.e.* free citizens and Helots. He thinks that this position is "prorsus falsum".

But I advance nothing more here than what is distinctly stated by Aristotle, as Kopstadt himself admits (p. 60, 71). Aristotle calls the subject class in Krête by the name of Περίοικοι. And in this case, the general presumptions go far to sustain the authority of Aristotle. For Sparta was a dominant or capital city, including in its dependence not only a considerable territory, but a considerable number of inferior, distinct organised townships. In Krête, on the contrary, each autonomous state included only a town with its circumjacent territory, but without any annexed townships. There was therefore no basis for the intermediate class called in Laconia Periœki: just as Kopstadt himself remarks (p. 78) about the Dorian city of Megara. There were only the two classes of free Krêtan citizens, and serf-cultivators in various modifications and subdivisions.

Kopstadt (following Hoeck, Krêta, B. III. vol. iii. p. 23) says that the authority of Aristotle on this point is overborne by that of Dosiadas and Sosikratês—authors who wrote specially on Krêtan affairs. Now if we were driven to make a choice, I confess that I should prefer the testimony of Aristotle—considering that we know little or nothing respecting the other two. But in this case I do not think that we are driven to make a choice: Dosiadas (ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 143) is not cited in terms, so that we cannot affirm him to contradict Aristotle; and Sosikratês (upon whom Hoeck and Kopstadt rely) says something which does not necessarily contradict him, but admits of being explained so as to place the two witnesses in harmony with each other.

Sosikratês says (ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 263), Τὴν μὲν κοινὴν δουλείαν οἱ Κρῆτες καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμιώτας, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους. Now the word περιοίκους seems to be here used just as Aristotle would have used it, to comprehend the Krêtan serfs universally: it is not distinguished from μνώιται and ἀφαμιῶται, but comprehends both of them as different species under a generic term. The authority of Aristotle affords a reason for preferring to construe the passage in this manner, and the words appear to me to admit of it fairly.

[1] The πόλεις of the Lacedæmonian Periœki are often noticed: see Xenophon (Agesilaus, ii. 24; Laced. Repub. xv. 3; Hellenic. vi. 5, 21).

Zurich, and most of the old thirteen cantons of Switzerland) embodied in the Lacedæmonian aggregate, which was governed exclusively by the kings, senate, and citizens of Sparta.

When we come to describe the democracy of Athens after the revolution of Kleisthenês, we shall find the demes, or local townships and villages of Attica, incorporated as equal and constituent fractions of the integer called The Deme (or The City) of Athens, so that a dêmot of Acharnæ or Sphêttus is at the same time a full Athenian citizen. But the relation of the Periœkic townships to Sparta is one of inequality and obedience, though both belong to the same political aggregate, and make up together the free Lacedæmonian community. In like manner, Orneæ and other places were townships of men personally free, but politically dependent on Argos—Akræphiæ on Thêbes—Chæroneia on Orchomenus—and various Thessalian towns on Pharsālus and Larissa.[1] This condition carried with it a sentiment of degradation, and a painful negation of that autonomy for which every Grecian community thirsted;[2] while being maintained through superior force, it had a natural tendency, perhaps without the deliberate wish of the reigning city, to degenerate into practical oppression. But in addition to this general tendency, the peculiar education of a Spartan, while it imparted force, fortitude, and regimental precision, was at the same time so rigorously peculiar, that it rendered him harsh, unaccommodating, and incapable of sympathising with the ordinary march of Grecian feeling,—not to mention the rapacity and love of money, which is attested, by good evidence, as belonging to the Spartan character,[3] and which we should hardly have expected to find in the pupils of Lykurgus. As Harmosts out of their native city,[4] and in relations with inferiors, the Spartans seem to have been more unpopular than other Greeks, and we may presume that a similar haughty roughness pervaded their

Special meaning of the word Periœki in Laconia.

[1] Herodot. viii. 73—135; Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1—8; Thucyd. iv. 76—94.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3, 5, 9, 19. Isokratês, writing in the days of Theban power, after the battle of Leuktra, characterises the Bœotian towns as περίοικοι of Thêbes (Or. viii. De Pace, p. 182); compare Orat. xiv. Plataic. p. 299—303. Xenophôn holds the same language, Hellen. v. 4, 46: compare Plutarch, Agesilaus, 28.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 23.

[4] Thucyd. i. 77—95; vi. 105. Isokratês (Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 283), Σπαρτιάτας δὲ ὑπεροπτικοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας, οἵους περ αὐτοὺς εἶναι πάντες ὑπειλήφασι. Compare his Oratio de Pace (Or. viii. p. 180—181); Oratio Panegyr. (Or. iv. p. 64—67).

dealings with their own Periœki, who were bound to them certainly by no tie of affection, and who for the most part revolted after the battle of Leuktra as soon as the invasion of Laconia by Epameinôndas enabled them to do so with safety.

Statement of Isokratês as to the origin of the Periœki.

Isokratês, taking his point of departure from the old Herakleid legend, with its instantaneous conquest and triple partition of all Dorian Peloponnêsus among the three Herakleid brethren, deduces the first origin of the Periœkic townships from internal seditions among the conquerors of Sparta. According to him, the period immediately succeeding the conquest was one of fierce intestine warfare in newly-conquered Sparta, between the Few and the Many,—the oligarchy and the dêmus. The former being victorious, two important measures were the consequences of their victory. They banished the defeated Many from Sparta into Laconia, retaining the residence in Sparta exclusively for themselves; they assigned to them the smallest and least fertile half of Laconia, monopolising the larger and better for themselves; and they disseminated them into many very small townships, or subordinate little communities, while they concentrated themselves entirely at Sparta. To these precautions for ensuring dominion they added another not less important. They established among their own Spartan citizens equality of legal privilege and democratical government, so as to take the greatest securities for internal harmony; which harmony, according to the judgment of Isokratês, had been but too effectually perpetuated, enabling the Spartans to achieve their dominion over oppressed Greece,—like the accord of pirates[1] for the spoliation of the peaceful. The Periœkic townships (he tells us), while deprived of all the privileges of freemen, were exposed to all the toils, as well as to an unfair share of the dangers of war. The Spartan authorities put them in situations and upon enterprises which they deemed too dangerous for their own citizens; and what was still worse, the ephors possessed the power of putting to death, without any form of preliminary trial, as many Periœki as they pleased.[2]

[1] Isokratês, Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 280. ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς διά γε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν δικαίως ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς καὶ λῃστὰς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδικίας ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμονοοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολλύουσι.

[2] Isokratês, Orat. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 270—271. The statement in the same oration (p. 246), that the Lace-

The statement here delivered by Isokratês, respecting the first origin of the distinction of Spartans and Periœki, is nothing better than a conjecture, nor is it even a probable conjecture, since it is based on the historical truth of the Herakleid legend, and transports the disputes of his own time between the oligarchy and the demus into an early period to which such disputes do not belong. Nor is there anything, as far as our knowledge of Grecian history extends, to bear out his assertion that the Spartans took to themselves the least dangerous post in the field, and threw undue peril upon their Periœki. Such dastardly temper was not among the sins of Sparta; but it is undoubtedly true, that as the number of citizens continually diminished, so the Periœki came to constitute, in the later times, a larger and larger proportion of the Spartan force. Yet the power which Isokratês represents to have been vested in the ephors, of putting to death Periœki without preliminary trial, we may fully believe to be real, and to have been exercised as often as the occasion seemed to call for it. We shall notice presently the way in which these magistrates dealt with the Helots, and shall see ample reason from thence to draw the conclusion, that whenever the ephors believed any man to be dangerous to the public peace, —whether an inferior Spartan, a Periœkus, or a Helot,—the most summary mode of getting rid of him would be considered as the best. Towards Spartans of rank and consideration they were doubtless careful and measured in their application of punishment, but the same necessity for circumspection did not exist with regard to the inferior classes: moreover, the feeling, that the exigencies of justice required a fair trial before punishment was inflicted, belongs to Athenian associations much more than to Spartan. How often any such summary executions may have taken place, we have no information.

We may remark that the account which Isokratês has here given of the origin of the Laconian Periœki is not essentially irreconcilable with that of Ephorus,[1] who recounted that Eurysthenês and Proklês, on first conquering Laconia, had granted to the pre-existing population equal rights with the Dorians—

dæmonians "had put to death without trial more *Greeks* (πλείους τῶν Ἑλλήνων) than had ever been tried at Athens since Athens was a city," refers to their allies or dependents out of Laconia.

[1] Ephorus, Fragm. 18, ed. Marx; ap. Strabo. viii. p. 365.

but that Agis, son of Eurysthenês, had deprived them of this equal position, and degraded them into dependent subjects of the latter. At least the two narratives both agree in presuming that the Perioeki had once enjoyed a better position, from which they had been extruded by violence. And the policy which Isokratês ascribes to the victorious Spartan oligarchs,—of driving out the demus from concentrated residence in the city to disseminated residence in many separate and insignificant townships,—seems to be the expression of that proceeding which in his time was numbered among the most efficient precautions against refractory subjects,—the Diœkisis, or breaking up of a town-aggregate into villages. We cannot assign to the statement any historical authority.[1] Moreover the division of Laconia into six districts, together with its distribution into townships (or the distribution of settlers into pre-existing townships), which Ephorus ascribed to the first Dorian kings, are all deductions from the primitive legendary account, which described the Dorian conquest as achieved at one stroke, and must all be dismissed, if we suppose it to have been achieved gradually. This gradual conquest is admitted by O. Müller and by many of the ablest subsequent inquirers—who nevertheless seem to have the contrary supposition involuntarily present to their minds when they criticise the early Spartan history, and always unconsciously imagine the Spartans as masters of all Laconia. We cannot even assert that Laconia was ever under one government before the consummation of the successive conquests of Sparta.

Statement of Ephorus —different from Isokratês, yet not wholly irreconcilable.

[1] Dr. Arnold (in his Dissertation on the Spartan Constitution, appended to the first volume of his Thucydidês, p. 643) places greater confidence in the historical value of this narrative of Isokratês than I am inclined to do. On the other hand, Sir G. C. Lewis, in his Review of Dr. Arnold's Dissertation (Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 45), considers the "account of Isokratês as completely inconsistent with that of Ephorus": which is saying rather more, perhaps, than the tenor of the two strictly warrants. In Sir G. Lewis's excellent article, most of the difficult points respecting the Spartan constitution will be found raised and discussed in a manner highly instructive.

Another point in the statement of Isokratês is, that the Dorians at the time of the original conquest of Laconia were only 2000 in number (Or. xii. Panath. p. 286). Mr. Clinton rejects this estimate as too small, and observes, "I suspect that Isokratês, in describing the numbers of the Dorians at the original conquest, has adapted to the description the actual numbers of the Spartans in his own time" (Fast. Hellen. ii. p. 408).

This seems to me a probable conjecture, and it illustrates as well the absence of data under which Isokratês or his informants laboured, as the method which they took to supply the deficiency.

Of the assertion of O. Müller—repeated by Schömann[1]—"that the difference of races was strictly preserved, and that the Periœki were always considered as Achæans"—I find no proof, and I believe it to be erroneous. Respecting Pharis, Geronthræ, and Amyklæ, three Periœkic towns, Pausanias gives us to understand that the pre-existing inhabitants were expelled some long time after the Dorian conquest, and that a Dorian population replaced them.[2] Without placing great faith in this statement, for which Pausanias could hardly have any good authority, we may yet accept it as representing the probabilities of the case and as counterbalancing the unsupported hypothesis of Müller. The Periœkic townships were probably composed either of Dorians entirely, or of Dorians incorporated in greater or less proportion with the pre-existing inhabitants. But whatever difference of race there may once have been, it was effaced before the historical times,[3] during which we find no proof of Achæans, known as such, in Laconia. The Herakleids, the

Spartans and Periœki—no distinction of race known between them in historical times.

[1] Schömann, Antiq. Jurisp. Græcorum, iv. 1, 5, p. 112.

[2] Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 22, 5. The statement of Müller is to be found in History of the Dorians, iii. 2, 1: he quotes a passage of Pausanias which is noway to the point.

Sir G. C. Lewis (Philolog. Mus. *ut sup.* p. 41) is of the same opinion as Müller.

[3] M. Kopstadt (in the learned Dissertation which I have before alluded to, De Rerum Laconicarum Constitutionis Lycurgææ Origine et Indole, cap. ii. p. 31) controverts this position respecting the Periœki. He appears to understand it in a sense which my words hardly present—at least a sense which I did not intend them to present: as if the majority of inhabitants in *each* of the hundred Periœkic towns were Dorians—"ut per centum Laconiæ oppida distributi *ubique majorem* incolarum numerum efficerent" (p. 32). I meant only to affirm that some of the Periœkic towns, such as Amyklæ, were wholly, or almost wholly, Dorian; many others of them partially Dorian. But what may have been the comparative numbers (probably different in each town) of Dorian and non-Dorian inhabitants—there are no means of determining. M. Kopstadt (p. 35) admits that Amyklæ, Pharis and Geronthræ, were Periœkic towns peopled by Dorians; and if this be true, it negatives the general maxim on the faith of which he contradicts what I affirm: his maxim is—"nunquam Dorienses à Doriensibus, nisi bello victi erant, civitate æquoque jure privati sunt" (p. 31). It is unsafe to lay down such large positions respecting a supposed uniformity of Dorian rules and practice. The high authority of O. Müller has been misleading in this respect.

It is plain that Herodotus (compare his expression, viii. 73 and i. 145) conceived all the free inhabitants of Laconia not as Achæans, but as Dorians. He believes in the story of the legend, that the Achæans, driven out of Laconia by the invading Dorians and Herakleidæ, occupied the territory in the north-west of Peloponnêsus which was afterwards called Achaia,—expelling from it the Ionians. Whatever may be the truth about this legendary statement—and whatever may have been the original proportions of Dorians and Achæans in Laconia—these two races had (in the fifth century B.C.) become confounded in one undistinguishable ethnical and political aggregate called Laconian or Lacedæ-

Ægeids, and the Talthybiads, all of whom belong to Sparta, seem to be the only examples of separate races (partially distinguishable from Dorians) known after the beginning of authentic history. The Spartans and the Perioeki constitute one political aggregate, and that too so completely melted together in the general opinion (speaking of the times before the battle of Leuktra), that the peace of Antalkidas, which guaranteed autonomy to every separate Grecian city, was never so construed as to divorce the Perioekic towns from Sparta. Both are known as Laconians or Lacedæmonians, and Sparta is regarded by Herodotus only as the first and bravest among the many and brave Lacedæmonian cities.[1] The victors at Olympia are proclaimed not as Spartans, but as Laconians,—a title alike borne by the Perioeki. And many of the numerous winners whose names we read in the Olympic lists as Laconians may probably have belonged to Amyklæ or other Perioekic towns.

The Perioekic hoplites constituted always a large—in later times a preponderant—numerical proportion of the Lacedæmonian army, and must undoubtedly have been trained, more or less perfectly, in the peculiar military tactics of Sparta; since they were called upon to obey the same orders as the Spartans in the field,[2] and to perform the same evolutions. Some cases appear, though rare, in which a Perioekus has high command in a foreign expedition. In the time of Aristotle, the larger proportion of Laconia (then meaning only the country eastward of Taygetus, since the foundation of Messênê by Epameinôndas had been consummated) belonged to Spartan citizens,[3] but the remaining

monian—comprising both Spartans and Perioeki, though with very unequal political franchises and very material differences in individual training and habits. The case was different in Thessaly, where the Thessalians held in dependence Magnêtes, Perrhæbi and Achæans: the separate nationality of these latter was never lost.

[1] Herod. vii. 234.

[2] Thucyd. viii. 6-22. They did not however partake in the Lykurgean discipline; but they seem to be named οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας παῖδες as contrasted with οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς (Sosibius ap. Athenæ. xv. p. 674).

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 23. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν, οὐκ ἐξετάζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς.

Sir G. C. Lewis, in the article above alluded to (Philolog. Mus. ii. p. 54) says about the Perioeki:—"They lived in the country or in small towns of the Laconian territory, and cultivated the land, which they did not hold of any individual citizen, but paid for it a tribute or rent to the state; being exactly in the same condition as the *possessores* of the Roman domain, or the Ryots in Hindostan before the introduction of the Permanent Settlement". It may be doubted, I think, whether the Perioeki paid any such rent or tribute as that which Sir G. Lewis here supposes. The passage just cited from Aristotle seems to show

smaller half must have been the property of the Periœki, who must besides have carried on most of the commerce of export and import—the metallurgic enterprise, and the distribution of internal produce—which the territory exhibited; since no Spartan ever meddled in such occupations. And thus the peculiar training of Lykurgus, by throwing all these employments into the hands of the Periœki, opened to them a new source of importance which the dependent townships of Argos, of Thêbes, or of Orchomenus would not enjoy.

The Helots of Laconia were Coloni or serfs bound to the soil, who tilled it for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors certainly —probably, of Periœkic proprietors also. They were the rustic population of the country, who dwelt, not in towns, but either in small villages[1] or in detached farms, both in the district immediately surrounding Sparta, and round the Periœkic Laconian towns also. Of course there were also Helots who lived in Sparta and other towns, and did the work of domestic slaves—but such was not the general character of the class. We cannot doubt that the Dorian conquest from Sparta found this class in the condition of villagers and detached rustics; but whether they were dependent upon pre-existing Achæan proprietors, or independent like much of the Arcadian village population, is a question which we cannot answer. In either case, however, it is easy to conceive that the village lands (with the cultivators upon them) were the most easy to appropriate for the benefit of masters resident at Sparta; while the towns, with the district immediately around them, furnished both dwelling and maintenance to the outgoing detachments of Dorians. If the Spartans had succeeded in their attempt

8. Helots—essentially villagers.

that they paid direct taxation individually, and just upon the same principle as the Spartan citizens, who are distinguished only by being larger landed proprietors. But though the principle of taxation be the same, there was practical injustice (according to Aristotle) in the mode of assessing it. "The Spartan citizens (he observes) being the largest landed-proprietors, take care not to canvass strictly *each other's payment of property-tax*"—*i.e.*, they wink mutually at each other's evasions. If the Spartans had been the *only* persons who paid εἰσφορά or property-tax, this observation of Aristotle would have had no meaning. In principle, the tax was assessed both on their larger properties, and on the smaller properties of the Periœki: in practice, the Spartans helped each other to evade the due proportion.

[1] The village-character of the Helots is distinctly marked by Livy, xxxiv. 27, in describing the inflictions of the despot Nabis:—"Ilotarum quidam (hi sunt jam inde antiquitus *castellani*, agreste genus) transfugere voluisse insimulati, per omnes *vicos* sub verberibus acti necantur".

to enlarge their territory by the conquest of Arcadia,[1] they might very probably have converted Tegea and Mantineia into Periœkic towns, with a diminished territory inhabited (either wholly or in part) by Dorian settlers—while they would have made over to proprietors in Sparta much of the village lands of the Mænalii, Azanes, and Parrhasii, helotising the inhabitants. The distinction between a town and a village population seems the main ground of the different treatment of Helots and Periœki in Laconia. A considerable proportion of the Helots were of genuine Dorian race, being the Dorian Messenians west of Mount Taygetus, subsequently conquered and aggregated to this class of dependent cultivators, who, as a class, must have begun to exist from the very first establishment of the invading Dorians in the district round Sparta. From whence the name of Helots arose we do not clearly make out: Ephorus deduced it from the town of Helus, on the southern coast, which the Spartans are said to have taken after a resistance so obstinate as to provoke them to deal very rigorously with the captives. There are many reasons for rejecting this story, and another etymology has been proposed according to which Helot is synonymous with *captive:* this is more plausible, yet still not convincing.[2] The Helots lived in the rural villages as *adscripti glebæ*, cultivating their lands and paying over their rent to the master at Sparta, but enjoying their homes, wives, families, and mutual neighbourly feelings apart from the master's view. They were never sold out of the country, and probably never sold at all; belonging not so much to the master as to the state, which constantly called upon them for military service, and recompensed their bravery or activity with a grant of freedom. Meno the Thessalian of Pharsālus took out three hundred Penestæ of his own to aid the Athenians against Amphipolis: these Thessalian Penestæ were in many points analogous to the Helots, but no individual Spartan possessed the like power over the latter. The Helots were thus a part of the state, having their domestic and social sympathies developed, a certain power of acquiring property,[3] and the consciousness

They were serfs—adscripti glebæ—their condition and treatment.

[1] Herodot. i. 66. ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοισι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.

[2] See O. Müller, Dorians iii. 3, 1; Ephorus ap. Strabo. vii. p. 365; Harpocration, v. Εἵλωτες.

[3] Kleomenès III. offered manumission to every Helot who could pay down five Attic minæ: he was in great

of Grecian lineage and dialect—points of marked superiority over the foreigners who formed the slave population of Athens or Chios. They seem to have been noway inferior to any village population of Greece; while the Grecian observer sympathised with them more strongly than with the bought slaves of other states—not to mention that their homogeneous aspect, their numbers, and their employment in military service, rendered them more conspicuous to the eye.

The service in the Spartan house was all performed by members of the Helot class; for there seem to have been few, if any, other slaves in the country. The various anecdotes which are told respecting their treatment at Sparta betoken less of cruelty than of ostentatious scorn[1]—a sentiment which we are noway surprised to discover among the citizens at the mess-table. But the great mass of the Helots, who dwelt in the country, were objects of a very different sentiment on the part of the Spartan ephors, who knew their bravery, energy, and standing discontent, and yet were forced to employ them as an essential portion of the state army. The Helots commonly served as light-armed, in which capacity the Spartan hoplites could not dispense with their attendance. At the battle of Platæa, every Spartan hoplite had seven Helots,[2] and every Periœkic hoplite one Helot to attend him:[3] but even in camp, the Spartan arrangements were framed to guard against any sudden mutiny of these light-armed

immediate want of money, and he raised by this means 500 talents. Six thousand Helots must thus have been in a condition to find five minæ each, which was a very considerable sum (Plutarch, Kleomenês, c. 23).

[1] Such is the statement that Helots were compelled to appear in a state of drunkenness, in order to excite in the youths a sentiment of repugnance against intoxication (Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 28; also Adversus Stoicos de Commun. Notit. c. 19, p. 1067).

[2] Herod. ix. 29. The Spartans at Thermopylæ seem to have been attended each by only one Helot (vii. 229).

O. Müller seems to consider that the light-armed who attended the Periœkic hoplites at Platæa were *not* Helots (Dor. iii. 3, 6). Herodotus does not distinctly say that they were so, but I see no reason for admitting two different classes of light-armed in the Spartan military force.

The calculation which Müller gives of the Number of Periœki and Helots altogether proceeds upon very untrustworthy data. Among them is to be noticed his supposition that πολιτικὴ χώρα means the district of Sparta as distinguished from Laconia, which is contrary to the passage in Polybius (vi. 45): πολιτικὴ χώρα *in* Polybius means the territory of the state generally.

[3] Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 12, 4. Kritias, De Lacedæm. Repub. ap. Libanium, Orat. de Servitute, t. ii. p. 85, Reisk. ὡς ἀπιστίας εἵνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἐξαιρεῖ μὲν Σπαρτιατῆς οἵκοι τῆς ἀσπίδος τὴν πόρπακα, &c.

companions, while at home the citizen habitually kept his shield disjoined from its holding-ring to prevent the possibility of its being snatched for the like purpose. Sometimes select Helots were clothed in heavy armour, and thus served in the ranks, receiving manumission from the state as the reward of distinguished bravery.[1]

Bravery and energy of the Helots—fear and cruelty of the Spartans.

But Sparta, even at the maximum of her power, was more than once endangered by the reality, and always beset with the apprehension, of Helotic revolt. To prevent or suppress it, the ephors submitted to insert express stipulation for aid in their treaties with Athens—to invite Athenian troops into the heart of Laconia—and to practise combinations of cunning and atrocity which even yet stand without parallel in the long list of precautions for fortifying unjust dominion. It was in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, after the Helots had been called upon for signal military efforts in various ways, and when the Athenians and Messenians were in possession of Pylus, that the ephors felt especially apprehensive of an outbreak. Anxious to single out the most forward and daring Helots, as the men from whom they had most to dread, they issued proclamation that every member of that class who had rendered distinguished services should make his claims known at Sparta, promising liberty to the most deserving. A large number of Helots came forward to claim the boon: not less than 2000 of them were approved, formally manumitted, and led in solemn procession round the temples, with garlands on their heads, as an inauguration to their coming life of freedom. But the treacherous garland only marked them out as victims for the sacrifice: every man of them forthwith disappeared,—the manner of their death was an untold mystery.

For this dark and bloody deed Thucydidês is our witness,[2] and Thucydidês describing a contemporary matter into which he had inquired. Upon any less evidence we should have hesitated to believe the statement; but standing as it thus does above all suspicion, it speaks volumes as to the inhuman character of the Lace-

Evidence of the character of the Spartan government.

[1] Thucyd. i. 101; iv. 80; v. 14—23. ὕστερον ἠφάνισάν τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἤσθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη.
[2] Thucyd. iv. 20. οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ

dæmonian government, while it lays open to us at the same time the intensity of their fears from the Helots. In the assassination of this fated regiment of brave men, a large number of auxiliaries and instruments must have been concerned; yet Thucydidês with all his inquiries could not find out how any of them perished: he tells us that no man knew. We see here a fact which demonstrates unequivocally the impenetrable mystery in which the proceedings of the Spartan government were wrapped, —the absence not only of public discussion, but of public curiosity, —and the perfection with which the ephors reigned over the will, the hands, and the tongues of their Spartan subjects. The Venetian Council of Ten, with all the facilities for nocturnal drowning which their city presented, could hardly have accomplished so vast a *coup d'état* with such invisible means. And we may judge from hence, even if we had no other evidence, how little the habits of a public assembly could have suited either the temper of mind or the march of government at Sparta.

Other proceedings, ascribed to the ephors, against the Helots, are conceived in the same spirit as the incident just recounted from Thucydidês, though they do not carry with them the same certain attestation. It was a part of the institutions of Lykurgus (according to a statement which Plutarch professes to have borrowed from Aristotle) that the ephors should every year declare war against the Helots, in order that the murder of them might be rendered innocent; and that active young Spartans should be armed with daggers and sent about Laconia, in order that they might, either in solitude or at night, assassinate such of the Helots as were considered formidable.[1] This last measure passes by the name of the Krypteia, yet we find some difficulty in determining to what extent it was ever realised. That the ephors, indeed, would not be restrained by any scruples of justice or humanity, is plainly shown by the murder of the 2000 Helots above noticed. But this latter incident really answered its purpose; while a standing practice such as that of the Krypteia, and a formal notice of war given beforehand, would provoke the reaction of despair rather than enforce tranquillity. There seems indeed good evidence that the

The Krypteia.

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 28; Heraclides Pontic. p. 504, ed. Crag.

Krypteia was a real practice,[1]—that the ephors kept up a system of police or espionage throughout Laconia by the employment of active young citizens, who lived a hard and solitary life, and suffered their motions to be as little detected as possible. The ephors might naturally enough take this method of keeping watch both over the Periœkic townships and the Helot villages, and the assassination of individual Helots by these policemen or Krypts would probably pass unnoticed. But it is impossible to believe in any standing murderous order, or deliberate annual assassination of Helots, for the purpose of intimidation, as Aristotle is alleged to have represented—for we may well doubt whether he really did make such a representation, when we see that he takes no notice of this measure in his Politics, where he speaks at some length both of the Spartan constitution and of the Helots. The well-known hatred and fear, entertained by the Spartans towards their Helots, has probably coloured Plutarch's description of the Krypteia, so as to exaggerate those unpunished murders which occasionally happened into a constant phænomenon with express design. A similar deduction is to be made from the statement of Myrôn of Priênê,[2] who alleged that they were beaten every year without any special fault, in order to put them in mind of their slavery—and that those Helots, whose superior beauty or stature placed them above the visible stamp of their condition, were put to death; whilst such masters as neglected to keep down the spirit of their vigorous Helots were punished. That secrecy, for which the ephors were so remarkable, seems enough of itself to refute the assertion that they publicly proclaimed war against the Helots; though we may well believe that this unhappy class of men may have been noticed as objects for jealous observation in the annual ephoric oath of office. Whatever may have been the treatment of the Helots in later times, it is at all events hardly to be supposed that any regulation hostile to them can have emanated from Lykurgus. For the dangers arising from that source did not become serious until after the Messenian war—nor indeed until after the gradual

[1] Plato, Legg. i. p. 633: the words of the Lacedæmonian Megillus designate an existing Spartan custom. Compare the same treatise, vi. p. 763, where Ast suspects, without reason, the genuineness of the word κρυπτοί.

[2] Myrôn, ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 657. ἐπικόπτειν τοὺς ἀδρυνμένους does not strictly or necessarily mean "to put to death".

diminution of the number of Spartan citizens had made itself felt.

The manumitted Helots did not pass into the class of Periœki, —for this purpose a special grant, of the freedom of some Periœkic township, would probably be required, —but constituted a class apart, known at the time of the Peloponnesian war by the name of Neodamôdes. Being persons who had earned their liberty by signal bravery, they were of course regarded by the ephors with peculiar apprehension, and, if possible, employed on foreign service,[1] or planted on some foreign soil as settlers. In what manner these freedmen employed themselves, we find no distinct information ; but we can hardly doubt that they quitted the Helot village and field, together with the rural costume (the leather cap and sheepskin) which the Helot commonly wore, and the change of which exposed him to suspicion, if not to punishment, from his jealous masters. Probably they, as well as the disfranchised Spartan citizens (called Hypomeiones or Inferiors), became congregated at Sparta, and found employment either in various trades or in the service of the government.

Manumitted Helots.

It has been necessary to give this short sketch of the orders of men who inhabited Laconia, in order to enable us to understand the statements given about the legislation of Lykurgus. The arrangements ascribed to that lawgiver, in the way that Plutarch describes them, presuppose, and do not create, the three orders of Spartans, Periœki, and Helots. We are told by Plutarch that the disorders which Lykurgus found existing in the state arose in a great measure from the gross inequality of property, and from the luxurious indulgence and unprincipled rapacity of the rich—who had drawn to themselves the greater portion of the lands in the country, leaving a large body of poor, without any lot of land, in hopeless misery and degradation. To this inequality (according to Plutarch) the reforming legislator applied at once a stringent remedy. He redistributed the whole territory belonging to Sparta, as well as the remainder of Laconia ; the former in 9000 equal lots, one to each Spartan citizen ; the latter in 30,000 equal lots, one to each Periœkus : of this

Economical and social regulations ascribed to Lykurgus.

Partition of lands.

[1] Thucyd. v. 34.

alleged distribution I shall speak further presently. Moreover he banished the use of gold and silver money, tolerating nothing in the shape of circulating medium but pieces of iron, heavy and scarcely portable; and he forbade[1] to the Spartan citizen every species of industrious or money-seeking occupation, agriculture included. He farther constituted—though not without strenuous opposition, during the course of which his eye is said to have been knocked out by a violent youth, named Alkander—the Syssitia or public mess. A certain number of joint tables were provided, and every citizen was required to belong to some one of them and habitually to take his meals at it[2]—no new member being admissible without a unanimous ballot in his favour by the previous occupants. Each provided from his lot of land a specified quota of barley-meal, wine, cheese and figs, and a small contribution of money for condiments: game was obtained in addition by hunting in the public forests of the state, while every one who sacrificed to the gods,[3] sent to his mess-table a part of the victim killed. From boyhood to old age, every Spartan citizen took his sober meals at this public mess, where all shared alike; nor was distinction of any kind allowed, except on signal occasions of service rendered by an individual to the state.

Syssitia or public mess

These public Syssitia, under the management of the Polemarchs, were connected with the military distribution, the constant gymnastic training, and the rigorous discipline of detail, enforced by Lykurgus. From the early age of seven years, throughout his whole life, as youth and man no less than as boy, the Spartan citizen lived habitually in public, always either himself under drill, gymnastic and military, or a critic and spectator of others—always under the fetters and observances of a rule partly military, partly monastic—estranged from the independence of a separate home—seeing his wife, during the first years after marriage, only by stealth, and maintaining little peculiar relation with his children. The supervision not only of his fellow-citizens, but also of authorised censors or captains nominated by the state, was perpetually acting upon him: his

Public training or discipline

[1] Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 7.

[2] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 15; substantially confirmed by Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 1, 5.

[3] See the authors quoted in Athenæus, iv. p. 141.

day was passed in public exercises and meals, his nights in the public barrack to which he belonged. Besides the particular military drill, whereby the complicated movements, required from a body of Lacedæmonian hoplites in the field, were made familiar to him from his youth—he also became subject to severe bodily discipline of other kinds calculated to impart strength, activity, and endurance. To manifest a daring and pugnacious spirit—to sustain the greatest bodily torture unmoved—to endure hunger and thirst, heat, cold, and fatigue—to tread the worst ground barefoot, to wear the same garment winter and summer—to suppress external manifestations of feeling, and to exhibit in public, when action was not called for, a bearing shy, silent, and motionless as a statue—all these were the virtues of the accomplished Spartan youth.[1] Two squadrons were often matched against each other to contend (without arms) in the little insular circumscription called the Platanistûs, and these contests were carried on, under the eye of the authorities, with the utmost extremity of fury. Nor was the competition among them less obstinate, to bear without murmur the cruel scourgings inflicted before the altar of Artemis Orthia, supposed to be highly acceptable to the goddess, though they sometimes terminated even in the death of the uncomplaining sufferer.[2] Besides the various

[1] Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 2—3, 3—5, 4—6. The extreme pains taken to enforce καρτερία (fortitude and endurance) in the Spartan system is especially dwelt upon by Aristotle (Politica, ii. 6, 5—16); compare Plato, De Legibus, i. p. 633; Xenophon, De Laced. Repub. ii. 9—with the references in Schneider's note; likewise Cragius, De Republica Laced. iii. 8, p. 325.

[2] It is remarkable that these violent contentions of the youth, wherein kicking, biting, gouging out each other's eyes, was resorted to—as well as the διαμαστίγωσις or scourging-match before the altar of Artemis—lasted down to the closing days of Sparta, and were actually seen by Cicero, Plutarch, and even Pausanias. Plutarch had seen several persons die under the suffering (Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 16, 18—30; and Instituta Laconica, p. 239; Pausan. iii. 14, 9, 16, 7; Cicero, Tuscul. Disp. ii. 15).

The voluntary tortures undergone by the young men among the Mandan tribe of Indians at their annual religious festival, in the presence of the elders of the tribe, afford a striking illustration of the same principles and tendencies as this Spartan διαμαστίγωσις. They are endured partly under the influence of religious feelings, as an acceptable offering to the Great Spirit—partly as a point of emulation and glory on the part of the young men, to show themselves worthy and unconquerable in the eyes of their seniors. The intensity of these tortures is indeed frightful to read, and far surpasses in that respect anything ever witnessed at Sparta. It would be incredible, were it not attested by a trustworthy eye-witness.

See Mr. Catlin's Letters on the North American Indians, Letter 22, vol. i. p. 157 *seqq.*

"These religious ceremonies are held, in part, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive at manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture; which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and

descriptions of gymnastic contests, the youths were instructed in the choric dances employed in festivals of the god, which contributed to impart to them methodized and harmonious movements. Hunting in the woods and mountains of Laconia was encouraged, as a means inuring them to fatigue and privation. The nourishment supplied to the youthful Spartans was purposely kept insufficient, but they were allowed to make up the deficiency not only by hunting, but even by stealing whatever they could lay hands upon, provided they could do so without being detected in the fact; in which latter case they were severely chastised.[1] In reference simply to bodily results,[2] the training at Sparta was excellent, combining strength and agility with universal aptitude and endurance, and steering clear of that mistake by which Thêbes and other cities impaired the effect of their gymnastics—the attempt to create an athletic habit, suited for the games but suited for nothing else.

Manners and training of the Spartan women—opinion of Aristotle.

Of all the attributes of this remarkable community, there is none more difficult to make out clearly than the condition and character of the Spartan women. Aristotle asserts that in his time they were imperious and unruly, without being really so brave and useful in moments of danger as other Grecian females;[3] that they possessed great influence over the men, and even exercised much ascendency over the course of public

prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs, who are spectators of the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings that often fall to the lot of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war-party in case of emergency."—Again, p. 173, &c.

The *καρτερία* or power of endurance (Aristot. Pol. ii. 6, 2—16) which formed one of the prominent objects of the Lykurgean training, dwindles into nothing compared to that of the Mandan Indians.

[1] Xenophon, Anab. iv. 6, 14; and De Repub. Lac. c. 2, 6; Isokratês, Or. xii. (Panath.) p. 277. It is these licensed expeditions for thieving, I presume, to which Isokratês alludes when he speaks of *τῆς παίδων αὐτονομίας* at Sparta, which in its natural sense would be the reverse of the truth (p. 277).

[2] Aristotel. Polit. viii. 3, 8—the remark is curious—*νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἕξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τά τ' εἴδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων· οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ἥμαρτον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*, &c. Compare the remark in Plato, Protagor. p. 342.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 5; Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 31. Aristotle alludes to the conduct of the Spartan women on the occasion of the invasion of Laconia by the Thebans, as an evidence of his opinion respecting their want of courage. His judgment in this respect seems hard upon them, and he probably had formed to himself exaggerated notions of what their courage under such circumstances ought to

affairs; and that nearly half the landed property of Laconia had come to belong to them. The exemption of the women from all control formed, in his eye, a pointed contrast with the rigorous discipline imposed upon the men,—and a contrast hardly less pointed with the condition of women in other Grecian cities where they were habitually confined to the interior of the house, and seldom appeared in public. While the Spartan husband went through the hard details of his ascetic life, and dined on the plainest fare at the Pheidition or mess, the wife (it appears) maintained an ample and luxurious establishment at home, and the desire to provide for such outlay was one of the causes of that love of money which prevailed among men forbidden to enjoy it in the ordinary ways. To explain this antithesis between the treatment of the two sexes at Sparta, Aristotle was informed that Lykurgus had tried to bring the women no less than the men under a system of discipline, but that they made so obstinate a resistance as to compel him to desist.[1]

The view here given by the philosopher, and deserving of course careful attention, is not easy to reconcile with that of Xenophôn and Plutarch, who look upon the Spartan women from a different side, and represent them as worthy and homogeneous companions to the men. The Lykurgean system (as these authors describe it), considering the women as a part of the state, and not as a part of the house, placed them under training hardly less than the men. Its grand purpose, the maintenance of a vigorous breed of citizens, determined both the treatment of the younger women, and the regulations as to the intercourse of the sexes. "Female slaves are good enough (Lykurgus thought) to sit at home spinning and weaving—but who can expect a splendid offspring, the appropriate mission and duty of a free Spartan woman towards her country, from mothers brought up in such occupations?"[2] Pursuant to these views, the Spartan damsels underwent a bodily training analogous to that of the Spartan youth—being formally exercised, and

Statement of Xenophôn and Plutarch.

have been, as the result of their peculiar training. We may add that their violent demonstrations on that trying occasion may well have arisen quite as much from the agony of wounded honour as from fear, when we consider what an event the appearance of a conquering enemy near Sparta was.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 5, 8, 11.

[2] Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 3—4; Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 13—14.

contending with each other in running, wrestling, and boxing agreeably to the forms of the Grecian agônes. They seem to have worn a light tunic, cut open at the skirts, so as to leave the limbs both free and exposed to view—hence Plutarch speaks of them as completely uncovered, while other critics in different quarters of Greece heaped similar reproach upon the practice, as if it had been perfect nakedness.[1] The presence of the Spartan youths, and even of the kings and the body of citizens, at these exercises, lent animation to the scene. In like manner, the young women marched in the religious processions, sung and danced at particular festivals, and witnessed as spectators the exercises and contentions of the youths; so that the two sexes were perpetually intermingled with each other in public, in a way foreign to the habits, as well as repugnant to the feelings, of other Grecian states. We may well conceive that such an education imparted to the women both a demonstrative character and an eager interest in masculine accomplishments, so that the expression of their praise was the strongest stimulus, and that of their reproach the bitterest humiliation, to the youthful troop who heard it.

The age of marriage (which in some of the unrestricted cities of Greece was so early as to deteriorate visibly the breed of citizens)[2] was deferred by the Spartan law, both in women and men, until the period supposed to be most consistent with the perfection of the offspring. And when we read the restriction which Spartan custom imposed upon the intercourse even between married persons, we shall conclude without hesitation that the public intermixture of the sexes in the way just described led to no such liberties, between persons not married, as might be likely to arise from it under other circumstances.[3] Marriage was almost universal among the citizens, enforced by general opinion at least,

[1] Eurip. Androm. 598; Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. ii. 15. The epithet φαινομηρίδες, as old as the poet Ibykus, shows that the Spartan women were not uncovered (see Julius Pollux, vii. 55).

It is scarcely worth while to notice the poetical allusions of Ovid and Propertius.

How completely the practice of gymnastic and military training for young women, analogous to that of the other sex, was approved by Plato, may be seen from the injunctions in his Republic.

[2] Aristot. Polit. vii. 14, 4.

[3] "It is certain (observes Dr. Thirlwall, speaking of the Spartan unmarried women) that in this respect the Spartan morals were as pure as those of any ancient, perhaps of any modern, people." (History of Greece, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 371.)

if not by law. The young Spartan carried away his bride by a simulated abduction, but she still seems, for some time at least, to have continued to reside with her family, visiting her husband in his barrack in the disguise of male attire and on short and stolen occasions.[1] To some married couples, according to Plutarch, it happened, that they had been married long enough to have two or three children, while they had scarcely seen each other apart by daylight. Secret intrigue on the part of married women was unknown at Sparta; but to bring together the finest couples was regarded by the citizens as desirable, and by the lawgiver as a duty. No personal feeling or jealousy on the part of the husband found sympathy from any one—and he permitted without difficulty, sometimes actively encouraged, compliances on the part of his wife consistent with this generally acknowledged object. So far was such toleration carried, that there were some married women who were recognised mistresses of two houses,[2] and mothers of two distinct families,—a sort of bigamy strictly forbidden to the men, and never permitted except in the remarkable case of king Anaxandridês, when the royal Herakleidan line of Eurysthenês was in danger of becoming extinct. The wife of Anaxandridês being childless, the ephors strongly urged him, on grounds of public necessity, to repudiate her and marry another. But he refused to dismiss a wife who had given him no cause of complaint; upon which, when they found him inexorable, they desired him to retain her, but to marry another wife besides, in order that at any rate there might be issue to the Eurystheneid line. "He thus (says Herodotus) married two wives, and inhabited two family hearths, a proceeding unknown at Sparta;"[3] yet the same privilege which, according to Xenophôn, some Spartan women enjoyed without reproach from any one, and with perfect harmony between the inmates of both their houses.

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 14; Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 5. Xenophôn does not make any allusion to the abduction as a general custom. There occurred cases in which it was real and violent: see Herod. v. 65. Demaratus carried off and married the betrothed bride of Leutychidas.

[2] Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 9. Εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τούτῳ νόμον ἐποίησεν, ἤντινα ἂν εὔτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὁρᾷ, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα, ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνεχώρει. Αἵ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες δίττους οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν, οἵ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, οἳ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται.

[3] Herodot. v. 39—40. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο, διξὰς ἱστίας οἴκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμὰ Σπαρτιητικά.

O. Müller[1] remarks—and the evidence, as far as we know it, bears him out—that love marriages and genuine affection towards a wife were more familiar to Sparta than to Athens; though in the former marital jealousy was a sentiment neither indulged nor recognised—while in the latter it was intense and universal.[2]

Number of rich women in the time of Aristotle—they had probably procured exemption from the general training.

To reconcile the careful gymnastic training, which Xenophôn and Plutarch mention, with that uncontrolled luxury and relaxation which Aristotle condemns in the Spartan women, we may perhaps suppose, that in the time of the latter the women of high position and wealth had contrived to emancipate themselves from the general obligation, and that it is of such particular cases that he chiefly speaks. He dwells especially upon the increasing tendency to accumulate property in the hands of the women,[3] which seems to have been still more conspicuous a century afterwards in the reign of Agis III. And we may readily imagine that one of the employments of wealth thus acquired would be to purchase exemption from laborious training,—an object more easy to accomplish in their case than in that of the men, whose services were required by the state as soldiers. By what steps so large a proportion as two-fifths of the landed property of the state came to be possessed by women, he partially explains to us. There were (he says) many sole heiresses, —the dowries given by fathers to their daughters were very large, —and the father had unlimited power of testamentary bequest, which he was disposed to use to the advantage of his daughter over his son. Perfect equality of bequest or inheritance between the two sexes, without any preference for females, would accomplish a great deal: but besides this, we are told by Aristotle that there was in the Spartan mind a peculiar sympathy and yielding disposition towards women, which he ascribes to the warlike temper both of the citizen and of the state—Arês bearing the yoke

[1] Müller, Hist. of Dorians, iv. 4, 1. The stories recounted by Plutarch (Agis, c. 20; Kleomenês, c. 37—38) of the conduct of Agesistrata and Kratesikleia, the wives of Agis and Kleomenês, and of the wife of Panteus (whom he does not name) on occasion of the deaths of their respective husbands, illustrate powerfully the strong conjugal affection of a Spartan woman, and her devoted adherence and fortitude in sharing with her husband the last extremities of suffering.

[2] See the Oration of Lysias, De Cæde Eratosthenis, Orat. i. p. 94 *seq.*

[3] Plutarch, Agis, c. 4.

of Aphroditê.[1] But apart from such a consideration, if we suppose on the part of a wealthy Spartan father the simple disposition to treat sons and daughters alike as to bequest,—nearly one half of the inherited mass of property would naturally be found in the hands of the daughters, since on an average of families the number of the two sexes born is nearly equal. In most societies, it is the men who make new acquisitions: but this seldom or never happened with Spartan men, who disdained all money-getting occupations.

Xenophôn, a warm panegyrist of Spartan manners, points with some pride to the tall and vigorous breed of citizens which the Lykurgic institutions had produced. The beauty of the Lacedæmonian women was notorious throughout Greece, and Lampitô, the Lacedæmonian woman introduced in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, is made to receive from the Athenian women the loudest compliments upon her fine shape and masculine vigour.[2] We may remark that, on this as well as on the other points, Xenophôn emphatically insists on the peculiarity of Spartan institutions, contradicting thus the views of those who regard them merely as something a little hyper-Dorian. Indeed such peculiarity seems never to have been questioned in antiquity, either by the enemies or by the admirers of Sparta. And those who censured the public masculine exercises of the Spartan maidens, as well as the liberty tolerated in married women, allowed at the same time that the feelings of both were actively identified with the state to a degree hardly known in Greece; that the patriotism of the men greatly depended upon the sympathy of the other sex, which manifested itself publicly, in a manner not compatible with the recluse life of Grecian women generally, to the exaltation of the brave as well as to the abasement of the recreant; and that the dignified bearing of the Spartan matrons under private family loss seriously assisted the state in the task of bearing up against public reverses. "Return either with your shield or upon it," was their exhortation to their sons when departing for foreign service: and after the fatal day of Leuktra, those mothers who had to welcome home

Earnest and lofty patriotism of the Spartan women.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 6; Plutarch, Agis, c. 4. τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κατηκόους ὄντας ἀεὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλεῖον ἐκείναις τῶν δημοσίων, ἢ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῖς, πολυπραγμονεῖν δίδοντας.

[2] Aristophan. Lysistr. 80.

their surviving sons in dishonour and defeat were the bitter sufferers; while those whose sons had perished maintained a bearing comparatively cheerful.[1]

Such were the leading points of the memorable Spartan discipline, strengthened in its effect on the mind by the absence of communication with strangers. For no Spartan could go abroad without leave, nor were strangers permitted to stay at Sparta; they came thither, it seems, by a sort of sufferance, but the uncourteous process called xenêlasy[2] was always available to remove them, nor could there arise in Sparta that class of resident metics or aliens who constituted a large part of the population of Athens, and seem to have been found in most other Grecian towns. It is in this universal schooling, training and drilling imposed alike upon boys and men, youths and virgins, rich and poor, that the distinctive attribute of Sparta is to be sought—not in her laws or political constitution.

Lykurgus is the trainer of a military brotherhood, more than the framer of a political constitution.

Lykurgus (or the individual to whom this system is owing, whoever he was) is the founder of a warlike brotherhood rather than the lawgiver of a political community; his brethren live together like bees in a hive (to borrow a simile from Plutarch), with all their feelings implicated in the commonwealth, and divorced from house and home.[3] Far from contemplating the society as a whole, with its multifarious wants and liabilities, he interdicts beforehand, by one of the three primitive Rhetræ, all written laws, that is to say, all formal and premeditated enactments on any special subject. When disputes are to be settled or judicial interference is required, the magistrate is to decide from his own sense of equity: that the magistrate will not depart from the established customs and recognised purposes of the city, is presumed from the personal discipline

[1] See the remarkable account in Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 16; Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 29; one of the most striking incidents in Grecian history. Compare also the string of sayings ascribed to Lacedæmonian women, in Plutarch, Lac. Apophth. p. 241 *seq.*

[2] How offensive the Lacedæmonian xenêlasy or expulsion of strangers appeared in Greece, we may see from the speeches of Periklês in Thucydidês (i. 144; ii. 39). Compare Xenophon, Rep. Lac. xiv. 4; Plutarch, Agis, c. 10; Lykurgus, c. 27; Plato, Protagoras, p. 348.

No Spartan left the country without permission: Isokratês, Orat. xi. (Busiris), p. 225; Xenoph. *ut sup.*

Both these regulations became much relaxed after the close of the Peloponnesian war.

[3] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 25.

which he and the select body to whom he belongs have undergone. It is this select body, maintained by the labour of others, over whom Lykurgus exclusively watches, with the provident eye of a trainer, for the purpose of disciplining them into a state of regimental preparation,[1] single-minded obedience, and bodily efficiency and endurance, so that they may be always fit and ready for defence, for conquest, and for dominion. The parallel of the Lykurgean institutions is to be found in the Republic of Plato, who approves the Spartan principle of select guardians carefully trained and administering the community at discretion; with this momentous difference indeed, that the Spartan character[2] formed by Lykurgus is of a low type, rendered savage and fierce by exclusive and overdone bodily discipline,—destitute even of the elements of letters,—immersed in their own narrow specialities, and taught to despise all that lay beyond,—possessing all the qualities requisite to procure dominion, but none of those calculated to render dominion popular or salutary to the subject; while the habits and attributes of the guardians, as shadowed forth by Plato, are enlarged as well as philanthropic, qualifying them not simply to govern, but to govern for purposes protective, conciliatory, and exalted. Both Plato and Aristotle conceive as the perfection of society something of the Spartan type—a select body of equally privileged citizens, disengaged from industrious pursuits, and subjected to public and uniform training. Both admit (with Lykurgus) that the citizen belongs neither to himself nor to his family, but to his city; both at the same time note with regret that the Spartan training was turned only to one

[1] Plutarch observes justly about Sparta under the discipline of Lykurgus, that it was "not the polity of a city, but the life of a trained and skilful man"—*οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα* (Plutarch, Lyk. c. 30).

About the perfect habit of obedience at Sparta, see Xenophon, Memorab. iii. 5, 9, 15—iv. 4, 15, the grand attributes of Sparta in the eyes of its admirers (Isokratês, Panathen. Or. xii. p. 256—278), *πειθαρχία—σωφροσύνη—τὰ γυμνάσια τάχει καθεστῶτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν τῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συνόλως τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίαν.*

[2] Aristot. Polit. viii. 3, 3. *Οἱ Λάκωνες . . . . θηριώδεις ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις.*

That the Spartans were absolutely ignorant of letters, and could not read, is expressly stated by Isokratês (Panathen. Or. xii. p. 277), *οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰσὶν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν*, &c.

The preference of rhetoric to accuracy is so manifest in Isokratês, that we ought to understand his expressions with some reserve; but in this case it is evident that he means literally what he says, for in another part of the same discourse there is an expression dropt almost unconsciously which confirms it. "The most rational Spartans (he says) will appreciate this discourse, if they *find any one to read it to them*"—*ἢν λάβωσι τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον* (p. 285).

portion of human virtue—that which is called forth in a state of war;[1] the citizens being converted into a sort of garrison, always under drill, and always ready to be called forth either against Helots at home or against enemies abroad. Such exclusive tendency will appear less astonishing if we consider the very early and insecure period at which the Lykurgean institutions arose, when none of those guarantees which afterwards maintained the peace of the Hellenic world had as yet become effective—no constant habits of intercourse, no custom of meeting in Amphiktyony from the distant parts of Greece, no common or largely frequented festivals, no multiplication of proxenies (or standing tickets of hospitality) between the important cities, no pacific or industrious habits anywhere. When we contemplate the general insecurity of Grecian life in the ninth or eighth century before the Christian æra, and especially the precarious condition of a small band of Dorian conquerors, in Sparta and its district, with subdued Helots on their own lands and Achæans unsubdued all around them—we shall not be surprised that the language which Brasidas in the Peloponnesian war addresses to his army in reference to the original Spartan settlement, was still more powerfully present to the mind of Lykurgus four centuries earlier—"We are a few in the midst of many enemies; we can only maintain ourselves by fighting and conquering".[2]

His end, exclusively warlike—his means, exclusively severe.

Under such circumstances, the exclusive aim which Lykurgus proposed to himself is easily understood; but what is truly surprising, is the violence of his means and the success of the result. He realised his project of creating in the 8000 or 9000 Spartan citizens unrivalled habits of obedience, hardihood, self-denial, and military aptitude—complete subjection on the part of each individual to the local public opinion, and preference of death to the abandonment of Spartan maxims—intense ambition on the part of every one to distinguish himself within the prescribed sphere of duties, with little ambition for anything else. In what

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 22; vii. 13, 11; viii. 1, 3; viii. 3, 3. Plato, Legg. i. p. 626—629. Plutarch, Solôn, c. 22.

[2] Thucyd. iv. 126. Οἵ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τοιούτων ἥκετε, ἐν αἷς, οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσι, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων μᾶλλον ἐλάσσονς· οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν δυναστείαν ἢ τῷ μαχόμενοι κρατεῖν.

The most remarkable circumstance is, that these words are addressed by Brasidas to an army composed in large proportion of manumitted Helots (Thucyd. iv. 81).

manner so rigorous a system of individual training can have been first brought to bear upon any community, mastering the course of the thoughts and actions from boyhood to old age—a work far more difficult than any political revolution—we are not permitted to discover. Nor does even the influence of an earnest and energetic Herakleid man—seconded by the still more powerful working of the Delphian god behind, upon the strong pious susceptibilities of the Spartan mind—sufficiently explain a phænomenon so remarkable in the history of mankind, unless we suppose them aided by some combination of co-operating circumstances which history has not transmitted to us,[1] and preceded by disorders so exaggerated as to render the citizens glad to escape from them at any price.

Statements of Plutarch about Lykurgus—much romance in them.

Respecting the ante-Lykurgean Sparta we possess no positive information whatever. But although this unfortunate gap cannot be filled up, we may yet master the negative probabilities of the case sufficiently to see that in what Plutarch has told us (and from Plutarch the modern views have, until lately, been derived), there is indeed a basis of reality, but there is also a large superstructure of romance,—in not a few particulars essentially misleading. For example, Plutarch treats Lykurgus as introducing his reforms at a time when Sparta was mistress of Laconia, and distributing the whole of that territory among the Perioeki. Now we know that Laconia was not then in possession of Sparta, and that the partition of Lykurgus (assuming it to be real) could only have been applied to the land in the immediate vicinity of the latter. For even Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ were not conquered until the reign of Têleklus, posterior to any period which we can reasonably assign to Lykurgus: nor can any such distribution of Laconia have really occurred. Farther we are told that Lykurgus banished from Sparta coined gold and silver, useless professions and frivolities, eager pursuit of gain, and ostentatious display. Without dwelling upon the improbability that any one of these anti-Spartan characteristics should have existed at so early a period as the ninth century before the Christian æra, we may at least be certain that coined silver was not then to be found, since

[1] Plato treats the system of Lykurgus as emanating from the Delphian Apollo, and Lykurgus as his missionary (Legg. i. p. 632).

it was first introduced into Greece by Pheidôn of Argos in the succeeding century, as has been stated in the preceding section.

New partition of lands—no such measure ascribed to Lykurgus by earlier authors down to Aristotle.

But amongst all the points stated by Plutarch, the most suspicious by far, and the most misleading, because endless calculations have been built upon it, is the alleged redivision of landed property. He tells us that Lykurgus found fearful inequality in the landed possessions of the Spartans; nearly all the land in the hands of a few, and a great multitude without any land; that he rectified this evil by a redivision of the Spartan district into 9000 equal lots, and the rest of Laconia into 30,000, giving to each citizen as much as would produce a given quota of barley, &c.; and that he wished moreover to have divided the movable property upon similar principles of equality, but was deterred by the difficulties of carrying his design into execution.

Now we shall find on consideration that this new and equal partition of lands by Lykurgus is still more at variance with fact and probability than the two former alleged proceedings. All the historical evidences exhibit decided inequalities of property among the Spartans—inequalities which tended constantly to increase; moreover, the earlier authors do not conceive this evil as having grown up by way of abuse out of a primæval system of perfect equality, nor do they know anything of the original equal redivision by Lykurgus. Even as early as the poet Alkæus (B.C. 600—580) we find bitter complaints of the oppressive ascendency of wealth, and the degradation of the poor man, cited as having been pronounced by Aristodêmus at Sparta: "Wealth (said he) makes the man—no poor person is either accounted good or honoured".[1] Next, the historian Hellanikus certainly knew nothing of the Lykurgean redivision—for he ascribed the whole Spartan polity to Eurysthenês and Proklês, the original founders, and hardly noticed Lykurgus at all. Again, in the brief but impressive description of the Spartan lawgiver by Herodotus, several other institutions are alluded

[1] Alcæi Fragment. 41, p. 279, ed. Schneidewin:—

Εἰπήν—Χρήματ' ἀνήρ· πενιχρὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πέλετ' ἐσθλὸς οὐδὲ τίμιος.

Ὡς γὰρ δήποτ' Ἀριστόδαμον φαισ' οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρτᾳ λόγον.

Compare the Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. ii. 17, and Diogen. Laërt. t. 31.

to, but nothing is said about a redivision of the lands; and this latter point is in itself of such transcendent moment, and was so recognised among all Grecian thinkers, that the omission is almost a demonstration of ignorance. Thucydidês certainly could not have believed that equality of property was an original feature of the Lykurgean system; for he says that at Lacedæmôn "the rich men assimilated themselves greatly in respect of clothing and general habits of life to the simplicity of the poor, and thus set an example which was partially followed in the rest of Greece": a remark which both implies the existence of unequal property, and gives a just appreciation of the real working of Lykurgic institutions.[1] The like is the sentiment of Xenophôn:[2] he observes that the rich at Sparta gained little by their wealth in point of superior comfort; but he never glances at any original measure carried into effect by Lykurgus for equalising possessions. Plato too,[3] while he touches upon the great advantage possessed by the Dorians, immediately after their conquest of Peloponnêsus, in being able to apportion land suitably to all, never hints that this original distribution had degenerated into an abuse, and that an entire subsequent redivision had been resorted to by Lykurgus: moreover, he is himself deeply sensible of the hazards of that formidable proceeding. Lastly, Aristotle clearly did not believe that Lykurgus had redivided the soil. For he informs us, first, that "both in Lacedæmôn and in Krête, the legislator had rendered the enjoyment of property common through the establishment of the Syssitia or public mess".[4] Now this remark (if read in the chapter of which it forms part, a refutation of the scheme of Communism for the select guardians in the Platonic Republic) will be seen to tell little for its point, if we assume that Lykurgus at the same time equalised all individual possessions. Had Aristotle known that fact, he could not have failed to notice it: nor could he have assimilated the legislators in Lacedæmôn and Krête, seeing that in the latter no one pretends that any such

[1] Thucyd. i. 6. *μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοβίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.* See also Plutarch, Apophthegm. Lacon. p. 210, A.—F.

[2] Xenoph. Republ. Laced. c. 7.

[3] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 684.

[4] Aristotel. Politic. ii. 2, 10. *Ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτῃ τοῖς συσσιτίοις ὁ νομοθέτης ἐκοίνωσε.*

equalisation was ever brought about. Next, not only does Aristotle dwell upon the actual inequality of property at Sparta as a serious public evil, but he nowhere treats this as having grown out of a system of absolute equality once enacted by the lawgiver as a part of the primitive constitution: he expressly notices inequality of property so far back as the second Messenian war. Moreover, in that valuable chapter of his Politics where the scheme of equality of possessions is discussed, Phaleas of Chalkêdôn is expressly mentioned as the first author of it, thus indirectly excluding Lykurgus.[1] The mere silence of Aristotle is in this discussion a negative argument of the greatest weight. Isokratês,[2] too, speaks much about Sparta for good and for evil—mentions Lykurgus as having established a political constitution much like that of the earliest days of Athens—praises the gymnasia and the discipline, and compliments the Spartans upon the many centuries which they have gone through without violent sedition, extinction of debts, and redivision of the land—those "monstrous evils" as he terms them. Had he conceived Lykurgus as being himself the author of a complete redivision of land, he could hardly have avoided some allusion to it.

The idea of Lykurgus as an equal partitioner of lands belongs to the century of Agis and Kleomenês.

It appears then that none of the authors down to Aristotle ascribe to Lykurgus a redivision of the lands, either of Sparta or of Laconia. The statement to this effect in Plutarch, given in great detail and with precise specification of number and produce, must have been borrowed from some author later than Aristotle; and I think we may trace the source of it, when we study Plutarch's biography of Lykurgus in conjunction with

[1] Aristot. Politic. ii. 4, 1, about Phaleas; and about Sparta and Krête, generally, the whole sixth and seventh chapters of the second book, also v. 6, 2—7.

Theophrastus (apud Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 10) makes a similar observation, that the public mess, and the general simplicity of habits, tended to render wealth of little service to the possessor: *τὸν πλοῦτον ἄπλουτον ἀπεργάσασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δείπνων, καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελείᾳ.* Compare Plutarch, Apophthegm. Lacon. p. 226 E. The wealth therefore was not formally done away with in the opinion of Theophrastus: there was no positive equality of possessions.

Both the Spartan kings dined at the public mess at the same pheidition (Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 30).

Herakleidês Ponticus mentions nothing either about equality of Spartan lots or fresh partition of lands by Lykurgus (ad calcem Cragii, De Spartanorum Repub. p. 504), though he speaks about the Spartan lots and law of succession as well as about Lykurgus.

[2] Isokratês, Panathen. Or. xii. pp. 266, 270, 278: *οὐδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐδ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν.*

that of Agis and Kleomenês. The statement is taken from authors of the century after Aristotle, either in, or shortly before, the age when both those kings tried extreme measures to renovate the sinking state: the former by a thorough change of system and property, yet proposed and accepted according to constitutional forms; the latter by projects substantially similar, with violence to enforce them. The accumulation of landed property in few hands, the multiplication of poor, and the decline in the number of citizens, which are depicted as grave mischiefs by Aristotle, had become greatly aggravated during the century between him and Agis. The number of citizens, reckoned by Herodotus in the time of the Persian invasion at 8000, had dwindled down in the time of Aristotle to 1000, and in that of Agis to 700, out of which latter number 100 alone possessed most of the landed property of the state.[1] Now by the ancient rule of Lykurgus, the qualification for citizenship was the ability to furnish the prescribed quota, incumbent on each individual, at the public mess: so soon as a citizen became too poor to answer to this requisition, he lost his franchise and his eligibility to offices.[2] The smaller lots of land, though it was held discreditable either to buy or sell them,[3] and though some have asserted

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. iv.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 21. Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λακώσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν . . . . Ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν, μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς. So also Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. vii. ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτᾶσθαι τάξας.

The existence of this rate-paying qualification is the capital fact in the history of the Spartan constitution; especially when we couple it with the other fact, that no Spartan acquired anything by any kind of industry.

[3] Herakleidês Ponticus, ad calcem Cragii de Repub. Laced. p. 504. Compare Cragius, iii. 2, p. 196.

Aristotle (ii. 6, 10) states that it was discreditable to buy or sell a lot of land, but that the lot might be either given or bequeathed at pleasure. He mentions nothing about the prohibition to divide, and he even states what contradicts it.—that it was the practice to give a large dowry when a rich man's daughter married (ii. 6, 11). The sister of Agesilaus, Kyniska, was a person of large property, which apparently implies the division of his father's estate (Plutarch, Agesilaus, 30).

Whether there was ever any law prohibiting a father from dividing his lot among his children may well be doubted. The Rhetra of the ephor Epitadeus (Plutarch, Agis, 5) granted unlimited power of testamentary disposition to the possessor, so that he might give away or bequeathe his land to a stranger if he chose. To this law great effects are ascribed: but it is evident that the tendency to accumulate property in few hands, and the tendency to diminution in the number of qualified citizens, were powerfully manifested before the time of Epitadeus, who came after Lysander. Plutarch in another place notices Hesiod, Xenokratês and Lykurgus, as having concurred with Plato in thinking that it was proper to leave only one single heir (ἕνα μόνον κληρόνομον καταλιπεῖν) (Ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ἡσίοδον,

(without ground I think) that it was forbidden to divide them, became insufficient for numerous families, and seem to have been alienated in some indirect manner to the rich; while every industrious occupation being both interdicted to a Spartan citizen and really inconsistent with his rigorous personal discipline, no other means of furnishing his quota, except the lot of land, was open to him. The difficulty felt with regard to these smaller lots of land may be judged of from the fact stated by Polybius,[1] that three or four Spartan brothers had often one and the same wife, the paternal land being just sufficient to furnish contributions for all to the public mess, and thus to keep alive the citizen-rights of all the sons. The tendency to diminution in the number of Spartan citizens seems to have gone on uninterruptedly from the time of the Persian war, and must have been aggravated by the foundation of Messênê, with its independent territory around, after the battle of Leuktra, an event which robbed the Spartans of a large portion of their property. Apart from these special causes, moreover, it has been observed often as a statistical fact, that a close corporation of citizens, or any small number of families, intermarrying habitually among one another, and not reinforced from without, have usually a tendency to diminish.

Circumstances of Sparta down to the reign of Agis.

The present is not the occasion to enter at length into that combination of causes which partly sapped, partly overthrew, both the institutions of Lykurgus and the power of Sparta. But

Fragm. vol. v. p. 777, Wyttenb.). But Hesiod does not lay down this as a necessity or as a universal rule; he only says that a man is better off who has only one son (Opp. Di. 374). And if Plato had been able to cite Lykurgus as an authority for that system of an invariable number of separate κλῆροι or lots, which he sets forth in his treatise De Legibus (p. 740), it is highly probable that he would have done so. Still less can Aristotle have supposed that Lykurgus or the Spartan system either ensured, or intended to ensure, the maintenance of an unalterable number of distinct proprietary lots; for he expressly notices that scheme as a peculiarity of Philolaus the Corinthian, in his laws for the Thebans (Polit. ii. 9, 7).

[1] Polybius, Fragm. ap. Maii Collect. Vett. Scrip. vol. ii. p. 384. Perhaps, as O. Müller remarks, this may mean only, that none except the eldest brother could afford to marry; but the feelings of the Spartans in respect to marriage were in many other points so different from ours, that we are hardly authorised to reject the literal statement (History of the Dorians, iii. 10, 2)—which indeed is both illustrated and rendered credible by the permission granted in the laws of Solôn to an ἐπίκληρος who had been claimed in marriage by a relative in his old age—ἂν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ κύριος γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς μὴ δυνατὸς ᾖ πλησιάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγιστα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀπυίεσθαι (Plutarch, Solôn, c. 20).

I may observe, that of O. Müller's statements respecting the lots of land at Sparta, several are unsupported and some incorrect.

taking the condition of that city as it stood in the time of Agis III. (say about 250 B.C.), we know that its citizens had become few in number, the bulk of them miserably poor, and all the land in a small number of hands. The old discipline and the public mess (as far as the rich were concerned) had degenerated into mere forms—a numerous body of strangers or non-citizens (the old xenêlasy, or prohibition of resident strangers, being long discontinued) were domiciled in the town, forming a powerful moneyed interest; and lastly, the dignity and ascendency of the state amongst its neighbours were altogether ruined. It was insupportable to a young enthusiast like king Agis, as well as to many ardent spirits among his contemporaries, to contrast this degradation with the previous glories of their country; nor did they see any other way of reconstructing the old Sparta except by again admitting the disfranchised poor citizens, redividing the lands, cancelling all debts, and restoring the public mess and military training in all their strictness. Agis endeavoured to carry through these subversive measures (such as no demagogue in the extreme democracy of Athens would ever have ventured to glance at), with the consent of the senate and public assembly, and the acquiescence of the rich. His sincerity is attested by the fact, that his own property, and that of his female relatives, among the largest in the state, was cast as the first sacrifice into the common stock. But he became the dupe of unprincipled coadjutors, and perished in the unavailing attempt to realise his scheme by persuasion. His successor Kleomenês afterwards accomplished by violence a change substantially similar, though the intervention of foreign arms speedily overthrew both himself and his institutions.

Diminished number of citizens and degradation of Sparta in the reign of Agis. His ardent wish to restore the dignity of the state.

Now it was under the state of public feeling which gave birth to these projects of Agis and Kleomenês at Sparta, that the historic fancy, unknown to Aristotle and his predecessors, first gained ground, of the absolute equality of property as a primitive institution of Lykurgus. How much such a belief would favour the schemes of innovation is too obvious to require notice; and without supposing any deliberate imposture, we cannot be astonished that the predispositions of enthusiastic patriots

Historic fancy of Lykurgus as an equal partitioner of lands grew out of this feeling.

interpreted according to their own partialities an old unrecorded legislation from which they were separated by more than five centuries. The Lykurgean discipline tended forcibly to suggest to men's minds the *idea* of equality among the citizens,—that is, the negation of all inequality not founded on some personal attribute,—inasmuch as it assimilated the habits, enjoyments, and capacities of the rich to those of the poor; and the inequality thus existing in idea and tendency, which seemed to proclaim the wish of the founder, was strained by the latter reformers into a positive institution which he had at first realised, but from which his degenerate followers had receded. It was thus that the fancies, longings, and indirect suggestions of the present assumed the character of recollections out of the early, obscure, and extinct historical past. Perhaps the philosopher Sphærus of Borysthenês (friend and companion of Kleomenês,[1] disciple of Zeno the Stoic, and author of works now lost both on Lykurgus and Sokratês and on the constitution of Sparta) may have been one of those who gave currency to such an hypothesis. And we shall readily believe that, if advanced, it would find easy and sincere credence, when we recollect how many similar delusions have obtained vogue in modern times far more favourable to historical accuracy—how much false colouring has been attached by the political feeling of recent days to matters of ancient history, such as the Saxon Witenagemote, the Great Charter, the rise and growth of the English House of Commons, or even the Poor Law of Elizabeth.

When we read the division of lands really proposed by king Agis, it is found to be a very close copy of the original division

[1] Plutarch, Kleomenês, cap. 2—11, with the note of Schömann, p. 175; also Lycurg. cap. 8; Athenæ. iv. p. 141.

Phylarchus also described the proceedings of Kleomenês, seemingly with favour (Athenæ. ib.); compare Plutarch, Agis, c. 9.

Polybius believed that Lykurgus had introduced equality of landed possession both in the district of Sparta and throughout Laconia: his opinion is probably borrowed from these same authors, of the third century before the Christian æra. For he expresses his great surprise how the best-informed ancient authors (οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων), Plato, Xenophôn, Ephorus, Kallisthenês, can compare the Kretan polity to the old Lacedæmonian, the main features of the two being (as he says) so different—equality of property at Sparta, great inequality of property in Krête, among other differences (*Polyb.* vi. 45—48).

This remark of Polybius exhibits the difference of opinion of the earlier writers, as compared with those during the third century before the Christian æra. The former compared Spartan and Kretan institutions, because they did *not* conceive equality of landed property as a feature in old Sparta.

ascribed to Lykurgus. He parcels the lands bounded by the four limits of Pellênê, Sellasia, Malea, and Taygetus, into 4500 lots, one to every Spartan; and the lands beyond these limits into 15,000 lots, one to each Periœkus: and he proposes to constitute in Sparta fifteen Pheiditia or public mess-tables, some including 400 individuals, others 200,—thus providing a place for each of his 4500 Spartans. With respect to the division originally ascribed to Lykurgus, different accounts were given. Some considered it to have set out 9000 lots for the district of Sparta, and 30,000 for the rest of Laconia;[1] others affirmed that 6000 lots had been given by Lykurgus, and 3000 added afterwards by king Polydôrus; a third tale was, that Lykurgus had assigned 4500 lots, and king Polydôrus as many more. This last scheme is much the same as what was really proposed by Agis.

Partition proposed by Agis.

In the preceding argument respecting the redivision of land ascribed to Lykurgus, I have taken that measure as it is described by Plutarch. But there has been a tendency, in some able modern writers, while admitting the general fact of such redivision, to reject the account given by Plutarch in some of its main circumstances. That, for instance, which is the capital feature in Plutarch's narrative, and which gives soul and meaning to his picture of the lawgiver—the equality of partition—is now rejected by many as incorrect, and it is supposed that Lykurgus made some new agrarian regulations tending towards a general equality of landed property, but not an entirely new partition; that he may have resumed from the wealthy men lands which they had unjustly taken from the conquered Achæans, and thus provided allotments both for the poorer citizens and for the subject Laconians. Such is the opinion of Dr. Thirlwall, who at the same time admits that the exact proportion of the Lykurgean distribution can hardly be ascertained.[2]

Opinion that Lykurgus proposed some agrarian interference but not an entire repartition, gratuitous and improbable.

[1] Respecting Sphærus, see Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 8; Kleomen. c. 2; Athenæ. iv. p. 141; Diogen. Laërt. vii. sect. 137.

[2] Hist. of Greece, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 344—347.

C. F. Hermann, on the contrary, considers the equal partition of Laconia into lots indivisible and inalienable as "an essential condition" (eine wesentliche Bedingung) of the whole Lykurgean system (Lehrbuch der

I cannot but take a different view of the statement made by Plutarch. The moment that we depart from that rule of equality which stands so prominently marked in his biography of Lykurgus, we step into a boundless field of possibility, in which there is nothing to determine us to one point more than to another. The surmise started by Dr. Thirlwall, of lands unjustly taken from the conquered Achæans by wealthy Spartan proprietors, is altogether gratuitous; and granting it to be correct, we have still to explain how it happened that this correction of a partial injustice came to be transformed into the comprehensive and systematic measure which Plutarch describes; and to explain, farther, from whence it arose that none of the authors earlier than Plutarch take any notice of Lykurgus as an agrarian equalizer. These two difficulties will still remain, even if we overlook the gratuitous nature of Dr. Thirlwall's supposition, or of any other supposition which can be proposed respecting the real Lykurgean measure which Plutarch is affirmed to have misrepresented.

Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, sect. 28).

Tittmann (Griechische Staatsverfassungen, p. 588—596) states and seems to admit the equal partition as a fact, without any commentary.

Wachsmuth (Hellenische Alterthumskunde, v. 4, 42, p. 217) supposes "that the best land was already parcelled, before the time of Lykurgus, into lots of equal magnitude, corresponding to the number of Spartans, which number afterwards increased to nine thousand". For this assertion I know no evidence; it departs from Plutarch, without substituting anything better authenticated or more plausible. Wachsmuth notices the partition of Laconia among the Perioeki in 30,000 equal lots, without any comment, and seemingly as if there were no doubt of it (p. 218).

Manso also supposes that there had once been an equal division of land prior to Lykurgus,—that it had degenerated into abuse,—and that Lykurgus corrected it, restoring, not absolute equality, but something near to equality (Manso, Sparta, vol. i. p. 110—121). This is the same gratuitous supposition as that of Wachsmuth.

O. Müller admits the division as stated by Plutarch, though he says that the whole number of 9000 lots cannot have been set out before the Messenian war; and he adheres to the idea of equality as contained in Plutarch; but he says that the equality consisted in "equal estimate of average produce,"—not in equal acreable dimensions. He goes so far as to tell us that "the lots of the Spartans, which supported twice as many men as the lots of the Perioeki, must upon the whole have been twice as extensive (*i.e.*, in the aggregate): each lot must therefore have been seven times greater" (compare History of the Dorians, iii. 3, 6; iii. 10, 2). He also supposes that "similar partitions of land had been made from the time of the first occupation of Laconia by the Dorians". Whoever compares his various positions with the evidence brought to support them, will find a *painful* disproportion between the basis and the superstructure.

The views of Schömann, so far as I collect from expressions somewhat vague, seem to coincide with those of Dr. Thirlwall. He admits however that the alleged Lykurgean equalisation is at variance with the representations of Plato (Schömann, Antiq. Jur. Pub. iv. 1, 7, note 4, p. 116).

It appears to me that these difficulties are best obviated by adopting a different canon of historical interpretation. We cannot accept as real the Lykurgean land division described in the life of the lawgiver; but treating this account as a fiction, two modes of proceeding are open to us. We may either consider the fiction, as it now stands, to be the exaggeration and distortion of some small fact, and then try to guess, without any assistance, what the small fact was; or we may regard it as fiction from first to last, the expression of some large idea and sentiment so powerful in its action on men's minds at a given time, as to induce them to make a place for it among the realities of the past. Now the latter supposition, applied to the times of Agis III., best meets the case before us. The eighth chapter of the life of Lykurgus by Plutarch, in recounting the partition of land, describes the dream of king Agis, whose mind is full of two sentiments—grief and shame for the actual condition of his country, together with reverence for its past glories as well as for the lawgiver from whose institutions those glories had emanated. Absorbed with this double feeling, the reveries of Agis go back to the old ante-Lykurgean Sparta as it stood more than five centuries before. He sees in the spirit the same mischiefs and disorders as those which afflict his waking eye—gross inequalities of property, with a few insolent and luxurious rich, a crowd of mutinous and suffering poor, and nothing but fierce antipathy reigning between the two. Into the midst of this froward, lawless, and distempered community steps the venerable missionary from Delphi,—breathes into men's minds new impulses, and an impatience to shake off the old social and political Adam—and persuades the rich, voluntarily abnegating their temporal advantages, to welcome with satisfaction a new system wherein no distinction shall be recognised, except that of good or evil desert.[1] Having thus regenerated the national mind, he parcels out the territory of Laconia into equal lots, leaving no superiority to any one. Fraternal harmony becomes the reigning sentiment, while the coming harvests pre-

The statement of Plutarch is best explained by supposing it a fiction of the time of Agis.

[1] Plutarch, Lykurg. c. 8. *συνέπεισε μετιόντας· ὡς ἄλλης ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας, ἐξ οὐκ οὔσης διαφορᾶς, οὐδ' ἀνισότητος, ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ζῆν μετ' ἀλλήλων πλὴν ὅσην αἰσχρῶν ψόγος ὁρίζει καὶ ἁπάντας, ὁμαλεῖς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς καλῶν ἔπαινος. Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ βίοις γενομένους, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον ἀρετῇ ἔργον, διένειμε, &c.*

sent the gratifying spectacle of a paternal inheritance recently distributed, with the brotherhood contented, modest and docile. Such is the picture with which "mischievous Oneirus" cheats the fancy of the patriotic Agis, whispering the treacherous message that the gods have promised *him* success in a similar attempt, and thus seducing him into that fatal revolutionary course, which is destined to bring himself, his wife and his aged mother to the dungeon and the hangman's rope.[1]

That the golden dream just described was dreamt by some Spartan patriots is certain, because it stands recorded in Plutarch; that it was not dreamt by the authors of centuries preceding Agis, I have already endeavoured to show; that the earnest feelings, of sickness of the present and yearning for a better future under the colours of a restored past, which filled the soul of this king and his brother reformers—combined with the levelling tendency between rich and poor which really was inherent in the Lykurgean discipline—were amply sufficient to beget such a dream and to procure for it a place among the great deeds of the old lawgiver, so much venerated and so little known, —this too I hold to be unquestionable. Had there been any evidence that Lykurgus had interfered with private property, to the limited extent which Dr. Thirlwall and other able critics imagine—that he had resumed certain lands unjustly taken by the rich from the Achæans—I should have been glad to record it; but finding no such evidence, I cannot think it necessary to presume the fact simply in order to account for the story in Plutarch.[2]

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. 19—20.

[2] I read with much satisfaction in M. Kopstadt's Dissertation, that the general conclusion which I have endeavoured to establish respecting the alleged Lykurgean re-division of property, appears to him successfully proved. (Dissert. De Rerum Laconic. Const. sect. 13, p. 138.)

He supposes, with perfect truth, that at the time when the first edition of these volumes was published, I was ignorant of the fact that Lachmann and Kortüm had both called in question the reality of the Lykurgean re-division. In regard to Professor Kortüm, the fact was first brought to my knowledge by his notice of these two volumes in the Heidelberger Jahrbücher, 1846, No. 41, p. 649.

Since the first edition I have read the treatise of Lachmann (Die Spartanische Staatsverfassung in ihrer Entwickelung und ihrem Verfalle, sect. 10, p. 170) wherein the re-division ascribed to Lykurgus is canvassed. He too attributes the origin of the tale as a portion of history, to the social and political feelings current in the days of Agis III. and Kleomenês III. He notices also that it is in contradiction with Plato and Isokratês. But a large proportion of the arguments which he brings to disprove it are connected with ideas of his own respecting the social and political

The various items in that story all hang together, and must be understood as forming parts of the same comprehensive fact, or comprehensive fancy. The fixed total of 9000 Spartan and 30,000 Laconian lots,[1] the equality between them, and the rent accruing from each, represented by a given quantity of moist and dry produce,—all these particulars are alike true or alike uncertified. Upon the various numbers here given, many authors have raised calculations as to the population and produce of Laconia, which appear to me destitute of any trustworthy foundation. Those who accept the history, that Lykurgus constituted the above-mentioned numbers both of citizens and of lots of land, and that he contemplated the maintenance of both numbers in unchangeable proportion, are perplexed to assign the means whereby this adjustment was kept undisturbed. Nor are they much assisted in the solution of this embarrassing problem by the statement of Plutarch, who tells us that the number remained fixed of itself, and that the succession ran on from father to son without either consolidation or multiplication of parcels, down to the period when foreign wealth flowed into Sparta, as a consequence of the successful conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. Shortly after that period (he tells us) a citizen named Epitadeus became ephor —a vindictive and malignant man, who, having had a quarrel with his son, and wishing to oust him from the succession, introduced and obtained sanction to a new Rhetra, whereby power was granted to every father of a family either to make over during life, or to bequeath

Acknowledged difficulty of understanding by what means the fixed number and integrity of the lots were maintained.

Plutarch's story about the ephor Epitadeus.

constitution of Sparta, which I think either untrue or uncertified. Moreover he believes in the inalienability as well as the indivisibility of the separate lots of land—which I believe to be just as little correct as their supposed equality.

Kopstadt (p. 139) thinks that I have gone too far in rejecting every middle opinion. He thinks that Lykurgus must have done something, though much less than what is affirmed, tending to realise equality of individual property.

I shall not say that this is impossible. If we had ampler evidence, perhaps such facts might appear. But as the evidence stands now, there is nothing whatever to show it. Nor are we entitled (in my judgment) to presume that it was so, in the absence of evidence, simply in order to make out that the Lykurgean mythe is only an exaggeration, and not entire fiction.

[1] Aristotle (Polit. ii. 6, 11) remarks that the territory of the Spartans would maintain 1500 horsemen and 20,000 hoplites, while the number of citizens was in point of fact less than 1000. Dr. Thirlwall seems to prefer the reading of Göttling—3000 instead of 30,000; but the latter seems better supported by MSS., and most suitable.

after death, his house and his estate to any one whom he chose.[1] But it is plain that this story (whatever be the truth about the family quarrel of Epitadeus) does not help us out of the difficulty. From the time of Lykurgus to that of this disinheriting ephor, more than four centuries must be reckoned: now had there been real causes at work sufficient to maintain inviolate the identical number of lots and families during this long period, we see no reason why his new law, simply permissive and nothing more, should have overthrown it. We are not told by Plutarch what was the law of succession prior to Epitadeus. If the whole estate went by law to one son in the family, what became of the other sons, to whom industrious acquisition in any shape was repulsive as well as interdicted? If, on the other hand, the estate was divided between the sons equally (as it was by the law of succession at Athens), how can we defend the maintenance of an unchanged aggregate number of parcels?

Dr. Thirlwall, after having admitted a modified interference with private property by Lykurgus, so as to exact from the wealthy a certain sacrifice in order to create lots for the poor, and to bring about something approaching to equi-producing lots for all, observes:—"The average amount of the rent (paid by the cultivating Helots from each lot) seems to have been no more than was required for the frugal maintenance of a family with six persons. The right of transfer was as strictly confined as that of enjoyment: the patrimony was indivisible, inalienable, and descended to the eldest son; in default of a male heir, to the eldest daughter. The object seems to have been, after the number of the allotments became fixed, that each should be constantly represented by one head of a household. But the nature of the means employed for this end is one of the most obscure points of the Spartan system. . . . . In the better times of the commonwealth, this seems to have been principally effected by adoptions and marriages with heiresses, which provided for the marriages of younger sons in families too numerous to be supported on their own hereditary property. It was then probably seldom necessary for the state to interfere, in order to direct the childless owner of an estate, or the father of a rich

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. 5.

heiress, to a proper choice. But as all adoption required the sanction of the kings, and they had also the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses, there can be little doubt that the magistrate had the power of interposing on such occasions, even in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty and check the accumulation of wealth." (Hist. Gr., ch. 8, vol. i., p. 367.)

I cannot concur in the view which Dr. Thirlwall here takes of the state of property, or the arrangements respecting its transmission, in ancient Sparta. Neither the equal modesty of possession which he supposes, nor the precautions for perpetuating it, can be shown to have ever existed among the pupils of Lykurgus.

Landed property was always unequally divided at Sparta;

Our earliest information intimates the existence of rich men at Sparta: the story of king Aristo and Agêtus, in Herodotus, exhibits to us the latter as a man who cannot be supposed to have had only just "enough to maintain six persons frugally"—while his beautiful wife, whom Aristo coveted and entrapped from him, is expressly described as the daughter of opulent parents. Sperthiês and Bulis the Talthybiads are designated as belonging to a distinguished race, and among the wealthiest men in Sparta.[1] Demaratus was the only king of Sparta, in the days of Herodotus, who had ever gained a chariot victory in the Olympic games; but we know by the case of Lichas during the Peloponnesian war, Evagoras, and others, that private Spartans were equally successful;[2] and for one Spartan who won the prize, there must of course have been many who bred their horses and started their chariots unsuccessfully. It need hardly be remarked that chariot-competition at Olympia was one of the most significant evidences of a wealthy house: nor were there wanting Spartans who kept horses and dogs without any exclusive view to the games. We know from Xenophôn, that at the time of the battle of Leuktra, "the very rich Spartans" provided the horses to be mounted for the state-cavalry.[3] These and other proofs, of the existence of rich men at Sparta, are inconsistent with the idea of a body of citizens each possessing what was about enough for the frugal maintenance of six persons and no more.

[1] Herod. vi. 61. οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα, &c.; vii. 134.

[2] Herod. vi. 70—103; Thucyd. v. 50

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 11; Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. v. 3; Molpis ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 141; Aristot. Polit. ii. 2, 5.

As we do not find that such was in practice the state of property in the Spartan community, so neither can we discover that the lawgiver ever tried either to make or to keep it so.

nor were there any laws which tended to equalise it.

What he did was to impose a rigorous public discipline, with simple clothing and fare, incumbent alike upon the rich and the poor (this was his special present to Greece, according to Thucydidês,[1] and his great point of contact with democracy, according to Aristotle); but he took no pains either to restrain the enrichment of the former, or to prevent the impoverishment of the latter. He meddled little with the distribution of property, and such neglect is one of the capital deficiencies for which Aristotle censures him. That philosopher tells us, indeed, that the Spartan law had made it dishonourable (he does not say, peremptorily forbidden) to buy or sell landed property, but that there was the fullest liberty both of donation and bequest: and the same results (he justly observes) ensued from the practice tolerated as would have ensued from the practice discountenanced—since it was easy to disguise a real sale under an ostensible donation. He notices pointedly the tendency of property at Sparta to concentrate itself in fewer hands, unopposed by any legal hindrances: the fathers married their daughters to whomsoever they chose, and gave dowries according to their own discretion, generally very large: the rich families moreover intermarried among one another habitually and without restriction.

Opinions of Aristotle.

Now all these are indicated by Aristotle as cases in which the law might have interfered, and ought to have interfered, but did not—for the great purpose of disseminating the benefits of landed property as much as possible among the mass of the citizens. Again, he tells us that the law encouraged the multiplication of progeny, and granted exemptions to such citizens as had three or four children—but took no thought how the numerous families of poorer citizens were to live, or to maintain their qualification at the public tables, most of the lands of the state being in the hands of the rich.[2] His notice, and condemnation of that law, which made the franchise of the

[1] Thucyd. i. 6; Aristot. Polit. iv. 7, 4, 5; viii. 1, 3.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 10—13; v. 6, 7

Spartan citizen dependent upon his continuing to furnish his quota to the public table—have been already adverted to; as well as the potent love of money[1] which he notes in the Spartan character, and which must have tended continually to keep together the richer families among themselves: while amongst a community where industry was unknown, no poor citizen could ever become rich.

If we duly weigh these evidences, we shall see that equality of possessions neither existed in fact, nor ever entered into the scheme and tendencies of the lawgiver at Sparta. And the picture which Dr. Thirlwall[2] has drawn of a body of citizens each possessing a lot of land about adequate to the frugal maintenance of six persons—of adoptions and marriages of heiresses arranged with a deliberate view of providing for the younger

Erroneous suppositions with regard to the Spartan law and practice of succession.

[1] The panegyrist Xenophôn acknowledges much the same respecting the Sparta which he witnessed; but he maintains that it had been better in former times (Repub. Lac. c. 14).

[2] The view of Dr. Thirlwall agrees in the main with that of Manso and O. Müller (Manso, Sparta, vol. i. p. 118—128; and vol. ii. Beilage, 9, p. 129; and Müller, History of the Dorians, vol. ii. B. iii. c. 10, sect. 2, 3).

Both these authors maintain the proposition stated by Plutarch (Agis, c. 5, in his reference to the ephor Epitadeus, and the new law carried by that ephor), that the number of Spartan lots, nearly equal and rigorously indivisible, remained with little or no change from the time of the original division down to the return of Lysander after his victorious close of the Peloponnesian war. Both acknowledge that they cannot understand by what regulations this long unalterability, so improbable in itself, was maintained: but both affirm the fact positively.

The period will be more than 400 years, if the original division be referred to Lykurgus: more than 300 years, if the 9000 lots are understood to date from the Messenian war.

If this alleged fact be really a fact, it is something almost without a parallel in the history of mankind: and before we consent to believe it, we ought at least to be satisfied that there is considerable show of positive evidence in its favour, and not much against it. But on examining Manso and Müller, it will be seen that not only is there very slender evidence in its favour—there is a decided balance of evidence against it.

The evidence produced to prove the indivisibility of the Spartan lot is a passage of Herakleidês Ponticus, c. 2 (ad calc. Cragii, p. 504), πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχρὸν νενόμισται—τῆς ἀρχαίας μοίρας ἀνανέμεσθαι (or νενεμῆσθαι) οὐδὲν ἔξεστι. The first portion of this assertion is confirmed by, and probably borrowed from, Aristotle, who says the same thing nearly in the same words: the second portion of the sentence ought, according to all reasonable rules of construction, to be understood with reference to the first part; that is, to the *sale* of the original lot. "To sell land is held disgraceful among the Lacedæmonians, nor is it permitted to sever off any portion of the original lot," *i.e. for sale.* Herakleidês is not here speaking of the law of *succession* to property at Lacedæmon, nor can we infer from *his* words that the whole lot was transmitted entire to one son. No evidence except this very irrelevant sentence is produced by Müller and Manso to justify their positive assertion, that the Spartan lot of land was indivisible in respect to inheritance.

Having thus determined the indivisible transmission of lots to one son of a family, Manso and Müller pre-

children of numerous families—of interference on the part of the kings to ensure this object—of a fixed number of lots of land, each represented by one head of a household—this picture is one,

sume, without any proof, that that son must be the eldest: and Müller proceeds to state something equally unsupported by proof:—"The extent of his rights, however, was perhaps no farther than that he was considered master of the house and property; while the other members of the family had an equal right to the enjoyment of it. . . . The master of the family was therefore obliged to contribute for all these to the syssitia, without which contribution no one was admitted."—Pp. 199, 200.

All this is completely gratuitous, and will be found to produce as many difficulties in one way as it removes in another.

The next law as to the transmission of property which Manso states to have prevailed, is, that all daughters were to marry without receiving any dowry—the case of a sole daughter is here excepted. For this proposition he cites Plutarch, Apophtheg. Laconic. p. 227; Justin. iii. 3; Ælian. V. H. vi. 6. These authors do certainly affirm that there was such a regulation, and both Plutarch and Justin assign reasons for it, real or supposed. "Lykurgus being asked why he directed that maidens should be married without dowry, answered,—In order that maidens of poor families might not remain unmarried, and that character and virtue might be exclusively attended to in the choice of a wife." The same general reason is given by Justin. Now the *reason* here given for the prohibition of dowry, goes indirectly to prove that there existed no such law of general succession as that which had been before stated, *viz.* the sacred indivisibility of the primitive lot. For had this latter been recognised, the reason would have been obvious why daughters could receive no dowry: the father's whole landed property (and a Spartan could have little of any other property, since he never acquired anything by industry) was under the strictest entail to his eldest son. Plutarch and Justin, therefore, while in their statement as to the matter of fact they warrant Manso in affirming the prohibition of dowry (about this matter of fact, more presently), do by the reason which they give discountenance his former supposition as to the indivisibility of the primitive family lots.

Thirdly, Manso understands Aristotle (Polit. ii. 6, 11), by the use of the adverb *νῦν*, to affirm something respecting his own time specially, and to imply at the same time that the ancient custom had been the reverse. I cannot think that the adverb, as Aristotle uses it in that passage, bears out such a construction: *νῦν δέ* there does not signify present time as opposed to past, but the antithesis between the actual custom and that which Aristotle pronounces to be expedient. Aristotle gives no indication of being aware that any material change had taken place in the laws of succession at Sparta; this is one circumstance for which both Manso and Müller, who both believe in the extraordinary revolution caused by the permissive law of the ephor Epitadeus, censure him.

Three other positions are laid down by Manso about the laws of property at Sparta. 1. A man might give away or bequeath his land to whomsoever he pleased. 2. But none except childless persons could do this. 3. They could only give or bequeath it to citizens who had no land of their own. Of these three regulations, the first is distinctly affirmed by Aristotle, and may be relied upon: the second is a restriction not noticed by Aristotle, and supported by no proof except that which arises out of the story of the ephor Epitadeus, who is said to have been unable to disinherit his son without causing a new law to be passed: the third is a pure fancy.

So much for the positive evidence, on the faith of which Manso and Müller affirm the startling fact, that the lots of land in Sparta remained distinct, indivisible, and unchanged in number, down to the close of the Peloponnesian war. I venture to say that such positive evidence is far too weak to sustain an affirmation in itself so improbable, even if there were no evidence on the other side for contradiction. But in this case there is powerful contradictory evidence.

First, the assertions of these authors are distinctly in the teeth of Aristotle, whose authority they try to invalidate

of which the reality must not be sought on the banks of the Eurôtas. The "better times of the commonwealth," to which he refers, may have existed in the glowing retrospect of Agis, but

by saying that he spoke altogether with reference to his own time at Sparta, and that he misconceived the primitive Lykurgean constitution. Now this might form a reasonable ground of presumption against the competency of Aristotle, if the witnesses produced on the other side were older than he. But it so happens that *every one* of the witnesses produced by Manso and Müller are *younger* than Aristotle: Herakleidês Ponticus, Plutarch, Justin, Ælian, &c. Nor is it shown that these authors copied from any source earlier than Aristotle—for his testimony cannot be contradicted by any inferences drawn from Herodotus, Thucydidês, Xenophôn, Plato, Isokratês or Ephorus. None of these writers, anterior to or contemporary with Aristotle, countenance the fancy of equal, indivisible, perpetual lots, or prohibition of dowry.

The fact is, that Aristotle is not only our best witness, but also our oldest witness, respecting the laws of property in the Spartan commonwealth. I could have wished indeed that earlier testimonies had existed, and I admit that even the most sagacious observer of 340—330 B.C. is liable to mistake when he speaks of one or two centuries before. But if Aristotle is to be discredited on the ground of late date, what are we to say to Plutarch? To insist on the intellectual eminence of Aristotle would be superfluous: and on this subject he is a witness the more valuable, as he had made careful, laborious and personal inquiries into the Grecian governments generally, and that of Sparta among them—the great *point de mire* for ancient speculative politicians.

Now *the* statements of Aristotle distinctly exclude the idea of equal, indivisible, inalienable, perpetual lots, —and prohibition of dowry. He particularly notices the habit of giving very large dowries, and the constant tendency of the lots of land to become consolidated in fewer and fewer hands. He tells us nothing upon the subject which is not perfectly consistent, intelligible, and uncontradicted by any known statements belonging to his own or to earlier times. But the reason why men refuse to believe him, and either set aside or explain away his evidence, is that they sit down to study with their minds full of the division of landed property ascribed to Lykurgus by Plutarch. I willingly concede that on this occasion we have to choose between Plutarch and Aristotle. We cannot reconcile them except by arbitrary suppositions, every one of which breaks up the simplicity, beauty and symmetry of Plutarch's agrarian idea—and every one of which still leaves the perpetuity of the original lots unexplained. And I have no hesitation in preferring the authority of Aristotle (which is in perfect consonance with what we indirectly gather from other authors, his contemporaries and predecessors) as a better witness on every ground; rejecting the statement of Plutarch, and rejecting it altogether with all its consequences.

But the authority of Aristotle is not the only argument which may be urged to refute this supposition, that the distinct Spartan lots remained unaltered in number down to the time of Lysander. For if the number of distinct lots remained undiminished, the number of citizens cannot have greatly diminished. Now the conspiracy of Kinadôn falls during the life of Lysander, within the first ten years after the close of the Peloponnesian war: and in the account which Xenophôn gives of that conspiracy, the paucity of the number of citizens is brought out in the clearest and most emphatic manner. And this must be before the time when the new law of Epitadeus is said to have passed, at least before that law can have had room to produce any sensible effects. If then the ancient 9000 lots still remained all separate, without either consolidation or subdivision, how are we to account for the small number of citizens at the time of the conspiracy of Kinadôn?

This examination of the evidence (for the purpose of which I have been compelled to prolong the present note) shows—1. That the hypothesis of indivisible, inalienable lots, maintained for a long period in undiminished number at Sparta, is not only sustained by the very minimum of affirmative evidence, but is contradicted by very good negative. 2. That the hypothesis which represents dowries to daughters

are not acknowledged in the sober appreciation of Aristotle. That the citizens were far more numerous in early times, the philosopher tells us, and that the community had in his day greatly declined in power, we also know: in this sense the times of Sparta had doubtless once been better. We may even concede that during the three centuries succeeding Lykurgus, when they were continually acquiring new territory, and when Aristotle had been told that they had occasionally admitted new citizens, so that the aggregate number of citizens had once been 10,000—we may concede that in these previous centuries the distribution of land had been less unequal, so that the disproportion between the great size of the territory and the small number of citizens was not so marked as it had become at the period which the philosopher personally witnessed; for the causes tending to augmented inequality were constant and uninterrupted in their working. But this admission will still leave us far removed from the sketch drawn by Dr. Thirlwall, which depicts the Lykurgean Sparta as starting from a new agrarian scheme not far removed

as being prohibited by law, is indeed affirmed by Plutarch, Ælian and Justin, but is contradicted by the better authority of Aristotle.

The recent edition of Herakleidês Ponticus, published by Schneidewin in 1847 since my first edition, presents an amended text which completely bears out my interpretation. His text, derived from a fuller comparison of existing MSS., as well as from better critical judgment (see his Prolegg. c. iii. p. liv.), stands—Πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχρὸν νενόμισται. τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας μοίρας οὐδὲ ἔξεστιν (p. 7). It is plain that all this passage relates to sale of land, and not to testation, or succession, or division. Thus much *negatively* is certain, and Schneidewin remarks in his note (p. 53) that it contradicts Müller, Hermann and Schömann—adding, that the distinction drawn is, between land inherited from the original family lots, and land otherwise acquired, by donation, bequest, &c. Sale of the former was absolutely illegal: sale of the latter was discreditable, yet not absolutely illegal. Aristotle in the Politics (vii. 6. 10) takes no notice of any such distinction, between land inherited from the primitive lots, and land otherwise acquired. Nor was there perhaps any well-defined line of distinction, in a country of unwritten customs like Sparta, between what was simply disgraceful and what was positively illegal. Schneidewin in his note, however, assumes the original equality of the lots as certain in itself, and as being the cause of the prohibition: neither of which appears to me true.

I speak of this confused compilation still under the name of Herakleidês Ponticus, by which it is commonly known; though Schneidewin in the second chapter of his Prolegomena has shown sufficient reason for believing that there is no authority for connecting it with the name of Herakleidês. He tries to establish the work as consisting of Excerpta from the lost treatise of Aristotle's περὶ Πολιτειῶν: which is well made out with regard to some parts, but not enough to justify his inference as to the whole. The article, wherein Welcker vindicates the ascribing of the work to an Excerptor of Herakleidês, is unsatisfactory (Kleine Schriften, p. 451).

Beyond this irrelevant passage of Herakleidês Ponticus, no farther evidence is produced by Müller and Manso to justify their positive assertion, that the Spartan lot of land was indivisible in respect to inheritance.

from equality of landed property—the citizens as spontaneously disposed to uphold this equality by giving to unprovided men the benefit of adoptions and heiress-marriages—and the magistrate as interfering to enforce this latter purpose, even in cases where the citizens were themselves unwilling. All our evidence exhibits to us both decided inequality of possessions and inclinations on the part of rich men the reverse of those which Dr. Thirlwall indicates; nor will the powers of interference which he ascribes to the magistrate be found sustained by the chapter of Herodotus on which he seems to rest them.[1]

To conceive correctly, then, the Lykurgean system, as far as obscurity and want of evidence will permit, it seems to me that there are two current misconceptions which it is essential to

[1] Herod. vi. 57, in enumerating the privileges and perquisites of the kings—*δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλῆας τόσαδε μοῦνα· πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἢν μή περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ· καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· καὶ ἢν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλήων ἐνάντιον ποιέεσθαι.*

It seems curious that *πατρούχος παρθένος* should mean a damsel who has *no father* (literally *lucus a non lucendo*); but I suppose that we must accept this upon the authority of Julius Pollux and Timæus. Proceeding on this interpretation, Valckenaer gives the meaning of the passage very justly: "Orbæ nuptias, necdum a patre desponsatæ, si plures sibi vindicarent, fieretque *ἡ ἐπίκληρος*, ut Athenis loquebantur, *ἐπίδικος*, Spartæ lis ista dirimebatur a regibus solis".

Now the judicial function here described is something very different from the language of Dr. Thirlwall, that "the kings had the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses in cases where the father had not signified his will". Such disposal would approach somewhat to that omnipotence which Aristophanês (Vesp. 585) makes old Philokleôn claim for the Athenian dikasts (an exaggeration well-calculated to serve the poet's purpose of making the dikasts appear monsters of caprice and injustice), and would be analogous to the power which English kings enjoyed three centuries ago as feudal guardians over wards. But the language of Herodotus is inconsistent with the idea that the kings *chose* a husband for the orphan heiress. She was claimed as of right by persons in certain degrees of relationship to her. Whether the law about *ἀγχίστεια* (affinity carrying legal rights) was the same as at Athens we cannot tell; but the question submitted for adjudication, at Sparta to the kings and at Athens to the dikasteries, was certainly the same, agreeably to the above note of Valckenaer—namely, to whom, among the various claimants for the marriage, the best legal title really belonged. It is indeed probable enough, that the two royal descendants of Hêraklês might abuse their judicial function, as there are various instances known in which they take bribes; but they were not likely to abuse it in favour of an unprovided youth.

Next, as to adoption: Herodotus tells us that the ceremony of adoption was performed before the kings: probably enough there was some fee paid with it. But this affords no ground for presuming that they had any hand in determining *whom* the childless father was to adopt. According to the Attic law about adoption, there were conditions to be fulfilled, consents to be obtained, the absence of disqualifying circumstances verified, &c.; and some authority before which this was to be done was indispensable (see Meier and Schömann, Attisch. Prozess, b. iii. ch. ii. p. 436). At Sparta such authority was vested by ancient custom in the king; but we are not told, nor is it probable, "that he could interpose, in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty," as Dr. Thirlwall supposes.

discard. One of these is, that the system included a repartition of landed property, upon principles of exact or approximative equality (distinct from that appropriation which belonged to the Dorian conquest and settlement), and provisions for perpetuating the number of distinct and equal lots. The other is, that it was first brought to bear when the Spartans were masters of all Laconia. The illusions created by the old legend—which depicts Laconia as all one country, and all conquered at one stroke—yet survive after the legend itself has been set aside as bad evidence: we cannot conceive Sparta as subsisting by itself without dominion over Laconia, nor Amyklæ, Pharis and Geronthræ, as really and truly independent of Sparta. Yet, if these towns were independent in the time of Lykurgus, much more confidently may the same independence be affirmed of the portions of Laconia which lie lower than Amyklæ down the valley of the Eurôtas, as well as of the eastern coast, which Herodotus expressly states to have been originally connected with Argos.

Discarding then these two suppositions, we have to consider the Lykurgean system as brought to bear upon Sparta and its immediate circumjacent district, apart from the rest of Laconia, and as not meddling systematically with the partition of property, whatever that may have been, which the Dorian conquerors established at their original settlement. Lykurgus does not try to make the poor rich, nor the rich poor; but he imposes upon both the same subjugating drill[1]—the same habits of life, gentlemanlike idleness, and unlettered strength—the same fare, clothing, labours, privations, endurance, punishments, and subordination. It is a lesson instructive at least, however unsatisfactory, to political students—that with all this equality of dealing, he ends in creating a community in whom not merely the love of pre-eminence, but even the love of money, stands powerfully and specially developed.[2]

Lykurgean system—originally applied only to Sparta—introduced equal severity of discipline, not equality of property.

How far the peculiar of the primitive Sparta extended we have no means of determining; but its limits down the valley of the Eurôtas were certainly narrow, inasmuch as it did not reach so far

[1] Σπάρτα δαμασίμβροτος, Simonidês, apud Plutarch. Agesilaus, c. 1

[2] Aristotel. Polit. ii. 6, 9, 19, 23. τὸ φιλότιμον—τὸ φιλοχρήματον.

as Amyklæ. Nor can we tell what principles the Dorian conquerors may have followed in the original allotment of lands within the limits of that peculiar. Equal apportionment is not probable, because all the individuals of a conquering band are seldom regarded as possessing equal claims; but whatever the original apportionment may have been, it remained without any general or avowed disturbance until the days of Agis III. and Kleomenês III. Here then we have the primitive Sparta, including Dorian warriors with their Helot subjects, but no Perioeki. And it is upon these Spartans separately, perhaps after the period of aggravated disorder and lawlessness noticed by Herodotus and Thucydidês, that the painful but invigorating discipline above sketched must have been originally brought to bear.

Original Dorian allotment of land in Sparta unknown—probably not equal.

The gradual conquest of Laconia, with the acquisition of additional lands and new Helots, and the formation of the order of Perioeki, both of which were a consequence of it—is to be considered as posterior to the introduction of the Lykurgean system at Sparta, and as resulting partly from the increased force which that system imparted. The career of conquest went on, beginning from Têleklus, for nearly three centuries—with some interruptions indeed, and in the case of the Messenian war, with a desperate and even precarious struggle—so that in the time of Thucydidês, and for some time previously, the Spartans possessed two-fifths of Peloponnêsus. And this series of new acquisitions and victories disguised the really weak point of the Spartan system, by rendering it possible either to plant the poorer citizens as Perioeki in a conquered township, or to supply them with lots of land, of which they could receive the produce without leaving the city—so that their numbers and their military strength were prevented from declining. It is even affirmed by Aristotle, that during these early times they augmented the number of their citizens by fresh admissions, which of course implies the acquisition of additional lots of land.[1] But successful war (to use an expression substantially borrowed from the same philosopher) was necessary to their salvation: the establishment

Gradual conquest of Laconia, the result of the new force imparted by the Lykurgean discipline.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 12.

of their ascendency, and of their maximum of territory, was followed, after no very long interval, by symptoms of decline.[1] It will hereafter be seen that at the period of the conspiracy of Kinadôn (395 B.C.), the full citizens (called Homoioi or Peers) were considerably inferior in number to the Hypomeiones, or Spartans who could no longer furnish their qualification, and had become disfranchised. And the loss thus sustained was very imperfectly repaired by the admitted practice sometimes resorted to by rich men, of associating with their own children the children of poorer citizens, and paying the contribution of these latter to the public tables, so as to enable them to go through the prescribed course of education and discipline—whereby they became (under the title or sobriquet of Mothăkes[2]) citizens, with a certain taint of inferiority, yet were sometimes appointed to honourable commands.

Laconia, the state and territory of the Lacedæmonians, was affirmed at the time of its greatest extension to have comprehended 100 cities[3]—this after the conquest of Messenia, so that it would

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 22. Τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλοντο δὲ ἄρξαντες, &c. Compare also vii. 13, 15.

[2] Plutarch, Kleomen. c. 8; Phylarch ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 271.

The strangers called Τρόφιμοι, and the illegitimate sons of Spartans, whom Xenophôn mentions with eulogy, as "having partaken in the honourable training of the city," must probably have been introduced in this same way, by private support from the rich (Xenoph. Hellen. v. 3, 9). The xenêlasy must have then become practically much relaxed, if not extinct.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 362; Steph. Byz Αἰθεια.

Construing the word πόλεις extensively, so as to include townships small as well as considerable, this estimate is probably inferior to the truth; since even during the depressed times of modern Greece a fraction of the ancient Laconia (including in that term Messenia) exhibited much more than 100 *bourgs*.

In reference merely to the territory called Maina, between Calamata in the Messenian Gulf and Capo di Magna, the western part of the peninsula of Tænarus, see a curious letter addressed to the Duc de Nevers in 1618 (on occasion of a projected movement to liberate the Morea from the Turks, and to assure to him the sovereignty of it, as descendant of the Palæologi) by a confidential agent whom he despatched thither — M. Chateaurenaud — who sends to him "une sorte de tableau statistique du Magne, où sont énumérés 125 bourgs ou villages renfermans 4913 feux, et pouvans fournir 10,000 combattans, dont 4000 armés, et 6000 sans armés (between Calamata and Capo di Magna)". (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. 1842, p. 329. Mémoire de M. Berger de Xivrey.)

This estimate is not far removed from that of Colonel Leake towards the beginning of the present century, who considers that there were then in Mani (the same territory) 130 towns and villages; and this too in a state of society exceedingly disturbed and insecure—where private feuds and private towers (or pyrghi) for defence were universal, and in parts of which, Colonel Leake says, "I see men preparing the ground for cotton, with a dagger and pistols at their girdles. This, it seems, is the ordinary armour of the cultivator when there is no particular suspicion of danger; the shepherd is almost always armed with

include all the southern portion of Peloponnêsus, from Thyrea on the Argolic Gulf to the southern bank of the river Nedon in its course into the Ionian Sea. But Laconia, more strictly so called, was distinguished from Messenia, and was understood to designate the portion of the above-mentioned territory which lay to the east of Mount Taygetus. The conquest of Messenia by the Spartans we shall presently touch upon; but that of Laconia proper is very imperfectly narrated to us. Down to the reign of Têleklus, as has been before remarked, Amyklæ, Pharis and Geronthræ were still Achæan: in the reign of that prince they were first conquered, and the Achæans either expelled or subjugated. It cannot be doubted that Amyklæ had been previously a place of consequence: in point of heroic antiquity and memorials, this city, as well as Therapnæ, seems to have surpassed Sparta. And the war of the Spartans against it is represented as a struggle of some moment—indeed in those times the capture of any walled city was tedious and difficult. Timomachus, an Ægeid from Thêbes,[1] at the head of a body of his countrymen, is said to have rendered essential service to the Spartans in the conquest of the Achæans of Amyklæ; and the brave resistance of the latter was commemorated by a monument erected to Zeus Tropæus at Sparta, which was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias.[2] The Achæans of Pharis and Geronthræ, alarmed by the fate of Amyklæ, are said to have surrendered their towns with little or no resistance: after which the inhabitants of all the three cities, either wholly or in part, went into exile beyond sea, giving place to colonists from Sparta.[3] From this time forward, according to Pausanias, Amyklæ continued as a village.[4] But as the Amyklæan hoplites constituted a valuable portion of the Spartan army, it must have been numbered

Conquest of Amyklæ, Pharis and Geronthræ, by king Têleklus.

a musket." . . . . "The Maniotes reckon their population at 30,000, and their muskets at 10,000." (Leake, Travels in Morea, vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 243, 263—266.)

Now under the dominion of Sparta all Laconia doubtless enjoyed complete internal security, so that the idea of the cultivator tilling his land in arms would be unheard of. Reasoning upon the basis of what has just been stated about the Maniote population and number of townships, 100 πόλεις for all Laconia is a very moderate computation.

[1] Aristot. Λακων. Πολιτεία, ap. Schol. Pindar. Isth. vii. 18.

I agree with M. Boeckh, that Pindar himself identifies this march of the Ægeids to Amyklæ with the original Herakleid conquest of Peloponnêsus. (Notæ Criticæ ad Pindar. Pyth. v. 74, p. 479.)

[2] Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 12, 7.

[3] Pausan. iii. 22, 5.

[4] Pausan. iii. 19, 5.

among the cities of the Periœki as one of the hundred ;[1] the distinction between a dependent city and a village not being very strictly drawn. The festival of the Hyacinthia, celebrated at the great temple of the Amyklæan Apollo, was among the most solemn and venerated in the Spartan calendar.

Helus conquered by Alkamenês

It was in the time of Alkamenês the son of Têleklus that the Spartans conquered Helus, a maritime town on the left bank of the Eurôtas, and reduced its inhabitants to bondage—from whose name,[2] according to various authors, the general title *Helots*, belonging to all the serfs of Laconia, was derived. But of the conquest of the other towns of Laconia—Gytheium, Akriæ, Therapnæ, &c.—or of the eastern land on the coast of the Argolic Gulf, including Brasiæ and Epidaurus Limêra, or the island of Kythêra, all which at one time belonged to the Argeian confederacy, we have no accounts.

Progressive increase of Sparta

Scanty as our information is, it just enables us to make out a progressive increase of force and dominion on the part of the Spartans, resulting from the organisation of Lykurgus. Of this progress a farther manifestation is found, besides the conquest of the Achæans in the south by Têleklus and Alkamenês, in their successful opposition to the great power of Pheidôn the Argeian, related in a previous chapter. We now approach the long and arduous efforts by which they accomplished the subjugation of their brethren the Messenian Dorians.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 5, 11.

[2] Pausan. iii. 2, 7; iii. 20, 6. Strabo, viii. p. 363.

If it be true (as Pausanias states) that the Argeians aided Helus to resist, their assistance must probably have been given by sea; perhaps from Epidaurus Limêra, or Prasiæ, when these towns formed part of the Argeian federation.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST AND SECOND MESSENIAN WARS.

THAT there were two long contests between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, and that, in both, the former were completely victorious, is a fact sufficiently attested. And if we could trust the statements in Pausanias—our chief and almost only authority on the subject—we should be in a situation to recount the history of both these wars in considerable detail. But unfortunately the incidents narrated in that writer have been gathered from sources which are, even by his own admission, undeserving of credit—from Rhianus, the poet of Bênê in Krête, who had composed an epic poem on Aristomenês and the second Messenian war, about B.C. 220—and from Myrôn of Priênê, a prose author whose date is not exactly known, but belonging to the Alexandrine age, and not earlier than the third century before the Christian æra. From Rhianus we have no right to expect trustworthy information, while the accuracy of Myrôn is much depreciated by Pausanias himself—on some points even too much, as will presently be shown. But apart from the mental habits either of the prose writer or the poet, it does not seem that any good means of knowledge were open to either of them, except the poems of Tyrtæus, which we are by no means sure that they ever consulted. The account of the two wars, extracted from these two authors by Pausanias, is a string of *tableaux*, several of them indeed highly poetical, but destitute of historical coherence or sufficiency; and O. Müller has justly observed, that "absolutely no reason is given in them for the subjection of Messenia".[1] They are accounts

Authorities for the history of the Messenian wars—

[1] History of the Dorians, i. 7, 10 (note). It seems that Diodorus had given a history of the Messenian wars in considerable detail, if we may judge from a fragment of the last seventh book, containing the debate between

unworthy of being transcribed in detail into the pages of general history, nor can we pretend to do anything more than verify a few leading facts of the war.

The poet Tyrtæus was himself engaged on the side of the Spartans in the second war, and it is from him that we learn the few indisputable facts respecting both the first and the second. If the Messenians had never been re-established in Peloponnêsus, we should probably never have heard any farther details respecting these early contests. That re-establishment, together with the first foundation of the city called Messênê on Mount Ithômê, was among the capital wounds inflicted on Sparta by Epameinôndas, in the year B.C. 369—between 300 and 250 years after the conclusion of the second Messenian war. The descendants of the old Messenians, who had remained for so long a period without any fixed position in Greece, were incorporated in the new city, together with various Helots and miscellaneous settlers who had no claim to a similar genealogy. The gods and heroes of the Messenian race were reverentially invoked at this great ceremony, especially the great hero Aristomenês;[1] and the sight of Mount Ithômê, the ardour of the newly established citizens, the hatred and apprehension of Sparta, operating as a powerful stimulus to the creation and multiplication of what are called *traditions*, sufficed to expand the few facts known respecting the struggles of the old Messenians into a variety of details. In almost all these stories we discover a colouring unfavourable to Sparta, contrasting forcibly with the account given by Isokratês in his Discourse called Archidâmus, wherein we read the view which a Spartan might take of the ancient conquests of his forefathers. But a clear proof that these Messsenian stories had no real basis of tradition is shown in the contradictory statements respecting the principal hero Aristomenês; for some place him in the first, others in the second, of the two wars. Diodôrus and Myrôn both placed him in the first; Rhianus in the second. Though

Chiefly belong to the time after the foundation of Messênê by Epameinôndas.

Kleonnis and Aristomenês. Very probably it was taken from Ephorus—though this we do not know.

For the statements of Pausanias respecting Myrôn and Rhianus, see iv. 6. Besides Myrôn and Rhianus, however, he seems to have received oral statements from contemporary Messenians and Lacedæmonians; at least on some occasions he states and contrasts the two contradictory stories (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 1).

[1] Pausan. iv. 27, 2—3; Diodor. xv. 77.

Pausanias gives it as his opinion that the account of the latter is preferable, and that Aristomenês really belongs to the second Messenian war, it appears to me that the one statement is as much worthy of belief as the other, and that there is no sufficient evidence for deciding between them—a conclusion which is substantially the same with that of Wesseling, who thinks that there were two persons named Aristomenês, one in the first and one in the second war.[1] This inextricable confusion respecting the greatest name in Messenian antiquity, shows how little any genuine stream of tradition can here be recognised.

Absence of real or ancient traditions concerning these wars: contradictions about the Messenian hero Aristomenês.

Pausanias states the first Messenian war as beginning in B.C. 743 and lasting till B.C. 724—the second as beginning in B.C. 685 and lasting till B.C. 668. Neither of these dates rests upon any assignable positive authority; but the time assigned to the first war seems probable, while that of the second is apparently too early. Tyrtæus authenticates both the duration of the first war, twenty years, and the eminent services rendered in it by the Spartan king Theopompus.[2] He says moreover

Dates of the first war—B.C. 743—724.

[1] See Diodor. Fragm. lib. viii. vol. iv. p. 30: in his summary of Messenian events (xv. 66) he represents it as a matter on which authors differed, whether Aristomenês belonged to the first or second war. Clemens Alexand. (Prot. p. 36) places him in the *first*, the same as Myrôn, by mentioning him as having killed Theopompus.

Wesseling observes (ad Diod. l. c.), "Duo fuerunt Aristomenes, uterque in Messeniorum contra Spartanos bello illustrissimus, alter posteriore, priore alter bello".

Unless this duplication of homonymous persons can be shown to be probable, by some collateral evidence, I consider it only as tantamount to a confession, that the difficulty is insoluble.

Pausanias is reserved in his manner of giving judgment,—ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστομένης δόξῃ γε ἐμοὶ γένοιτο ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου (iv. 6). Müller (Dorians, i. 7, 9) goes much too far when he affirms that the statement of Myrôn was "in the teeth of all tradition". Müller states incorrectly the citation from Plutarch, Agis, c. 21 (see his note *h*). Plutarch there says nothing about *Tyrtæus:* he says that the Messenians affirmed that their hero Aristomenês had *killed* the Spartan king Theopompus, whereas the Lacedæmonians said that he had only *wounded* the king. According to *both* accounts, then, it would appear that Aristomenês belonged to the *first* Messenian war, *not to the second.*

[2] Tyrtæus, Fragm. 6, Gaisford. But Tyrtæus ought not to be understood to affirm distinctly (as Pausanias, Mr. Clinton, and Müller all think) that Theopompus survived and put a close to the war: his language might consist with the supposition that Theopompus had been slain in the war—Τὸν δία (Theopompus) Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον.

For we surely might be authorised in saying—"It was through Epameinôndas that the Spartans were conquered and humbled: or it was through Lord Nelson that the French fleet was destroyed in the last war," though both of them perished in the accomplishment.

Tyrtæus therefore does not contradict the assertion, that Theopompus was slain by Aristomenês, nor can he

(speaking during the second war), "the fathers of our fathers conquered Messênê"; thus loosely indicating the relative dates of the two.

Causes alleged by the Spartans.

The Spartans (as we learn from Isokratês, whose words date from a time when the city of Messênê was only a recent foundation) professed to have seized the territory, partly in revenge for the impiety of the Messenians in killing their own king the Herakleid Kresphontês, whose relative had appealed to Sparta for aid—partly by sentence of the Delphian oracle. Such were the causes which had induced them first to invade the country, and they had conquered it after a struggle of twenty years.[1] The Lacedæmonian explanations, as given in Pausanias, seem for the most part to be counter-statements arranged after the time when the Messenian version, evidently the interesting and popular account, had become circulated.

It has already been stated that the Lacedæmonians and Messenians had a joint border temple and sacrifice in honour of Artemis Limnatis, dating from the earliest times of their establishment in Peloponnêsus. The site of this temple near the upper course of the river Nedon, in the mountainous territory north-east of Kalamata, but west of the highest ridge of Taygetus, has recently been exactly verified—and it seems in these early days to have belonged to Sparta. That the quarrel began at one of these border sacrifices was the statement of both parties, Lacedæmonians and Messenians. According to the latter, the Lacedæmonian king Têleklus laid a snare for the Messenians, by dressing up some youthful Spartans as virgins and giving them daggers; whereupon a contest ensued, in which the Spartans were worsted and Têleklus slain. That Têleklus was slain at the temple by the Messenians was also the account of the Spartans; but they affirmed that he was slain in attempting to defend some young Lacedæmonian maidens, who were sacrificing at the temple, against outrageous violence from the Messenian youth.[2]

be cited as a witness to prove that Aristomenês did not live during the *first* Messenian war: which is the purpose for which Pausanias quotes him (iv. 6).

[1] Isokratês (Archidamus), Or. vi. p 121—122.

[2] Strabo (vi. p. 257) gives a similar account of the sacrilege and murderous conduct of the Messenian youth at the temple of Artemis Limnatis. His version, substantially agreeing with that of the Lacedæmonians, seems to be borrowed from Antiochus, the

In spite of the death of this king, however, the war did not actually break out until some little time after, when Alkamenês and Theopompus were kings at Sparta, and Antiochus and Androklês, sons of Phintas, kings of Messenia. The immediate cause of it was, a private altercation between the Messenian Polycharês (victor at the fourth Olympiad, B.C. 764) and the Spartan Euæphnus. Polycharês having been grossly injured by Euæphnus, and his claim for redress having been rejected at Sparta, took revenge by aggressions upon other Lacedæmonians. The Messenians refused to give him up; though one of the two kings, Androklês, strongly insisted upon doing so, and maintained his opinion so earnestly against the opposite sense of the majority and of his brother Antiochus, that a tumult arose, and he was slain. The Lacedæmonians, now resolving upon war, struck the first blow without any formal declaration, by surprising the border town of Ampheia, and putting its defenders to the sword. They farther overran the Messenian territory, and attacked some other towns, but without success. Euphaês, who had now succeeded his father Antiochus as king of Messenia, summoned the forces of the country and carried on the war against them with energy and boldness. For

Spartan king Têleklus slain by the Messenians at the temple of Artemis Limnatis.

First Messenian war.

contemporary of Thucydidês. and is therefore earlier than the foundation of Messênê by Epameinôndas, from which event the philo-Messenian statements take their rise. Antiochus, writing during the plenitude of Lacedæmonian power, would naturally look upon the Messenians as irretrievably prostrate, and the impiety here narrated would in his mind be the natural cause why the divine judgments overtook them. Ephorus gives a similar account (ap. Strabo. vi. p. 280).

Compare Herakleidês Ponticus (ad calcem Cragii De Rep. Laced. p. 528) and Justin, iii. 4.

The possession of this temple of Artemis Limnatis—and of the Ager Dentheliatês, the district in which it was situated—was a subject of constant dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians after the foundation of the city of Messênê, even down to the time of the Roman emperor Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. iv. 43). See Stephan. Byz. v. Δελθάνιοι; Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iv. 4, 2; iv. 31, 3 Strabo, viii. p. 362.

For the situation of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, and the description of the Ager Dentheliatês, see Professor Ross, Reisen im Peloponnes, i. p. 5—11. He discovered two boundary-stones with inscriptions, dating from the time of the early Roman emperors, marking the confines of Lacedæmon and Messênê; both on the line of the highest ridge of Taygetus, where the waters separate east and west, and considerably to the eastward of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, so that at that time the Ager Dentheliatês was considered a part of Messenia.

I now find that Colonel Leake (Peloponnesiaca, p. 181) regards these Inscriptions discovered by Professor Ross as not proving that the temple of Artemis Limnatis was situated near the spot where they were found. His authority weighs much with me on such a point, though the arguments which he here employs do not seem to me conclusive.

the first four years of the war the Lacedæmonians made no progress, and even incurred the ridicule of the old men of their nation as faint-hearted warriors. In the fifth year, however, they undertook a more vigorous invasion, under their two kings, Theopompus and Polydôrus, who were met by Euphaês with the full force of the Messenians. A desperate battle ensued, in which it does not seem that either side gained much advantage: nevertheless the Messenians found themselves so much enfeebled by it, that they were forced to take refuge on the fortified mountain of Ithômê, abandoning the rest of the country. In their distress they sent to solicit counsel and protection from Delphi, but their messenger brought back the appalling answer that a virgin of the royal race of Æpytus must be sacrificed for their salvation. At the tragic scene which ensues, Aristodêmus puts to death his own daughter, yet without satisfying the exigencies of the oracle. The war still continued, and in the thirteenth year of it another hard-fought battle took place, in which the brave Euphaês was slain, but the result was again indecisive. Aristodêmus, being elected king in his place, prosecuted the war strenuously. The fifth year of his reign is signalised by a third general battle, wherein the Corinthians assist the Spartans, and the Arcadians and Sikyonians are on the side of Messenia; the victory is here decisive on the side of Aristodêmus, and the Lacedæmonians are driven back into their own territory.[1] It was now their turn to send envoys and ask advice from the Delphian oracle. The remaining events of the war exhibit a series, partly of stratagems to fulfil the injunctions of the priestess,—partly of prodigies in which the divine wrath is manifested against the Messenians. The king Aristodêmus, agonised with the thought that he has slain his own daughter without saving his country, puts an end to his own life.[2] In the twentieth year of the war the Messenians abandoned Ithômê, which the Lacedæmonians

Messenian kings Euphaês and Aristodêmus.

Messenians concentrate themselves on Mount Ithômê—after a long siege they are completely conquered.

[1] It is perhaps to this occasion that the story of the Epeunakti in Theopompus referred (ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 271),—Helots adopted into the sleeping-place of their masters who had been slain in the war, and who were subsequently enfranchised. The story of the Partheniæ, obscure and unintelligible as it is, belongs to the foundation of the colony of Taras or Tarentum (Strabo, vi. p. 279).

[2] See Plutarch, De Superstitione, p. 168.

razed to the ground: the rest of the country being speedily conquered, such of the inhabitants as did not flee either to Arcadia or to Eleusis were reduced to complete submission.

Such is the abridgment of what Pausanias[1] gives as the narrative of the first Messenian war. Most of his details bear the evident stamp of mere late romance; and it will easily be seen that the sequence of events presents no plausible explanation of that which is really indubitable—the result. The twenty years' war and the final abandonment of Ithômê is attested by Tyrtæus beyond all doubt, as well as the harsh treatment of the conquered—"Like asses worn down by heavy burthens,"[2] says the Spartan poet, "they were compelled to make over to their masters an entire half of the produce of their fields, and to come in the garb of woe to Sparta, themselves and their wives, as mourners at the decease of the kings and principal persons". The revolt of their descendants, against a yoke so oppressive, goes by the name of the second Messenian war.

Harsh treatment and Helotism of the conquered Messenians under Sparta.

Had we possessed the account of the first Messenian war as given by Myrôn and Diodôrus, it would evidently have been very different from the above, because they included Aristomenês in it, and to him the leading parts would be assigned. As the narrative now stands in Pausanias, we are not introduced to that great Messenian hero—the Achilles of the Epic of Rhianus[3]—until the second war, in which his gigantic proportions stand prominently forward. He is the great champion of his country in the three battles which are represented as taking place during this war: the first, with indecisive result, at Deræ; the second, a signal victory on the part of the Messenians, at the Boar's Grave; the third, an equally signal defeat, in conse-

Revolt of the Messenians against Sparta—second Messenian war—Aristomenês.

[1] See Pausan. iv. 6—14.

An elaborate discussion is to be seen in Manso's Sparta on the authorities whom Pausanias has followed in his History of the Messenian Wars, 18. Beilage, tom. ii. p. 264.

"It would evidently be folly (he observes, p. 270) to suppose that in the history of the Messenian wars, as Pausanias lays them before us, we possess the *true* history of these events."

[2] Tyrtæus, Fragm. 5, 6 (Schneidewin).

C. F. Hermann conceives the treatment of the Messenians after the first war as mild in comparison with what it became after the second (Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, sect. 31), a supposition which the emphatic words of Tyrtæus render inadmissible.

[3] This is the express comparison introduced by Pausanias, iv. 5, 2.

quence of the traitorous flight of Aristokratês king of the Arcadian Orchomenos, who, ostensibly embracing the alliance of the Messenians, had received bribes from Sparta. Thrice did Aristomenês sacrifice to Zeus Ithomatês the sacrifice called Hekatomphonia,[1] reserved for those who had slain with their own hands 100 enemies in battle. At the head of a chosen band he carried his incursions more than once into the heart of the Lacedæmonian territory, surprised Amyklæ and Pharis, and even penetrated by night into the unfortified precinct of Sparta itself, where he suspended his shield as a token of defiance in the temple of Athênê Chalkiœkus. Thrice was he taken prisoner, but on two occasions marvellously escaped before he could be conveyed to Sparta: the third occasion was more fatal, and he was cast by order of the Spartans into the Keadas, a deep rocky cavity in Mount Taygetus into which it was their habit to precipitate criminals. But even in this emergency the divine aid[2] was not withheld from him. While the fifty Messenians who shared his punishment were all killed by the shock, he alone was both supported by the gods so as to reach the bottom unhurt, and enabled to find an unexpected means of escape. For when, abandoning all hope, he had wrapped himself up in his cloak to die, he perceived a fox creeping about among the dead bodies: waiting until the animal approached him, he grasped its tail, defending himself from its bites as well as he could by means of his cloak; and being thus enabled to find the aperture by which the fox had entered, enlarged it sufficiently for crawling out himself. To the surprise both of friends and enemies he again appeared alive and vigorous at Eira. That fortified mountain, on the banks of the river Nedon, and near the Ionian sea, had been occupied by the Messenians after the battle in which they had been betrayed by Aristokratês the Arcadian; it was there that they had concentrated their whole force, as in the former war at Ithômê, abandoning the rest of the country. Under

His chivalrous exploits and narrow escapes—end of the second war—the Messenians again conquered.

[1] Plutarch, Sept. Sapient Convivium, p. 159.

[2] Pausan. iv. 18, 4. Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἐς τε τὰ ἄλλα θεῶν τις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσεν.

Plutarch (De Herodot. Malignitat. p. 856) states that Herodotus had mentioned Aristomenês as having been made prisoner by the Lacedæmonians: but Plutarch must here have been deceived by his memory, for Herodotus does not mention Aristomenês.

the conduct of Aristomenês, assisted by the prophet Theoklus, they maintained this strong position for eleven years. At length they were compelled to abandon it. Yet as in the case of Ithômê the final determining circumstances are represented to have been, not any superiority of bravery or organization on the part of the Lacedæmonians, but treacherous betrayal and stratagem, seconding the fatal decree of the gods. Unable to maintain Eira longer, Aristomenês, with his sons and a body of his countrymen, forced his way through the assailants and quitted the country—some of them retiring to Arcadia and Elis, and finally migrating to Rhegium. He himself passed the remainder of his days in Rhodes, where he dwelt along with his son-in-law Damagêtus, the ancestor of the noble Rhodian family called the Diagorids, celebrated for its numerous Olympic victories.

Such are the main features of what Pausanias calls[1] the second Messenian war, or of what ought rather to be called the Aristomeneïs of the poet Rhianus. That after the foundation of Messênê, and the recall of the exiles by Epameinôndas, favour and credence were found for many tales respecting the prowess of the ancient hero whom they invoked[2] in their libations—tales well calculated to interest the fancy, to vivify the patriotism, and to inflame the anti-Spartan antipathies, of the new inhabitants—there can be little doubt. And the Messenian maidens of that day may well have sung in their public processional sacrifices,[3] how "Aristomenês pursued the flying Lacedæmonians down to the mid-plain of Stenyklêrus and up to the very summit of the mountain". From such stories (*traditions* they ought not to be denominated) Rhianus may doubtless have borrowed; but if proof were wanting to show how completely he looked at his materials

Narrative of Pausanias, borrowed from the poet Rhianus, is undeserving of credit.

[1] The narrative in Pausanias, iv. 15—24.

According to an incidental notice in Herodotus, the Samians affirmed that they had aided Lacedæmôn in war against Messênê,—at what period we do not know (Herodot. iii. 56).

[2] Τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας (Pausan. ii. 14, 5). The practice still continued in his time.

Compare also Pausan. iv. 27, 3; iv. 32, 3—4.

[3] Pausanias heard the song himself (iv. 16, 4)—Ἐπέλεγον ᾄσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ᾀδόμενον:

Ἔς τε μέσον πεδίον Στενυκλήριον ἐς τ' ὄρος ἄκρον
Εἵπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις.

According to one story, the Lacedæmonians were said to have got possession of the person of Aristomenês and killed him: they found in him a hairy heart (Steph. Byz. v. Ἀνδανία).

from the point of view of the poet and not from that of the historian, we should find it in the remarkable fact noticed by Pausanias. Rhianus represented Leotychidês as having been king of Sparta during the second Messenian war: now Leotychidês (as Pausanias observes) did not reign until near a century and a half afterwards, during the Persian invasion.[1]

The poet Tyrtæus, the ally of Sparta—his great efficiency and influence over the Spartan mind.

To the great champion of Messenia, during this war, we may oppose on the side of Sparta another remarkable person, less striking as a character of romance, but more interesting in many ways to the historian—I mean the poet Tyrtæus, a native of Aphidnæ in Attica, an inestimable ally of the Lacedæmonians during most part of this second struggle. According to a story—which however has the air partly of a boast of the later Attic orators—the Spartans, disheartened at the first successes of the Messenians, consulted the Delphian oracle, and were directed to ask for a leader from Athens. The Athenians complied by sending Tyrtæus, whom Pausanias and Justin represent as a lame man and a schoolmaster, despatched with a view of nominally obeying the oracle, and yet rendering no real assistance.[2] This seems to be a colouring put upon the story by later writers, but the intervention of the Athenians in the matter in any way deserves little credit.[3] It seems more probable that the legendary connexion of the Dioskuri with Aphidnæ, celebrated at or near that time by the poet Alkman, brought about through the Delphian oracle the presence of the Aphidnæan poet at Sparta.

[1] Pausan. iv. 15, 1.

Perhaps Leotychidês was king during the last revolt of the Helots or Messenians in 464 B.C., which is called the third Messenian war He seems to have been then in exile, in consequence of his venality during the Thessalian expedition—but not yet dead (Herodot. vi. 72). Of the reality of what Mr. Clinton calls the *third* Messenian war in 490 B.C., I see no adequate proof (see Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 257).

The poem of Rhianus was entitled Μεσσηνιακά. He also composed Θεσσαλικά, Ἠλιακά, Ἀχαϊκά. See the fragments—they are very few—in Düntzer's Collection, p. 67—77.

He seems to have mentioned Nikoteleia, the mother of Aristomenês (Fr. ii. p. 73): compare Pausan. iv. 14, 5.

I may remark that Pausanias throughout his account of the second Messenian war names king Anaxander as leading the Lacedæmonian troops: but he has no authority for so doing, as we see by iv. 15, 1. It is a pure calculation of his own from the πατέρων πατέρες of Tyrtæus.

[2] Pausan. iv. 15, 3; Justin, iii. 5, 4. Compare Plato, Legg. ii. p. 630; Diodor. xv. 66; Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. p. 162. Philochorus and Kallisthenês also represented him as a native of Aphidnæ in Attica, which Strabo controverts upon slender grounds (viii. p. 362); Philochor. Fr. 56 (Didot).

[3] Plutarch, Theseus, c. 33: Pausan. i. 41, 5; Welcker, Alkman. Fragm. p. 20.

Respecting the lameness of Tyrtæus, we can say nothing. But that he was a schoolmaster (if we are constrained to employ an unsuitable term) is highly probable—for in that day, minstrels who composed and sung poems were the only persons from whom the youth received any mental training. Moreover his sway over the youthful mind is particularly noted in the compliment paid to him in after-days by king Leonidas—"Tyrtæus was an adept in tickling the souls of youth".[1] We see enough to satisfy us that he was by birth a stranger, though he became a Spartan by the subsequent recompense of citizenship conferred upon him—that he was sent through the Delphian oracle—that he was an impressive and efficacious minstrel—and that he had moreover sagacity enough to employ his talents for present purposes and diverse needs; being able not merely to reanimate the languishing courage of the baffled warrior, but also to soothe the discontents of the mutinous. That his strains, which long maintained undiminished popularity among the Spartans,[2] contributed much to determine the ultimate issue of this war, there is no reason to doubt; nor is his name the only one to attest the susceptibility of the Spartan mind in that day towards music and poetry. The first establishment of the Karneian festival, with its musical competition at Sparta, falls during the period assigned by Pausanias to the second Messenian war: the Lesbian harper Terpander, who gained the first recorded prize at this solemnity, is affirmed to have been sent for by the Spartans pursuant to a mandate from the Delphian oracle, and to have been the means of appeasing a sedition. In like manner, the Kretan Thalêtas was invited thither during a pestilence, which his art (as it is pretended) contributed to heal (about 620 B.C.); and Alkman, Xenokritus, Polymnastus, and Sakadas, all foreigners by birth, found favourable reception, and acquired popularity by their music and poetry. With the exception of Sakadas, who is a little later, all these names fall in the same century as Tyrtæus, between 660 B.C.—610 B.C. The fashion which the Spartan music continued for a long time to maintain is ascribed chiefly to the genius of Terpander.[3]

Musical susceptibilities of the Spartans.

[1] Plutarch, Kleomen. c. 2. Ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν.

[2] Philochorus, Frag. 56, ed. Didot; Lycurgus cont. Leocrat. p. 163.

[3] See Plutarch, De Musicâ, pp. 1134, 1142, 1146.

The training in which a Spartan passed his life consisted of exercises warlike, social, and religious, blended together. While the individual, strengthened by gymnastics, went through his painful lessons of fatigue, endurance, and aggression, the citizens collectively were kept in the constant habit of simultaneous and regulated movement in the warlike march, in the religious dance, and in the social procession. Music and song, being constantly employed to direct the measure and keep alive the spirit[1] of these multitudinous movements, became associated with the most powerful feelings which the habitual self-suppression of a Spartan permitted to arise, and especially with those sympathies which are communicated at once to an assembled crowd. Indeed the musician and the minstrel were the only persons who ever addressed themselves to the feelings of a Lacedæmonian assembly. Moreover the simple music of that early day, though destitute of artistical merit and superseded afterwards by more complicated combinations, had nevertheless a pronounced ethical character.

Powerful ethical effect of the old Grecian music.

It wrought much more powerfully on the impulses and resolutions of the hearers, though it tickled the ear less gratefully, than the scientific compositions of afterdays. Farther, each particular style of music had its own appropriate mental effect—the Phrygian mode imparted a wild and maddening stimulus; the Dorian mode created a settled and deliberate resolution, exempt alike from the desponding and from the impetuous sentiments.[2] What is called the Dorian mode seems to be in reality the old native Greek mode as contradistinguished from the Phrygian and Lydian—these being the three primitive modes, subdivided and combined only in later times, with which the first Grecian musicians became conversant. It probably acquired its title of Dorian from the musical celebrity of Sparta and Argos, during the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian æra; but it belonged as much to the Arcadians and Achæans as to the Spartans and Argeians. And the marked ethical effects, produced both by the Dorian and

[1] Thucyd. v. 69; Xenoph. Rep. Laced. c. 13.

[2] See the treatise of Plutarch, De Musicâ, passim, especially c. 17, p. 1136, &c.; 33, p. 1143. Plato, Rep. iii. p. 399; Arist. Pol. viii. 6, 5—8. The excellent treatise De Metris Pindari, prefixed by M. Boeckh to his edition of Pindar, is full of instruction upon this as well as upon all other points connected with the Grecian music (see lib. iii. c. 8, p. 238).

the Phrygian modes in ancient times, are facts perfectly well-attested, however difficult they may be to explain upon any general theory of music.

That the impression produced by Tyrtæus at Sparta, therefore, with his martial music, and emphatic exhortations to bravery in the field, as well as union at home, should have been very considerable, is perfectly consistent with the character both of the age and of the people; especially as he is represented to have appeared pursuant to the injunction of the Delphian oracle. From the scanty fragments remaining to us of his elegies and anapæsts, however, we can satisfy ourselves only of two facts: first, that the war was long, obstinately contested, and dangerous to Sparta as well as to the Messenians; next, that other parties in Peloponnêsus took part on both sides, especially on the side of the Messenians. So frequent and harassing were the aggressions of the latter upon the Spartan territory, that a large portion of the border land was left uncultivated: scarcity ensued, and the proprietors of the deserted farms, driven to despair, pressed for a redivision of the landed property in the state. It was in appeasing these discontents that the poem of Tyrtæus called Eunomia, "Legal order," was found signally beneficial.[1] It seems certain that a considerable portion of the Arcadians, together with the Pisatæ and the Triphylians, took part with the Messenians; there are also some statements numbering the Eleians among their allies, but this appears not probable. The state of the case rather seems to have been, that the old quarrel between the Eleians and the Pisatæ respecting the right to preside at the Olympic games, which had already burst forth during the preceding century in the reign of the Argeian Pheidôn, still continued. Unwilling dependents of Elis, the Pisatæ and Triphylians took part with the subject Messenians, while the masters at Elis and Sparta made common cause, as they had before done against Pheidôn.[2] Pantaleôn king of Pisa, revolting from Elis, acted as commander of his countrymen in co-operation with the Messenians; and he is farther noted for having, at the period of the 34th Olympiad (644 B.C.), marched a body of troops to Olympia, and thus

Sufferings of the Spartans in the second Messenian war.

[1] Arist. Polit. v. 7, 1; Pausan. iv. 18, 2.

[2] Pausan. vi. 12, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 355, where the Νέστορος ἀπόγονοι mean the Pylians of Triphylia.

dispossessed the Eleians, on that occasion, of the presidency: that particular festival—as well as the 8th Olympiad, in which Pheidôn interfered,—and the 104th Olympiad, in which the Arcadians marched in,—were always marked on the Eleian register as non-Olympiads, or informal celebrations. We may reasonably connect this temporary triumph of the Pisatans with the Messenian war, inasmuch as they were no match for the Eleians single-handed, while the fraternity of Sparta with Elis is in perfect harmony with the scheme of Peloponnesian politics which we have observed as prevalent even before and during the days of Pheidôn.[1] The second Messenian war will thus stand as beginning somewhere about the 33rd Olympiad, or 648 B.C., between seventy and eighty

Date of the second war, B.C. 648—631.

[1] Respecting the position of the Eleians and Pisatæ during the second Messenian war, there is confusion in the different statements: as they cannot all be reconciled, we are compelled to make a choice.

That the Eleians were allies of Sparta, and the Pisatans of Messenia—also that the contests of Sparta and Messenia were mixed up with those of Elis and Pisa about the agonothesia of the Olympic games—is conformable to one distinct statement of Strabo (viii. pp. 355, 358), and to the passage in Phavorinus v. Αὐγείας, and is moreover indirectly sustained by the view given in Pausanias respecting the relations between Elis and Pisa (vi. 22, 2), whereby it clearly appears that the agonothesia was a matter of standing dispute between the two, until the Pisatans were finally crushed by the Eleians in the time of Pyrrhus, son of Pantaleôn. Farther, this same view is really conformable to another passage in Strabo, which, as now printed, appears to contradict it, but which is recognised by Müller and others as needing correction, though the correction which they propose seems to me not the best. The passage (viii. p. 362) stands thus: Πλεονάκις δ' ἐπολέμησαν (Messenians and Lacedæmonians) διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησὶ Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἑλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Πισατὰς ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομένου βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγὸν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλεόντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνος· ἡνίκα φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, &c. Here it is obvious that in the enumeration of allies, the Arcadians ought to have been included; accordingly both O. Müller and Mr. Clinton (ad annum 672 B.C.) agree in altering the passage thus: they insert the words καὶ Ἀρκαδας after the word Ἠλείους, so that *both Eleians and Pisatans* appear as allies of Messenia at once. I submit that this is improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the passage of Strabo previously noticed: the proper way of altering the passage is (in my judgment) to substitute the word Ἀρκαδας in *place* of the word Ἠλείους, which makes the two passages of Strabo consistent with each other, and hardly does greater violence to the text.

As opposed to the view here adopted, there is undoubtedly the passage of Pausanias (iv. 15, 4) which numbers the Eleians among the allies of Messenia, and takes no notice of the Pisatæ. The affirmation of Julius Africanus (ap. Eusebium, Chronic. i. p. 145, that the Pisatæ revolted from Elis in the 30th Olympiad, and celebrated the Olympic games themselves until Ol. 52, for twenty-two successive ceremonies) is in contradiction—first, with Pausanias (vi. 22, 2), which appears to me a clear and valuable statement, from its particular reference to the *three* non-Olympiads—secondly, with Pausanias (v. 9, 4), when the Eleians in the 50th Olympiad determine the number of Hellanodikæ. I agree with Corsini (Fasti Attici, t. iii. p. 47) in setting aside the passage of Julius

years after the close of the first, and lasting, according to Pausanias, seventeen years; according to Plutarch, more than twenty years.[1]

Punishment of the traitor Aristokratês, king of the Arcadian Orchomenus.

Many of the Messenians who abandoned their country after this second conquest are said to have found shelter and sympathy among the Arcadians, who admitted them to a new home and gave them their daughters in marriage; and who moreover punished severely the treason of Aristokratês, king of Orchomenus, in abandoning the Messenians at the battle of the Trench. That perfidious leader was put to death and his race dethroned, while the crime as well as the punishment was farther commemorated by an inscription, which was to be seen near the altar of Zeus Lykæus in Arcadia. The inscription doubtless

Africanus: Mr. Clinton (F. H. p. 253) is displeased with Corsini for this suspicion, but he himself virtually does the same thing, for in order to reconcile Jul. Africanus with Pausanias, he introduces a supposition quite different from what is asserted by either of them; *i.e.* a joint agonothesia by Eleians and Pisatans together. This hypothesis of Mr. Clinton appears to me gratuitous and inadmissible: Africanus himself meant to state something quite different, and I imagine him to have been misled by an erroneous authority. See Mr. Clinton, F. H. ad ann. 660 B.C. to 580 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, De Serâ Num. Vind. p. 548; Pausan. iv. 15, 1; iv. 17, 3; iv. 23, 2.

The date of the second Messenian war, and the interval between the second and the first, are points respecting which also there is irreconcilable discrepancy of statement: we can only choose the most probable: see the passages collected and canvassed in O. Müller (Dorians, i. 7, 11, and in Mr. Clinton, Fast. Hellen. vol. i., Appendix 2, p. 257).

According to Pausanias, the second war lasted from B.C. 685—668, and there was an interval between the first and the second war of 30 years. Justin (iii. 5) reckons an interval of eighty years; Eusebius an interval of ninety years. The main evidence is the passage of Tyrtæus, wherein that poet, speaking during the second war, says, "The fathers of our fathers conquered Messênê".

Mr. Clinton adheres very nearly to the view of Pausanias; he supposes that the real date is only six years lower (679—662). But I agree with Clavier (Histoire des Premiers Temps de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 233) and O. Müller (*l. c.*) in thinking that an interval of thirty-nine years is too short to suit the phrase of *fathers' fathers*. Speaking in the present year (1846), it would not be held proper to say, "The fathers of our fathers carried on the war between 1793 and the peace of Amiens": we should rather say, "The fathers of our fathers carried on the American war and the Seven Years' war". An age is *marked* by its mature and even elderly members—by those between thirty-five and fifty-five years of age.

Agreeing as I do here with O. Müller, against Mr. Clinton, I also agree with him in thinking that the best mark which we possess of the date of the second Messenian war is the statement respecting Pantaleôn: the 34th Olympiad, which Pantaleôn celebrated, probably fell within the time of the war; which would thus be brought down much later than the time assigned by Pausanias, yet not so far down as that named by Eusebius and Justin: the exact year of its commencement, however, we have no means of fixing.

Krebs, in his discussions on the Fragments of the lost Books of Diodôrus, thinks that that historian placed the beginning of the second Messenian war in the 35th Olympiad (B.C. 640) (Krebs, Lectiones Diodoreæ, p. 254—260).

existed in the days of Kallisthenês, in the generation after the restoration of Messênê. But whether it had any existence prior to that event, or what degree of truth there may be in the story about Aristokratês, we are unable to determine:[1] the son of Aristokratês, named Aristodêmus, is alleged in another authority to have reigned afterwards at Orchomenus.[2] That which stands strongly marked is, the sympathy of Arcadians and Messenians against Sparta—a sentiment which was in its full vigour at the time of the restoration of Messênê.

Spartans acquire the country west of Taygetus.

The second Messenian war was thus terminated by the complete subjugation of the Messenians. Such of them as remained in the country were reduced to a servitude probably not less hard than that which Tyrtæus described them as having endured between the first war and the second. In after-times, the whole territory which figures on the map as Messenia,—south of the river Nedon, and westward of the summit of Taygetus,—appears as subject to Sparta, and as forming the western portion of Laconia; distributed (in what proportion we know not) between Periœkic towns and Helot villages. By what steps, or after what degree of farther resistance, the Spartans conquered this country we have no information; but we are told that they made over Asinê to the expelled Dryopes from the Argolic peninsula, and Mothônê to the fugitives from Nauplia.[3] Nor do we hear of any serious revolt from Sparta in this territory until 150 years afterwards,[4] subsequent to the Persian invasion,—a revolt which Sparta, after serious efforts, succeeded in crushing, so that the territory remained in her power until her defeat at Leuktra, which led to the foundation of Messênê by Epameinôndas. The fertility of the plains—especially of the central portion near the river Pamisus, so much extolled by observers, modern as well as ancient—rendered it an acquisition highly valuable. At some time or other, it must of course have been formally partitioned among

[1] Diodor. xv. 66; Polyb. iv. 33, who quotes Kallisthenês; Paus. viii. 5, 8. Neither the inscription, as cited by Polybius, nor the allusion in Plutarch (De Serâ Numin. Vindictâ, p. 548), appears to fit the narrative of Pausanias, for both of them imply secret and long-concealed treason, tardily brought to light by the interposition of the gods: whereas Pausanias describes the treason of Aristokratês at the battle of the Trench as palpable and flagrant.

[2] Herakleid. Pontic. ap. Diog. Laërt. i. 94.

[3] Pausan. iv. 24, 2; iv. 34, 6; iv. 35, 2.

[4] Thucyd. i. 101.

the Spartans, but it is probable that different and successive allotments were made, according as the various portions of territory, both to the east and to the west of Taygetus, were conquered. Of all this we have no information.[1]

Imperfectly as these two Messenian wars are known to us, we may see enough to warrant us in making two remarks. Both were tedious, protracted, and painful, showing how slowly the results of war were then gathered, and adding one additional illustration to prove how much the rapid and instantaneous conquest of Laconia and Messenia by the Dorians, which the Herakleid legend sets forth, is contradicted by historical analogy. Both were characterised by a similar defensive proceeding on the part of the Messenians—the occupation of a mountain difficult of access, and the fortification of it for the special purpose of resistance—Ithômê (which is said to have had already a small town upon it) in the first war, Eira in the second. It is reasonable to infer from hence that neither their principal town Stenyklêrus, nor any other town in their country, was strongly fortified so as to be calculated to stand a siege; that there were no walled towns among them analogous to Mykênæ and Tiryns on the eastern portion of Peloponnêsus; and that perhaps what were called towns were, like Sparta itself, clusters of unfortified villages. The subsequent state of Helotism into which they were reduced is in consistency with this dispersed village residence during their period of freedom.

The Messenian Dorians had no considerable fortified places—lived in small townships and villages.

The relations of Pisa and Elis form a suitable counterpart and sequel to those of Messenia and Sparta. Unwilling subjects themselves, the Pisatans had lent their aid to the Messenians—and their king Pantaleôn, one of the leaders of this combined force, had gained so great a temporary success as to dispossess the Eleians of the agonothesia or administration of the games for one Olympic ceremony, in the 34th Olympiad. Though again reduced to their condition of subjects,

Relations of Pisa and Elis.

[1] Pausanias says, *τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Μεσσηνίαν, πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναίων, αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον*, &c. (iv. 24, 2).

In an apophthegm ascribed to King Polydôrus, leader of the Spartans during the first Messenian war, he is asked, whether he is really taking arms against his brethren, to which he replies, "No; I am only marching to the unallotted portion of the territory". Plutarch, Apophthegm. Laconic. p. 231.—*ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκλήρωτον χώραν*.

they manifested dispositions to renew the revolt at the 48th Olympiad, under Damophôn, the son of Pantaleôn, and the Eleians marched into their country to put them down, but were persuaded to retire by protestations of submission. At length, shortly afterwards, under Pyrrhus, the brother of Damophôn, a serious revolt broke out. The inhabitants of Dyspontium and the other villages in the Pisatid, assisted by those of Makistus, Skillus and the other towns in Triphylia, took up arms to throw off the yoke of Elis; but their strength was inadequate to the undertaking. They were completely conquered; Dyspontium was dismantled, and the inhabitants of it obliged to flee the country, from whence most of them emigrated to the colonies of Epidamnus and Apollonia in Epirus. The inhabitants of Makistus and Skillus were also chased from their abodes, while the territory became more thoroughly subject to Elis than it had been before. These incidents seem to have occurred about the 50th Olympiad, or B.C. 580; and the dominion of Elis over her Periœkid territory was thus as well assured as that of Sparta.[1] The separate denominations both of Pisa and Triphylia became more and more merged in the sovereign name of Elis: the town of Lepreum alone, in Triphylia, seems to have maintained a separate name and a sort of half-autonomy down to the time of the Peloponnesian war, not without perpetual struggles against the Eleians.[2] But towards the period of the Peloponnesian war, the political interests of Lacedæmon had become considerably changed, and it was to her advantage to maintain the independence of the subordinate states against the superior: accordingly, we find her at that time upholding the autonomy of Lepreum. From what cause the devastation of the Triphylian towns by Elis which Herodotus mentions as having happened in his time, arose, we do not know; the fact seems to indicate a continual yearning for their original independence, which was still commemorated, down to a much later

Struggles of the Pisatæ and Triphylians for autonomy. —The latter in after times sustained by the political interests of Sparta.

[1] Pausan. vi. 22, 2; v. 6, 3; v. 10, 2: Strabo, viii. p. 355—357.

The temple in honour of Zeus at Olympia was first erected by the Eleians out of the spoils of this expedition (Pausan. v. 10, 2).

[2] Thucyd. v. 31. Even Lepreum is characterised as Eleian, however (Aristoph. Aves, 149): compare also Steph. Byz. v. Τριφυλία, ἡ Ἠλεῖς.

Even in the sixth Olympiad an inhabitant of Dyspontium is proclaimed as victor at the stadium, under the denomination of "*an Eleian from*

period, by the ancient Amphiktyony at Samikum in Triphylia, in honour of Poseidôn—a common religious festival frequented by all the Triphylian towns and celebrated by the inhabitants of Makistus, who sent round proclamation of a formal truce for the holy period.[1] The Lacedæmonians, after the close of the Peloponnesian war had left them undisputed heads of Greece, formally upheld the independence of the Triphylian towns against Elis, and seem to have countenanced their endeavours to attach themselves to the Arcadian aggregate, which however was never fully accomplished. Their dependence on Elis became loose and uncertain, but was never wholly shaken off.[2]

Dyspontium"; proclaimed by the Eleians of course—the like in the 27th Olympiad: see Stephan. Byz. v. Δυσπόντιον, which shows that the inhabitants of the Pisatid cannot have rendered themselves independent of Elis in the 26th Olympiad, as Strabo alleges (viii. p. 365).

[1] Herodot. iv. 149; Strabo, viii. p. 343.

[2] Diodor. xiv. 17; xv. 77; Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2, 23, 26.

It was about this period probably that the idea of the local eponymus, Triphylus, son of Arkas, was first introduced (Polyb. iv. 77).

CHAPTER VIII.

CONQUESTS OF SPARTA TOWARDS ARCADIA AND ARGOLIS.

I HAVE described in the last two chapters, as far as our imperfect evidence permits, how Sparta came into possession both of the southern portion of Laconia along the course of the Eurôtas down to its mouth, and of the Messenian territory westward. Her progress towards Arcadia and Argolis is now to be sketched, so as to conduct her to that position which she occupied during the reign of Peisistratus at Athens, or about 560—540 B.C.,—a time when she had reached the maximum of her territorial possessions, and when she was confessedly the commanding state in Hellas.

State of Arcadia.

The central region of Peloponnêsus, called Arcadia, had never received any emigrants from without. Its indigenous inhabitants —a strong and hardy race of mountaineers, the most numerous Hellenic tribe in the peninsula, and the constant hive for mercenary troops[1]—were among the rudest and poorest of Greeks, retaining for the longest period their original subdivision into a number of petty hill-villages, each independent of the other; while the union of all who bore the Arcadian name (though they had some common sacrifices, such as the festival of the Lykæan Zeus, of Despoina, daughter of Poseidôn and Dêmêtêr, and of Artemis Hymnia[2]) was more loose and ineffective than that of Greeks generally, either in or out of Peloponnêsus. The

[1] Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. p. 27. Ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικούρους. Also Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 1, 23. πλεῖστον δὲ φῦλον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη, &c.

[2] Pausan. viii. 6, 7; viii. 37, 6; viii. 38, 2. Xenias, one of the generals of Greek mercenaries in the service of Cyrus the younger, a native of the Parrhasian district in Arcadia, celebrates with great solemnity, during the march upward, the festival and games of the Lykæa (Xenoph. Anabas. i. 2, 10; compare Pindar, Olymp. ix. 142).

Many of the forests in Arcadia contained not only wild boars, but bears, in the days of Pausanias (viii. 23, 4).

Arcadian villagers were usually denominated by the names of regions, coincident with certain ethnical subdivisions—the Azānes, the Parrhasii, the Mænalii (adjoining Mount Mænalus), the Eutrêsii, the Ægytæ, the Skiritæ,[1] &c. Some considerable towns however there were—aggregations of villages or demes which had been once autonomous. Of these the principal were Tegea and Mantineia, bordering on Laconia and Argolis—Orchomenus, Pheneus, and Stymphalus, towards the north-east, bordering on Achaia and Phlius—Kleitôr and Heræa, westward, where the country is divided from Elis and Triphylia by the woody mountains of Pholôe and Erymanthus—and Phigaleia, on the south-western border near to Messenia. The most powerful of all were Tegea and Mantineia[2]—conterminous towns, nearly equal in force, dividing between them the cold and high plain of Tripolitza, and separated by one of those capricious torrents which only escape through katabothra. To regulate the efflux of this water was a difficult task, requiring friendly co-operation of both the towns; and when their frequent jealousies brought on a quarrel, the more aggressive of the two inundated the territory of its neighbour as one means of annoyance. The power of Tegea, which had grown up out of nine constituent townships originally separate,[3] appears to have been more ancient than that of its rival; as we may judge from its splendid heroic pretensions connected with the name of Echemus, and from the post conceded to its hoplites in joint Peloponnesian armaments, which was second in distinction only to that of the Lacedæmonians.[4] If it be correct, as Strabo asserts,[5] that the incorporation of the town

[1] Pausan. viii. 26, 5: Strabo, viii. p. 388.

Some geographers distributed the Arcadians into three subdivisions, Azanes, Parrhasii, and Trapezuntii. Azan passed for the son of Arcas, and his lot in the division of the paternal inheritance was said to have contained seventeen towns (ἃς ἔλαχεν Ἀζήν). Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀζανία—Παρράσια; Kleitôr seems the chief place in Azania, as far as we can infer from genealogy (Pausan. viii. 4, 2, 3). Pæus or Pæos, from whence the Azanian suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenês presented himself, was between Kleitôr and Psôphis (Herod. vi. 127; Paus. viii. 23, 6). A Delphian oracle, however, reckons the inhabitants of Phigaleia, in the south-western corner of Arcadia, among the Azanes (Paus. viii. 42, 3).

The burial-place of Arcas was supposed to be on Mount Mænalus (Paus. viii. 9, 2).

[2] Thucyd. v. 65. Compare the description of the ground in Professor Ross (Reisen im Peloponnes, iv. 7).

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 337.

[4] Herodot. ix. 27.

[5] Strabo, l. c. Mantineia is reckoned among the oldest cities of Arcadia (Polyb. ii. 54). Both Mantineia and Orchomenus had originally occupied very lofty hill sites, and had been rebuilt on a larger scale, lower down

of Mantineia, out of its five separate Demes, was brought about by the Argeians, we may conjecture that the latter adopted this proceeding as a means of providing some check upon their powerful neighbours of Tegea. The plain common to Tegea and Mantineia was bounded to the west by the wintry heights of Mænalus,[1] beyond which, as far as the boundaries of Laconia, Messenia, and Triphylia, there was nothing in Arcadia but small and unimportant townships or villages—without any considerable town, before the important step taken by Epameinôndas in founding Megalopolis, a short time after the battle of Leuktra. The mountaineers of these regions who joined Epameinôndas before the battle of Mantineia (at a time when Mantineia and most of the towns of Arcadia were opposed to him) were so inferior to the other Greeks in equipment, that they still carried as their chief weapon, in place of the spear, nothing better than the ancient club.[2]

Both Tegea and Mantineia held several of these smaller Arcadian townships near them in a sort of dependence, and were anxious to extend this empire over others: during the Peloponnesian war, we find the Mantineians establishing and garrisoning a fortress at Kypsela among the Parrhasii, near the site in

nearer to the plain (Pausan. viii. 8, 3; 12, 4; 13, 2).

In regard to the relations, during the early historical period, between Sparta, Argos, and Arcadia, there is a new fragment of Diodorus (among those recently published by Didot out of the Excerpta in the Escurial library, Fragment. Historic. Græcor. vol. ii. p. viii.). The Argeians had espoused the cause of the Arcadians against Sparta; and at the expense of considerable loss and suffering had regained such portions of Arcadia as she had conquered. The king of Argos restored this recovered territory to the Arcadians: but the Argeians generally were angry that he did not retain it and distribute it among them as a reward for their losses in the contest. They rose in insurrection against the king, who was forced to flee, and take refuge at Tegea.

We have nothing to illustrate this fragment, nor do we know to what king, date, or events it relates.

[1] Μαιναλίη δυσχείμερος (Delphian Oracle, ap. Paus. viii. 9, 2).

[2] Xenophôn, in describing the ardour with which Epameinôndas inspired his soldiers before this final battle, says (vii. 5, 20), προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη, κελεύοντος ἐκείνου· ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται, ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες· πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.

It is hardly conceivable that these Arcadian clubmen should have possessed a shield and a full panoply. The language of Xenophôn in calling them hoplites, and the term ἐπεγράφοντο (properly referring to the inscription on the shield) appear to be conceived in a spirit of contemptuous sneering, proceeding from Xenophôn's miso-Theban tendencies: "the Arcadian hoplites with their clubs put themselves forward to be as good as the Thebans". That these tendencies of Xenophôn show themselves in expressions very unbecoming to the dignity of history (though curious as evidences of the time) may be seen by vii. 5, 12, where he says of the Thebans—ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλέονες, &c.

which Megalopolis was afterwards built.[1] But at this period, Sparta, as the political chief of Hellas—having a strong interest in keeping all the Grecian towns, small and great, as much isolated from each other as possible, and in checking all schemes for the formation of local confederacies—stood forward as the protectress of the autonomy of these smaller Arcadians, and drove back the Mantineians within their own limits.[2] At a somewhat later period, during the acmé of her power, a few years before the battle of Leuktra, she even proceeded to the extreme length of breaking up the unity of Mantineia itself, causing the walls to be razed, and the inhabitants to be again parcelled into their five original Demes—a violent arrangement which the turn of political events very soon reversed.[3] It was not until after the battle of Leuktra and the depression of Sparta that any measures were taken for the formation of an Arcadian political confederacy ;[4] and even then the jealousies of the separate cities rendered it incomplete and short-lived. The great permanent change, the establishment of Megalopolis, was accomplished by the ascendency of Epameinôndas. Forty petty Arcadian townships, among those situated to the west of Mount Mænalus, were aggregated into the new city ; the jealousies of Tegea, Mantineia, and Kleitôr were for a while suspended ; and œkists came from all of them, as well as from the districts of the Mænalii and Parrhasii, in order to impart to the new establishment a genuine Pan-Arcadian character.[5] It was thus that there arose for the first time a powerful city on the borders of Laconia and Messenia, rescuing the Arcadian townships from their dependence on Sparta, and imparting to them political interests of their own, which rendered

Tegea and Mantineia the most powerful Arcadian towns before the building of Megalopolis.

[1] Thucyd. v. 33, 47, 81.

[2] Thucyd. l. c. Compare the instructive speech of Kleigenês, the envoy from Akanthus, addressed to the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 382 (Xen. Hellen. v. 2, 15—16).

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 1—6 ; Diodor. xv. 19.

[4] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5, 10—11 ; vii. 1, 23—25.

[5] Pausan. viii. 27, 5. No œkist is mentioned from Orchomenus, though three of the petty townships *contributing* (συντελοῦντα) to Orchomenus were embodied in the new city. The feud between the neighbouring cities of Orchomenus and Mantineia was bitter (Xen. Hellen. vi. 5, 11—22). Orchomenus and Hêræa both opposed the political confederation of Arcadia.

The oration of Demosthenês, ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν, strongly attests the importance of this city, especially c. 10—ἐὰν μὲν ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν, ἰσχυροὶς Λακεδαιμονίοις εὐθὺς ἐστιν εἶναι, &c.

them both a check upon their former chief and a support to the re-established Messenians.

It has been necessary thus to bring the attention of the reader for one moment to events long posterior in the order of time (Megalopolis was founded in 370 B.C.), in order that he may understand, by contrast, the general course of those incidents of the earlier time, where direct accounts are wanting. The northern boundary of the Spartan territory was formed by some of the many small Arcadian townships or districts, several of which were successively conquered by the Spartans and incorporated with their dominion, though at what precise time we are unable to say. We are told that Charilaus, the reputed nephew and ward of Lykurgus, took Ægys, and that he also invaded the territory of Tegea, but with singular ill-success, for he was defeated and taken prisoner:[1] we also hear that the Spartans took Phigaleia by surprise in the 30th Olympiad, but were driven out again by the neighbouring Arcadian Oresthasians.[2] During the second Messenian war the Arcadians are represented as cordially seconding the Messenians: and it may seem perhaps singular, that while neither Mantineia nor Tegea are mentioned in this war, the more distant town of Orchomenus, with its king Aristokratês, takes the lead. But the facts of the contest come before us with so poetical a colouring, that we cannot venture to draw any positive inference as to the times to which they are referred.

Encroachments of Sparta upon the southern boundary of Arcadia.

Œnus[3] and Karystus seem to have belonged to the Spartans in the days of Alkman: moreover the district called Skirîtis, bordering on the territory of Tegea—as well as Belemina and Maleatis, to the westward, and Karyæ to the eastward and south-eastward, of Skirîtis—forming all together the entire northern frontier of Sparta, and all occupied by Arcadian inhabitants—had been conquered and made part of the Spartan territory[4] before 600 B.C. And Herodotus tells us that at this period the Spartan kings Leôn and Hegesiklês contemplated nothing less

Unsuccessful attempts of the Spartans against Tegea.

[1] Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 7, 3; viii. 48, 3.
[2] Pausan. viii. 39, 2.
[3] Alkman, Fr. 15, Welcker; Strabo, x. p. 446.
[4] That the Skiritæ were Arcadians is well-known (Thuc v. 47: Steph. Byz. v. Σκίρος); the possession of Belemina was disputed with Sparta, in the days

than the conquest of entire Arcadia, and sent to ask from the Delphian oracle a blessing on their enterprise.[1] The priestess dismissed their wishes as extravagant in reference to the whole of Arcadia, but encouraged them, though with the usual equivocations of language, to try their fortune against Tegea. Flushed with their course of previous success, not less than by the favourable construction which they put upon the words of the oracle, the Lacedæmonians marched against Tegea with such entire confidence of success, as to carry with them chains for the purpose of binding their expected prisoners. But the result was disappointment and defeat. They were repulsed with loss; and the prisoners whom they left behind, bound in the very chains which their own army had brought, were constrained to servile labour on the plain of Tegea—the words of the oracle being thus literally fulfilled, though in a sense different from that in which the Lacedæmonians had first understood them.[2]

For one whole generation, we are told, they were constantly unsuccessful in their campaigns against the Tegeans, and this strenuous resistance probably prevented them from extending their conquests farther among the petty states of Arcadia.

They are directed by the oracle to bring to Sparta the bones of the hero Orestès.

At length in the reign of Anaxandridês and Aristô, the successors of Leôn and Hegesiklês (about 560 B.C.), the Delphian oracle, in reply to a question from the Spartans—which of the gods they ought to propitiate in order to become victorious—enjoined them to find and carry to Sparta the bones of Orestês, son of Agamemnôn. After a vain search, since they did not know where the body of Orestês was to be found, they applied to the oracle

of her comparative humiliation, by the Arcadians: see Plutarch, Kleomenês, 4; Pausan. viii. 35, 4.

Respecting Karyæ (the border town of Sparta, where the διαβατήρια were sacrificed, Thuc. v. 55) see *Photius*, Καρυάτεια—ἑορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδος· τὰς δὲ Καρύας Ἀρκάδων οὔσας ἀπετέμοντο Δακεδαιμόνιοι.

The readiness with which Karyæ and the Maleates revolted against Sparta after the battle of Leuktra, even before the invasion of Laconia by the Thebans, exhibits them apparently as conquered foreign dependencies of Sparta, without any kindred of race (Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5, 24—26; vii. 1, 28). Leuktron in the Maleatis seems to have formed a part of the territory of Megalopolis in the days of Kleomenês III. (Plutarch, Kleomenês, 6); in the Peloponnesian war it was the frontier town of Sparta towards Mount Lykæum (Thuc. v. 53).

[1] Herod. i. 66. καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοισι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.

[2] Herod. i. 67; Pausan. iii. 3, 5; viii. 45, 2.

Herodotus saw the identical chains suspended in the temple of Athênê Alea at Tegea.

for more specific directions, and were told that the son of Agamemnôn was buried at Tegea itself, in a place "where two blasts were blowing under powerful constraint,—where there was stroke and counter-stroke, and destruction upon destruction". These mysterious words were elucidated by a lucky accident. During a truce with Tegea, Lichas, one of the chiefs of the 300 Spartan chosen youth who acted as the moveable police of the country under the ephors, visited the place, and entered the forge of a blacksmith—who mentioned to him, in the course of conversation, that in sinking a well in his outer court he had recently discovered a coffin containing a body seven cubits long; astounded at the sight, he had left it there undisturbed. It struck Lichas that the gigantic relic of aforetime could be nothing else but the corpse of Orestês, and he felt assured of this when he reflected how accurately the indications of the oracle were verified; for there were the "two blasts blowing by constraint," in the two bellows of the blacksmith: there was "the stroke and counter-stroke" in his hammer and anvil, as well as the "destruction upon destruction" in the murderous weapons which he was forging. Lichas said nothing, but returned to Sparta with his discovery, which he communicated to the authorities, who, by a concerted scheme, banished him under a pretended criminal accusation. He then again returned to Tegea, under the guise of an exile, prevailed upon the blacksmith to let to him the premises, and when he found himself in possession, dug up and carried off to Sparta the bones of the venerated hero.[1]

Their operations against Tegea become more successful; nevertheless Tegea maintains her independence.

From and after this fortunate acquisition, the character of the contest was changed; the Spartans found themselves constantly victorious over the Tegeans. But it does not seem that these victories led to any positive result, though they might perhaps serve to enforce the practical conviction of Spartan superiority; for the territory of Tegea remained unimpaired, and its autonomy noway restrained. During the Persian invasion Tegea appears as the willing ally of Lacedæmôn, and as the second military power in the Peloponnêsus;[2] and we may fairly presume that it was chiefly the

[1] Herod. i. 69—70.

[2] Herod. ix. 26.

strenuous resistance of the Tegeans which prevented the Lacedæmonians from extending their empire over the larger portion of the Arcadian communities. These latter always maintained their independence, though acknowledging Sparta as the presiding power in Peloponnêsus, and obeying her orders implicitly as to the disposal of their military force. And the influence which Sparta thus possessed over all Arcadia was one main item in her power, never seriously shaken until the battle of Leuktra; which took away her previous means of ensuring success and plunder to her minor followers.[1]

Having thus related the extension of the power of Sparta on her northern or Arcadian frontier, it remains to mention her acquisitions on the eastern and north-eastern side, towards Argos. Originally (as has been before stated) not merely the province of Kynuria and the Thyreātis, but also the whole coast down to the promontory of Malea, had either been part of the territory of Argos or belonged to the Argeian confederacy. We learn from Herodotus,[2] that before the time when the embassy from Crœsus king of Lydia came to solicit aid in Greece (about 547 B.C.), the whole of this territory had fallen into the power of Sparta; but how long before, or at what precise epoch, we have no information. A considerable victory is said to have been gained by the Argeians over the Spartans in the 27th Olympiad or 669 B.C., at Hysiæ, on the road between Argos and Tegea.[3] At that time it does not seem probable that Kynuria could have been in the possession of the Spartans—so that we must refer the acquisition to some period in the following century; though Pausanias places it much earlier, during the reign of Theopompus[4]—and Eusebius connects it with the first establishment of the festival called Gymnopædia at Sparta in 678 B.C.

Boundaries of Sparta towards Argos—conquest of Thyreātis by Sparta.

About the year 547 B.C., the Argeians made an effort to reconquer Thyrea from Sparta, which led to a combat long memorable in the annals of Grecian heroism. It was agreed between the two powers that the possession of this territory should

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 19. Ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἰωσι, τά τε αὑτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπάζουσι, &c.
This was said to the Lacedæmonians about ten years before the battle of Leuktra.

[2] Herod. i. 82.

[3] Pausan. ii. 25, 1.

[4] Pausan. iii. 7, 5.

be determined by a combat of 300 select champions on each side; the armies of both retiring, in order to leave the field clear. So undaunted, and so equal was the valour of these two chosen companies, that the battle terminated by leaving only three of them alive—Alkênôr and Chromius among the Argeians, Othryadês among the Spartans. The two Argeian warriors hastened home to report their victory, but Othryadês remained on the field, carried off the arms of the enemy's dead into the Spartan camp, and kept his position until he was joined by his countrymen the next morning. Both Argos and Sparta claimed the victory for their respective champions, and the dispute after all was decided by a general conflict, in which the Spartans were the conquerors, though not without much slaughter on both sides. The brave Othryadês, ashamed to return home as the single survivor of the 300, fell upon his own sword on the field of battle.[1]

Battle of the 300 select champions, between Sparta and Argos, to decide the possession of the Thyreâtis —valour of Othryadês.

This defeat decided the possession of Thyrea, which did not again pass, until a very late period of Grecian history, under the power of Argos. The preliminary duel of 300, with its uncertain issue, though well-established as to the general fact, was represented by the Argeians in a manner totally different from the above story, which seems to have been current among the Lacedæmonians.[2] But the most remarkable circumstance is, that more than a century afterwards—when the two powers were negotiating for a renewal of the then expiring truce—the Argeians, still hankering after this their ancient territory,

Thyreâtis comes into possession of Sparta—efforts of the Argeians to recover it

[1] Herod. i. 82; Strabo, viii. p. 376.

[2] The Argeians showed at Argos a statue of Perilaus, son of Alkênôr, killing Othryadês (Pausan. ii. 20, 6; ii. 38, 5: compare x. 9, 6, and the references in Larcher ad Herodot. i. 82). The narrative of Chrysermus, ἐν τρίτῳ Πελοποννησιακῶν (as given in Plutarch, Parallel. Hellenic. p. 306), is different in many respects.

Pausanias found the Thyreâtis in possession of the Argeians (iii. 38, 5). They told him that they had recovered it by adjudication; when or by whom we do not know: it seems to have passed back to Argos before the close of the reign of Kleomenês III. at Sparta (220 B.C.), Polyb. iv. 36.

Strabo even reckons Prasiæ as Argeian, to the south of Kynuria (viii. p. 368), though in his other passage (p. 374), seemingly cited from Ephorus, it is treated as Lacedæmonian. Compare Manso, Sparta, vol. ii., Beilage I., p. 48.

Eusebius, placing this duel at a much earlier period (Ol. 27, 3, 678 B.C.), ascribes the first foundation of the Gymnopædia at Sparta to the desire of commemorating the event. Pausanias (iii. 7, 3) places it still farther back, in the reign of Theopompus.

desired the Lacedæmonians to submit the question to arbitration; which being refused, they next stipulated for the privilege of trying the point in dispute by a duel similar to the former, at any time except during the prevalence of war or of epidemic disease. The historian tells us that the Lacedæmonians acquiesced in this proposition, though they thought it absurd,[1] in consequence of their anxiety to keep their relations with Argos at that time smooth and pacific. But there is no reason to imagine that the real duel, in which Othryadês contended, was considered as absurd at the time when it took place or during the age immediately succeeding. It fell in with a sort of chivalrous pugnacity which is noticed among the attributes of the early Greeks,[2] and also with various legendary exploits, such as the single combat of Echemus and Hyllus, of Melanthus and Xanthus, of Menelaus and Paris, &c. Moreover the heroism of Othryadês and his countrymen was a popular theme for poets not only at the Spartan gymnopædia,[3] but also elsewhere, and appears to have been frequently celebrated. The absurdity attached to this proposition, then, during the Peloponnesian war—in the minds even of the Spartans, the most old-fashioned and unchanging people in Greece—is to be ascribed to a change in the Grecian political mind, at and after the Persian war. The habit of political calculation had made such decided progress among them, that the leading states especially had become familiarised with something like a statesmanlike view of their resources, their dangers, and their obligations. How lamentably deficient this sort of sagacity was during the Persian invasion will appear when we come to describe that imminent crisis of Grecian independence: but the events of those days were well calculated to sharpen it for the future, and the Greeks of the Peloponnesian war had become far more refined political schemers than their forefathers. And thus it happened that the proposition to settle a territorial dispute by a duel of chosen champions, admissible

Alteration in Grecian opinion, as to the practice of deciding disputes by select champions.

[1] Thucyd. v. 41. Τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα, ἔπειτα (ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ πάντως τὸ Ἄργος φίλιον ἔχειν) ξυνεχώρησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουν, καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο.

[2] Herodot. vii. 9. Compare the challenge which Herodotus alleges to have been proclaimed to the Spartans by Mardonius, through a herald, just before the battle of Platæa (ix. 48).

[3] Athenæ. xv. p. 678.

and even becoming a century before, came afterwards to be derided as childish.

Kynurians in Argolis —said to be of Ionic race, but dorised.

The inhabitants of Kynuria are stated by Herodotus to have been Ionians, but completely dorised through their long subjection to Argos, by whom they were governed as Periœki. Pausanias gives a different account of their race, which he traces to the eponymous hero Kynūrus son of Perseus: but he does not connect them with the Kynurians whom he mentions in another place as a portion of the inhabitants of Arcadia.[1] It is evident, that even in the time of Herodotus, the traces of their primitive descent were nearly effaced. He says they were "Orneates and Periœki" to Argos; and it appears that the inhabitants of Orneæ also, whom Argos had reduced to the same dependent condition, traced their eponymous hero to an Ionic stock—Orneus was the son of the Attic Erechtheus.[2] Strabo seems to have conceived the Kynurians as occupying originally, not only the frontier district of Argolis and Laconia, wherein Thyrea is situated, but also the north-western portion of Argolis, under the ridge called Lyrkeium, which separates the latter from the Arcadian territory of Stymphalus.[3] This ridge was near the town of Orneæ, which lay on the border of Argolis near the confines of Phlius; so that Strabo thus helps to confirm the statement of Herodotus, that the Orneates were a portion of Kynurians, held by Argos along with the other Kynurians in the condition of dependent allies and Periœki, and very probably also of Ionian origin.

The conquest of Thyrea (a district valuable to the Lacedæmonians, as we may presume from the large booty which the Argeians got from it during the Peloponnesian war)[4] was the last territorial acquisition made by Sparta. She was now possessed of a continuous dominion, comprising the whole southern portion of the Peloponnêsus, from the southern bank of the river

[1] Herod. viii. 73; Pausan. iii. 2, 2; viii. 27, 3.

[2] Pausan. ii. 25, 5. Mannert (Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Griechenland, book ii. ch. xix. p. 618) connects the Kynurians of Arcadia and Argolis, though Herodotus tells us that the latter were Ionians: he gives to this name much greater importance and extension than the evidence bears out.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 370—ὁ Ἴναχος ἔχων τὰς πηγὰς ἐκ Λυρκείου τοῦ κατὰ Κυνουρίαν ὄρους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Coray and Grosskurd gain nothing here by the conjectural reading of Ἀργείας in place of Ἀρκαδίας, for the ridge of Lyrkeium ran between the two, and might therefore be connected with either without impropriety.

[4] Thucyd. vi. 95.

Nedon on the western coast, to the northern boundary of Thyreātis on the eastern coast. The area of her territory, including as it did both Laconia and Messenia, was equal to two-fifths of the entire peninsula, all governed from the single city, and for the exclusive purpose and benefit of the citizens of Sparta. Within all this wide area there was not a single community pretending to independent agency. The townships of the Periœki, and the villages of the Helots, were each individually unimportant; nor do we hear of any one of them presuming to treat with a foreign state. All consider themselves as nothing else but subjects of the Spartan ephors and their subordinate officers. They are indeed discontented subjects, hating as well as fearing their masters, and not to be trusted if a favourable opportunity for secure revolt presents itself. But no individual township or district is strong enough to stand up for itself, while combinations among them are prevented by the habitual watchfulness and unscrupulous precautions of the ephors, especially by that jealous secret police called the Krypteia, to which allusion has already been made.

Full acquisition of the southern portion of Peloponnēsus, from sea to sea, by the Spartans, before 540 B.C.

Not only therefore was the Spartan territory larger and its population more numerous than that of any other state in Hellas, but its government was also more completely centralised and more strictly obeyed. Its source of weakness was the discontent of its Periœki and Helots, the latter of whom were not (like the slaves of other states) imported barbarians from different countries, and speaking a broken Greek, but genuine Hellens—of one dialect and lineage, sympathising with each other, and as much entitled to the protection of Zeus Hellanius as their masters—from whom indeed they stood distinguished by no other line except the perfect training, individual and collective, which was peculiar to the Spartans. During the period on which we are at present dwelling, it does not seem that this discontent comes sensibly into operation; but we shall observe its manifestations very unequivocally after the Persian and during the Poloponnesian war.

Great comparative power of Sparta at that early time.

To such auxiliary causes of Spartan predominance we must add another—the excellent military position of Sparta, and the

unassailable character of Laconia generally. On three sides that territory is washed by the sea, with a coast remarkably dangerous and destitute of harbours;[1] hence Sparta had nothing to apprehend from this quarter until the Persian invasion and its consequences —one of the most remarkable of which was, the astonishing development of the Athenian naval force. The city of Sparta, far removed from the sea, was admirably defended by an almost impassable northern frontier, composed of those districts which we have observed above to have been conquered from Arcadia— Karyātis, Skirītis, Maleātis, and Beleminātis. The difficulty as well as danger of marching into Laconia by these mountain passes, noticed by Euripidês, was keenly felt by every enemy of the Lacedæmonians, and has been powerfully stated by a first-rate modern observer, Colonel Leake.[2] No site could be better chosen for holding the key of all the penetrable passes than that of Sparta. This well-protected frontier was a substitute more than sufficient for fortifications to Sparta itself, which always maintained, down to the times of the despot Nabis, its primitive

[1] Xenophôn, Hellen. iv. 8, 7: φοβούμενος τὴν ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 5, 10; Eurip. ap. Strabo. viii. p. 366; Leake, Travels in Morea, vol. iii. c. xxii. p. 25.

"It is to the strength of the frontiers, and the comparatively large extent of country enclosed within them, that we must trace the primary cause of the Lacedæmonian power. These enabled the people, when strengthened by a rigid military discipline, and put in motion by an ambitious spirit, first to triumph over their weaker neighbours of Messenia, by this additional strength to overawe the disunited republics of Arcadia, and at length for centuries to hold an acknowledged military superiority over every other state in Greece.

"It is remarkable that all the principal passes into Laconia lead to one point: this point is Sparta: a fact which shows at once how well the position of that city was chosen for the defence of the province, and how well it was adapted, especially as long as it continued to be unwalled, to maintain a perpetual vigilance and readiness for defence, which are the surest means of offensive success.

"The natural openings into the plain of Sparta are only two; one by the upper Eurôtas, as the course of that river above Sparta may be termed; the other by its only large branch Œnus, now the Kelefina, which, as I have already stated, joins the Eurôtas opposite to the north-eastern extremity of Sparta. All the natural approaches to Sparta from the northward lead to one or the other of these two valleys. On the side of Messenia, the northerly prolongation of Mount Taygetum, which joins Mount Lyceum at the pass of Andania, now the pass of Makryplái, furnishes a continued barrier of the loftiest kind, admitting only of routes easily defensible; and which—whether from the Cromitis of Arcadia to the south-westward of the modern Londári, from the Stenykleric plain, from the plain of the Pamisus, or from Pheræ, now Kalamáta—all descend into the valley of the upper Eurôtas, and conduct to Sparta by Pellana. There was indeed a branch of the last-mentioned route which descended into the Spartan plain at the modern Mistra, and which must have a very frequent communication between Sparta and the lower part of Messenia; but, like the other direct passes over Taygetum, it was much more difficult and defensible than those which I have called the natural entrances of the province."

aspect of a group of adjacent hill-villages rather than a regular city.

When, along with such territorial advantages, we contemplate the personal training peculiar to the Spartan citizens, as yet undiminished in their numbers,—combined with the effect of that training upon Grecian sentiment, in inspiring awe and admiration,—we shall not be surprised to find, that during the half-century which elapsed between the year 600 B.C., and the final conquest of Thyreātis from Argos, Sparta had acquired and begun to exercise a recognised ascendency over all the Grecian states. Her military force was at that time superior to that of any of the rest, in a degree much greater than it afterwards came to be; for other states had not yet attained their maximum, and Athens in particular was far short of the height which she afterwards reached. In respect to discipline as well as number, the Spartan military force had even at this early period reached a point which it did not subsequently surpass, while in Athens, Thêbes, Argos, Arcadia, and even Elis (as will be hereafter shown), the military training in later days received greater attention, and improved considerably. The Spartans (observes Aristotle)[1] brought to perfection their gymnastic training and their military discipline, at a time when other Greeks neglected both the one and the other: their early superiority was that of the trained men over the untrained, and ceased in after-days when other states came to subject their citizens to systematic exercises of analogous character or tendency. This fact—the early period at which Sparta attained her maximum of discipline, power and territory—is important to bear in mind when we are explaining the general acquiescence which her ascendency met with in Greece, and which her subsequent acts would certainly not have enabled her to earn. That acquiescence first began, and became a habit of the Grecian mind, at a time when Sparta had no rival to come near her—when she had completely shot ahead of Argos—and when the vigour of the Lykurgean discipline had been manifested

Careful personal training of the Spartans—at a time when other states had no training at all.

[1] Aristot. Polit. viii. 3, 4. Ἔτι δὲ λειπομένους ἑτέρων· οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας ἴσμεν, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὶ προσήδρευον ταῖς φιλοπονίαις, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων· νῦν δὲ, καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι, νέους γυμνάζειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνον μὴ πρὸς ἀσκοῦντας ἀσκεῖν. . . . Ἀνταγωνιστὰς γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἶχον.

in a long series of conquests, made during the stationary period of other states, and ending only (to use the somewhat exaggerated phrase of Herodotus) when she had subdued the greater part of Peloponnêsus.[1]

Military institutions of Sparta—Peculiar and minute military subdivisions, distinct from the civil—Enômoties, &c.

Our accounts of the memorable military organisation of Sparta are scanty, and insufficient to place the details of it clearly before us. The arms of the Spartans, as to all material points, were not different from those of other Greek hoplites. But one grand peculiarity is observable from the beginning, as an item in the Lykurgean institutions. That lawgiver established military divisions quite distinct from the civil divisions, whereas in the other states of Greece, until a period much later than that which we have now reached, the two were confounded—the hoplites or horsemen of the same tribe or ward being marshalled together on the field of battle. Every Lacedæmonian was bound to military service from the age of twenty to sixty, and the ephors, when they sent forth an expedition, called to arms all the men within some given limit of age. Herodotus tells us that Lykurgus established both the Syssitia or public mess and the Enômoties and Triākads, or the military subdivisions peculiar to Sparta.[2] The Triākads are not mentioned elsewhere nor can we distinctly make out what they were; but the Enômoty was the special characteristic of the system, and the pivot upon which all its arrangements turned. It was a small company of men, the number of whom was variable, being given differently at 25, 32, or 36 men—drilled and practised together in military evolutions, and bound to each other by a common oath.[3] Each Enômoty had a separate captain, or enomotarch, the strongest and ablest soldier of the company, who

[1] Herod. i. 68. ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

[2] Herodot. i. 67; compare Larcher's note.

Concerning the obscure and difficult subject of the military arrangements of Sparta, see Cragius, Repub. Laced. iv. 4; Manso, Sparta ii., Beilage 18, p. 224; O. Müller, Hist. Dorians, iii. 12; Dr. Arnold's note on Thucydidês, v. 68; and Dr. Thirlwall, History of Greece, vol. i. Appendix 3, p. 520.

[3] Pollux. i. 10, 129. Ἰδίως μέντοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐνωμοτία, καὶ μόρα: compare Suidas and Hesych. v. Ἐνωμοτία; Xenoph. Rep. Lacon. c. 11; Thucyd. v. 67—68; Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 12.

Suidas states the enômoty at 25 men; in the Lacedæmonian army which fought at the first battle of Mantineia (418 B.C.), it seems to have consisted of about 32 men (Thuc. *l.c.*): at the battle of Leuktra of 36 men (Xen. Hellen. *l.c.*). But the language of Xenophôn and Thucydidês does not imply that the number of each enômoty was equal.

always occupied the front rank, and led the Enômoty when it marched in single file, giving the order of march as well as setting the example. If the Enômoty was drawn up in three, or four, or six files, the enômotarch usually occupied the front post on the left, and care was taken that both the front rank men and the rear rank men, of each file, should be soldiers of particular merit.[1]

It was upon these small companies that the constant and severe Lacedæmonian drilling was brought to act. They were taught to march in concert, to change rapidly from line to file, to wheel right or left in such manner as that the enômotarch and the other protostates or front rank men should always be the persons immediately opposed to the enemy.[2] Their step was regulated by the fife, which played in martial measures peculiar to Sparta, and was employed in actual battle as well as in military practice: and so perfectly were they habituated to the move- Careful drilling of the Enômoties. ments of the Enômoty, that if their order was deranged by any adverse accident, scattered soldiers could spontaneously form themselves into the same order, each man knowing perfectly the duties belonging to the place into which chance had thrown him.[3] Above the Enômoty were several

[1] O. Müller states that the enomatarch, after a παραγωγή or deployment into phalanx, stood on the *right* hand, which is contrary to Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 11, 9.—Ὅτε δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν—the ἄρχων was the first enômotarch of the lochus, the πρωτοστάτης (as appears from 11, 5), when the enômoty marched in single file. To put the ἡγεμών on the right flank, was done *occasionally* for special reason—ἦν δέ ποτε ἕνεκά τινος δοκῇ ξυμφέρειν, τὸν ἡγεμόνα δέξιον κέρας ἔχειν, &c. I understand Xenophôn's description of the παραγωγή or deployment differently from Müller—it rather seems that the enômoties which stood first made a side movement to the left, so that the first enômotarch still maintained his place on the left, at the same time that the opportunity was created for the enômoties in the rear to come up and form equal front (τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ παρεγγυάται εἰς μέτωπον παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι)—the words παρ' ἀσπίδα have reference, as I imagine, to the proceeding of the first enômotarch, who set the example of side-movement to the left hand, as it is shown by the words which follow—καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως ἐστ' ἂν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῇ. The phalanx was constituted when all the *lochi* formed an equal and continuous front, whether the sixteen enômoties (of which each lochus was composed) might be each in one file, in three files, or in six files.

[2] See Xenoph. Anab. iv. 2, 10, upon the advantage of attacking the enemy with ὀρθιοι λόχοι, in which case the strongest and best soldiers all came first into conflict. It is to be recollected, however, that the practice of the Cyreian troops cannot be safely quoted as authority for the practice at Sparta. Xenophôn and his colleagues established Lochi, Pentekosties and Enômoties in the Cyreian army: the Lochus consisted of 100 men, but the numbers of the other two divisions are not stated (Anab. iii. 4, 21; iv. 3, 26: compare Arrian, Tactic. cap. 6).

[3] The words of Thucydidês, v. 66, indicate the peculiar marshalling of the

larger divisions—the Pentekosties, the Lochus, and the Mora,[1] of which latter there seem to have been *six* in all. Respecting the number of each division, and the proportion of the larger to the smaller, we find statements altogether different, yet each resting upon good authority,—so that we are driven to suppose that there was no peremptory standard, and that the Enômoty comprised 25, 32, or 36 men; the Pentekosties two or four Enômoties; the Lochus two or four Pentekosties, and the Mora, 400, 500, 600, or 900 men—at different times, or according to the limits of age which the ephors might prescribe for the men whom they called into the field.[2]

Lacedæmonians, as distinguished both from their enemies and from their allies at the battle of Mantineia—καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Ἀγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ νόμον: again c. 68.

About the music of the flute or fife, Thucyd. v. 69; Xen. Rep. Lac. 13, 9; Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22.

[1] Meursius, Dr. Arnold and Racchetti (Della Milizia dei Grechi Antichi, Milan, 1807, p. 166) all think that Lochus and Mora were different names for the same division; but if this is to be reconciled with the statement of Xenophôn in Repub. Lac. c. 11, we must suppose an actual change of nomenclature after the Peloponnesian war, which appears to be Dr. Arnold's opinion—yet it is not easy to account for.

There is one point in Dr. Thirlwall's Appendix which is of some importance and in which I cannot but dissent from his opinion. He says, after stating the nomenclature and classification of the Spartan military force as given by Xenophôn, "Xenophôn speaks only of Spartans, as appears by the epithet πολιτικῶν," p. 521: the words of Xenophôn are, Ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἕνα, &c. (Rep. Lac. 11).

It appears to me that Xenophôn is here speaking of the aggregate Lacedæmonian heavy-armed force, including both Spartans and Periœki—not of Spartans alone. The word πολιτικῶν does not mean Spartans as distinguished from Periœki; but Lacedæmonians, as distinguished from allies. Thus when Agesilaus returns home from the blockade of Phlius, Xenophôn tells us that ταῦτα ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε (Hellen. v. 3, 25).

O. Müller also thinks that the whole number of 5740 men, who fought at the first battle of Mantineia in the thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, were furnished by the city of Sparta itself (Hist. of Dorians, iii. 12, 2): and to prove this he refers to the very passage just cited from the Hellenica of Xenophôn, which, as far as it proves anything, proves the contrary of his position. He gives no other evidence to support it, and I think it in the highest degree improbable. I have already remarked that he understands the expression πολιτικὴ χώρα (in Polybius, vi. 45) to mean the district of Sparta itself as contradistinguished from Laconia—a construction which seems to me not warranted by the passage in Polybius.

[2] Aristotle, Δακώνων Πολιτεία, Fragm. 5—6, ed. Neumann: Photius, v. Λόχος. Harpokration, Μόρα. Etymologic. Mag., Μόρα. The statement of Aristotle is transmitted so imperfectly that we cannot make out clearly what it was. Xenophôn says that there were six moræ in all, comprehending all the citizens of military age (Rep. Lac. 11, 3). But Ephorus stated the mora at 500 men, Kallisthenês at 700, and Polybius at 900 (Plutarch, Pelopid. 17; Diodor. xv. 32). If all the citizens competent to bear arms were comprised in six moræ, the numbers of each mora must of course have varied. At the battle of Mantineia there were seven Lacedæmonian lochi, each lochus containing four pentekosties, and each pentekosty containing four enômoties: Thucydidês seems (as I before remarked) to make each

What remains fixed in the system is, first, the small number, though varying within certain limits, of the elementary company called Enômoty, trained to act together, and composed of men nearly of the same age,[1] in which every man knew his place: secondly, the scale of divisions and the hierarchy of officers, each rising above the other,—the Enômotarch, the Pentekontêr, the Lochage, and the Polemarch, or commander of the Mora,—each having the charge of their respective divisions. Orders were transmitted from the king, as commander-in-chief, through the Polemarchs to the Lochages,—from the Lochages to the Pentekontêrs, and then from the latter to the Enômotarchs, each of whom caused them to be executed by his Enômoty. As all these men had been previously trained to the duties of their respective stations, the Spartan infantry possessed the arrangements and aptitudes of a standing army. Originally they seem to have had no cavalry at all,[2] and when cavalry was at length introduced into their system, it was of a very inferior character, no provision having been made for it in the Lykurgean training. But the military force of the other cities of Greece, even down to the close of the Peloponnesian war, enjoyed little or no special training, having neither any small company like the enômoty, consisting of particular men drilled to act together—nor fixed and disciplined officers—nor triple scale of subordination and subdivision. Gymnastics and the use of arms made a part of education everywhere, and it is to be presumed that no Grecian hoplite was entirely without some practice of marching in line and military evolutions, inasmuch as the obligation to serve was universal and often enforced. But such practice was casual and unequal, nor had any individual of Argos or Athens a fixed military place and duty. The citizen took arms among his tribe, under a Taxiarch chosen from it for the occasion, and was placed in a rank or line wherein neither his place nor his immediate neighbours were predetermined. The tribe appears to have been the only

In other Grecian cities there were no peculiar military divisions, distinct from the civil.

enômoty thirty-two men. But Xenophôn tells us that each mora had four lochi, each lochus two pentekosties, and each pentekosty two enômoties (Rep. Lac. 11, 4). The names of these divisions remain the same but the numbers varied.

[1] This is implied in the fact, that the men under thirty, or under thirty-five years of age, were often detached in a battle to pursue the light troops of the enemy (Xen. Hellen. iv. 5, 15—16).

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 12.

military classification known to Athens,[1] and the taxiarch the only tribe officer for infantry, as the phylarch was for cavalry, under the general-in-chief. Moreover, orders from the general were proclaimed to the line collectively by a herald of loud voice, not communicated to the taxiarch so as to make him responsible for the proper execution of them by his division. With an arrangement thus perfunctory and unsystematised, we shall be surprised to find how well the military duties were often performed. But every Greek who contrasted it with the symmetrical structure of the Lacedæmonian armed force, and with the laborious preparation of every Spartan for his appropriate duty, felt an internal sentiment of inferiority which made him willingly accept the headship of "these professional artists in the business of war,"[2] as they are often denominated.

Recognised superiority of Sparta—a part of early Grecian sentiment—coincident with the growing tendency to increased communion.

It was through the concurrence of these various circumstances that the willing acknowledgement of Sparta as the leading state of Hellas became a part of Grecian habitual sentiment, during the interval between about 600 B.C. and 547 B.C. During this period too, chiefly, Greece and her colonies were ripening into a sort of recognised and active partnership. The common religious assemblies, which bound the parts together, not only acquired greater formality and more extended development, but also became more numerous and

[1] Herodot. vi. 111; Thucyd. vi 98; Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 2, 19.

The same marshalling of hoplites, according to the civil tribes to which they belonged, is seen in the inhabitants of Messênê in Sicily as well as of Syracuse (Thucyd. iii. 90; vi. 100).

At Argos there was a body of 1000 hoplites, who during the Peloponnesian war received training in military manœuvres at the cost of the city (Thucyd. v. 67), but there is reason to believe that this arrangement was not introduced until about the period of the peace of Nikias in the tenth or eleventh year of the Peloponnesian war, when the truce between Argos and Sparta was just expiring, and when the former began to entertain schemes of ambition. The Epariti in Arcadia began at a much later time, after the battle of Leuktra (Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 4, 43).

About the Athenian Taxiarchs, one to each tribe, see Æschines de Fals. Leg. c. 53, p. 300 R.; Lysias, pro Mantitheo, Or. xvi. p. 147; Demosth. adv. Bœotum pro nomine, p. 999 R., Philippic. i. p. 47.

See the advice given by Xenophôn (in his Treatise De Officio Magistri Equitum) for the remodelling of the Athenian cavalry, and for the introduction of small divisions, each with its special commander. The division into tribes is all that he finds recognised (Off. M. E. c. ii. 2—iv. 9); he strongly recommends giving orders—διὰ παραγγέλσεως and not ἀπὸ κήρυκος.

[2] Plutarch, Pelopid. c. 23. Πάντων ἄκροι τεχνῖται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, &c. Xenoph. Rep. Lac. c. 14: ἠγησαῖο ἄν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Λακεδαιμονίους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν. . . . . Ὥστε τῶν δεομένων γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστιν.

frequent—while the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games were exalted into a national importance, approaching to that of the Olympic. The recognised superiority of Sparta thus formed part and parcel of the first historical aggregation of the Grecian states. It was about the year 547 B.C., that Crœsus of Lydia, when pressed by Cyrus and the Persians, solicited aid from Greece, addressing himself to the Spartans as confessed presidents of the whole Hellenic body.[1] And the tendencies then at work, towards a certain degree of increased intercourse and co-operation among the dispersed members of the Hellenic name, were doubtless assisted by the existence of a state recognised by all as the first—a state whose superiority was the more readily acquiesced in, because it was earned by a painful and laborious discipline, which all admired, but none chose to copy.[2]

Whether it be true (as O. Müller and other learned men conceive) that the Homeric mode of fighting was the general practice in Peloponnêsus and the rest of Greece anterior to the invasion of the Dorians, and that the latter first introduced the habit of fighting with close ranks and protended spears, is a point which cannot be determined. Throughout all our historical knowledge of Greece, a close rank among the hoplites, charging with spears always in hand, is the prevailing practice; though there are cases of exception, in which the spear is hurled, when troops seem afraid of coming to close quarters.[3] Nor is it by any means certain, that the Homeric manner of fighting ever really prevailed in Peloponnêsus, which is a country eminently inconvenient for the use of war-chariots. The descriptions of the bard may perhaps

Homeric mode of fighting—probably belonged to Asia, not to Greece.

[1] Ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Herodot. i. 69): compare i. 152; v. 49; vi. 84, about Spartan hegemony.

[2] Xenoph. Repub. Lac. 10, 8. ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.

The magnificent funeral discourse, pronounced by Periklês in the early part of the Peloponnesian war over the deceased Athenian warriors, includes a remarkable contrast of the unconstrained patriotism and bravery of the Athenians, with the austere, repulsive and ostentatious drilling to which the Spartans were subject from their earliest youth; at the same time it attests the powerful effect which that drilling produced upon the mind of Greece (Thucyd. ii. 37—39). πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλέον καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν (the Spartans) ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νεοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, &c.

The impression of the light troops when they first began to attack the Lacedæmonian hoplites in the island of Sphakteria is strongly expressed by Thucydidês (iv. 34)—τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, &c.

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 4, 52: compare iii. 5, 20.

have been founded chiefly upon what he and his auditors witnessed on the coast of Asia Minor, where chariots were more employed, and where the country was much more favourable to them.[1] We have no historical knowledge of any military practice in Peloponnêsus anterior to the hoplites with close ranks and protended spears.

One Peloponnesian state there was, and one alone, which disdained to acknowledge the superiority or headship of Lacedæmôn. Argos never forgot that she had once been the chief power in the peninsula, and her feeling towards Sparta was that of a jealous, but impotent, competitor. By what steps the decline of her power had taken place, we are unable to make out, nor can we trace the succession of her kings subsequent to Pheidôn. It has been already stated that about 669 B.C. the Argeians gained a victory over the Spartans at Hysiæ, and that they expelled from the port of Nauplia its pre-existing inhabitants, who found shelter, by favour of the Lacedæmonians, at the port of Mothônê in Messenia:[2] Damokratidas was then king of Argos. Pausanias tells us that Meltas the son of Lakidês was the last descendant of Temenus who succeeded to this dignity; he being condemned and deposed by the people. Plutarch however states that the family of the Herakleids died out, and that another king, named Ægôn, was chosen by the people at the indication of the Delphian oracle.[3] Of this story, Pausanias appears to have known nothing. His language implies that the kingly dignity ceased with Meltas—wherein he is undoubtedly mistaken, since the title existed (though probably with very limited functions) at the time of the Persian war. Moreover there is some ground for presuming that the king of Argos was even at that time a Herakleid—since the Spartans offered to him a third part of the command of the Hellenic force, conjointly with their own two kings.[4] The con-

Argos—her struggles to recover the headship of Greece.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 4, 19.

[2] Pausan. iv. 24, 2; iv. 35, 2.

[3] Pausan. ii. 19, 2; Plutarch (Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula. &c. c. 5, p. 396; De Fortunâ Alexandri, c. 8, p. 340). Lakidês, king of Argos, is also named by Plutarch as luxurious and effeminate (De capiendâ ab hostibus utilitate, c. 6, p. 89).

O. Müller (Hist. Dorians, iii. 6, 10 identifies Lakidês, son of Meltas, named by Pausanias, with Leôkêdês son of Pheidôn, named by Herodotus as one of the suitors for the daughter of Kleisthenês the Sikyonian (vi. 127); and he thus infers that Meltas must have been deposed and succeeded by Ægôn, about 560 B.C. This conjecture seems to me not much to be trusted.

[4] Herodot. vii. 149.

quest of Thyreātis by the Spartans deprived the Argeians of a valuable portion of their Periœkis, or dependent territory. But Orneæ and the remaining portion of Kynuria[1] still continued to belong to them: the plain round their city was very productive: and, except Sparta, there was no other power in Peloponnêsus superior to them. Mykenæ and Tiryns, nevertheless, seem both to have been independent states at the time of the Persian war, since both sent contingents to the battle of Platæa, at a time when Argos held aloof and rather favoured the Persians.

Her conquest of Mykênæ, Tiryns, and Kleônæ.—Nemean games.

At what time Kleônæ became the ally or dependent of Argos, we cannot distinctly make out. During the Peloponnesian war it is numbered in that character along with Orneæ;[2] but it seems not to have lost its autonomy about the year 470 B.C., at which period Pindar represents the Kleonæans as presiding and distributing prizes at the Nemean games.[3] The grove of Nemea was less than two miles from their town, and they were the original presidents of this great festival—a function of which they were subsequently robbed by the Argeians, in the same manner as the Pisatans had been treated by the Eleians with reference to the Olympic Agôn. The extinction of the autonomy of Kleônæ, and the acquisition of the presidency of the Nemean festival by Argos, were doubtless simultaneous, but we are unable to mark the exact time. For the statement of Eusebius, that the Argeians celebrated the Nemean festival as early as the 53rd Olympiad, or 568 B.C., is contradicted by the more valuable evidence of Pindar.[4]

[1] Herodot. viii. 73.

Strabo distinguishes two places called Orneæ; one a village in the Argeian territory, the other a town between Corinth and Sikyôn: but I doubt whether there ever were two places so called: the town or village dependent on Argos seems the only place (Strabo, viii. p. 376).

[2] Thucyd. v. 67—vi. 95.

The Kleônæans are also said to have aided the Argeians in the destruction of Mykênæ, conjointly with the Tegeatans: from hence, however, we cannot infer anything as to their dependence at that time (Strabo, viii. p. 377).

[3] Pindar, Nem. x. 42. Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τετράκις (compare Nem. iv. 17). Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος, &c.

[4] See Corsini Dissertationes Agonisticæ, iii. 2.

The tenth Nemean Ode of Pindar is on this point peculiarly good evidence, inasmuch as it is composed for, and supposed to be sung by Theiæus, a native of Argos. Had there been any jealousy then subsisting between Argos and Kleônæ on the subject of the presidency of this festival, Pindar would never on such an occasion have mentioned expressly the Kleônæans as presidents.

The statements of the Scholia on Pindar, that the Corinthians at one time celebrated the Nemean games, or that they were of old celebrated at Sikyôn, seem unfounded (Schol. Pind. Arg. Nem., and Nem. x. 49).

Achaia—twelve autonomous towns, perhaps more—little known.

Of Corinth and Sikyôn it will be more convenient to speak when we survey what is called the Age of the Tyrants or Despots; and of the inhabitants of Achaia (who occupied the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, westward of Sikyôn as far as Cape Araxus, the north-western point of Peloponnêsus), a few words exhaust our whole knowledge, down to the time at which we are arrived. These Achæans are given to us as representing the ante-Dorian inhabitants of Laconia, whom the legend affirms to have retired under Tisamenus to the northern parts of Peloponnêsus, from whence they expelled the pre-existing Ionians and occupied the country. The race of their kings is said to have lasted from Tisamenus down to Ogygus[1]—how long we do not know. After the death of the latter, the Achæan towns formed each a separate republic, but with periodical festivals and sacrifice at the Temple of Zeus Homarius, affording opportunity of settling differences and arranging their common concerns. Of these towns, twelve are known from Herodotus and Strabo—Pellênê, Ægira, Ægæ, Bura, Helikê, Ægium, Rhypes, Patræ, Pharæ, Olenus, Dymê, Tritæa.[2] But there must originally have been some other autonomous towns besides these twelve; for in the 23rd Olympiad, Ikarus of Hyperêsia was proclaimed as victor, and there seems good reason to believe that Hyperêsia, an old town of the Homeric Catalogue, was in Achaia.[3] It is affirmed that, before the Achæan occupation of the country, the Ionians had dwelt in independent villages, several of which were subsequently aggregated into towns; thus Patræ was formed by a coalescence of seven villages, Dymê from eight (one of which was named Teuthea), and Ægium also from seven or eight. But all these towns were small, and some of them underwent a farther junction one with the other; thus Ægæ was joined with Ægeira, and Olenus with Dymê.[4] All the authors seem disposed to recognise twelve cities, and no more, in Achaia; for Polybius, still adhering to that number, substitutes Leontium and Keryneia

1 Polyb. ii. 41.

2 Herodot. i. 145; Strabo, viii. p. 385.

3 Pausan. iv. 15, 1; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Homer, Iliad, ii. 573. Pausanias seems to have forgotten this statement when he tells us that the name of Hyperêsia was exchanged for that of Ægeira, during the time of the Ionian occupation of the country (vii. 26, 1: Steph. Byz. copies him, v. Αἰγειρα). It is doubtful whether the two names designate the same place, nor does Strabo conceive that they did.

4 Strabo, viii. pp. 337, 342, 386.

in place of Ægæ and Rhypes; Pausanias gives Keryneia in place of Patræ.[1] We hear of no facts respecting these Achæan towns until a short time before the Peloponnesian war, and even then their part was inconsiderable.

The greater portion of the territory comprised under the name of Achaia was mountain, forming the northern descent of those high ranges, passable only through very difficult gorges, which separate the country from Arcadia to the south, and which throw out various spurs approaching closely to the Gulf of Corinth. A strip of flat land, with white clayey soil, often very fertile, between these mountains and the sea, formed *the plain* of each of the Achæan towns, which were situated for the most part upon steep outlying eminences overhanging it. From the mountains between Achaia and Arcadia, numerous streams flow into the Corinthian Gulf, but few of them are perennial, and the whole length of coast is represented as harbourless.[2]

[1] Polyb. ii. 41. [2] See Leake's Travels in Morea, c. xxvii. and xxxi.

CHAPTER IX.

CORINTH, SIKYÔN, AND MEGARA—AGE OF THE GRECIAN DESPOTS.

I HAVE thus brought down the history of Sparta to the period marked by the reign of Peisistratus at Athens; at which time she had attained her maximum of territory, was confessedly the most powerful state in Greece, and enjoyed a proportionate degree of deference from the rest. I now proceed to touch upon the three Dorian cities on and near to the Isthmus—Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara, as they existed at this same period.

Early commerce and enterprise of the Corinthians

Even amidst the scanty information which has reached us, we trace the marks of considerable maritime energy and commerce among the Corinthians, as far back as the eighth century B.C. The foundation of Korkyra and Syracuse, in the eleventh Olympiad, or 734 B.C. (of which I shall speak farther in connexion with Grecian colonisation generally), by expeditions from Corinth, affords proof that they knew how to turn to account the excellent situation which connected them with the sea on both sides of Peloponnêsus. Moreover Thucydidês,[1] while he notices them as the chief liberators of the sea in early times from pirates, also tells us that the first great improvement in ship-building—the construction of the trireme, or ship of war, with a full deck and triple banks for the rowers—was the fruit of Corinthian ingenuity. It was in the year 703 B.C., that the Corinthian Ameinoklês built four triremes for the Samians, the first which those islanders had ever possessed. The notice of this fact attests as well the importance attached to the new invention, as the humble scale on which the naval force in those early days was equipped. And it is a fact of

[1] Thucyd. i. 13.

not less moment in proof of the maritime vigour of Corinth in the seventh century B.C., that the earliest naval battle known to Thucydidês was one which took place between the Corinthians and the Korkyræans, B.C. 664.[1]

It has already been stated that the line of Herakleid kings in Corinth subsides gradually, through a series of empty names, into the oligarchy denominated Bacchiadæ or Bacchiads, under whom our first historical knowledge of the city begins. The persons so named were all accounted descendants of Hêraklês, and formed the governing caste in the city; intermarrying usually among themselves, and choosing from their own number an annual prytanis, or president, for the administration of affairs. Of their internal government we have no accounts, except the tale respecting Archias the founder of Syracuse,[2] one of their number, who had made himself so detested by an act of brutal violence terminating in the death of the beautiful youth Aktæôn, as to be forced to expatriate. That such a man should have been placed in the distinguished post of Œkist of the colony of Syracuse gives us no favourable idea of the Bacchiad oligarchy: we do not however know upon what original authority the story depends, nor can we be sure that it is accurately recounted. But Corinth under their government had already become a powerful commercial and maritime city.

Oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ.

Megara, the last Dorian state in this direction eastward, and conterminous with Attica at the point where the mountains called Kerata descend to Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, is affirmed to have been originally settled by the Dorians of Corinth, and to have remained for some time a dependency of that city. It is farther said to have been at first merely one of five separate villages—Megara, Herææa, Peirææa, Kynosura, Tripodiskus—inhabited by a kindred population, and generally on friendly terms, yet sometimes distracted by quarrels, and on those occasions carrying on war with a degree of lenity and chivalrous confidence which reverses the proverbial affirmation respecting the sanguinary character of enmities

Early condition of Megara.

[1] Thucyd. i. 13.

[2] Plutarch, Amator. Narrat. c. 2, p. 772; Diodor. Fragm. lib. viii. p. 26. Alexander Ætolus (Fragm. i. 5, ed. Schneidewin), and the Scholiast ad Apollon. Rhod. iv. 1212, seem to connect this act of outrage with the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth, which did not take place until long afterwards.

between kindred. Both these two statements are transmitted to us (we know not from what primitive source) as explanatory of certain current phrases:[1] the author of the latter cannot have agreed with the author of the former in considering the Corinthians as masters of the Megarid, because he represents them a fomenting wars among these five villages for the purpose of acquiring that territory. Whatever may be the truth respecting this alleged early subjection of Megara, we know it[2] in the historical age, and that too as early as the fourteenth Olympiad, only as an independent Dorian city, maintaining the integrity of its territory under its leader Orsippus the famous Olympic runner, against some powerful enemies, probably the Corinthians. It was of no mean consideration, possessing a territory which extended across Mount Geraneia to the Corinthian Gulf, on which the fortified town and port of Pêgæ, belonging to the Megarians, was situated. It was mother of early and distant colonies,—and competent, during the time of Solôn, to carry on a protracted contest with the Athenians, for the possession of Salamis; wherein, although the latter were at last victorious, it was not without an intermediate period of ill-success and despair.

Early condition of Sikyôn.

Of the early history of Sikyôn, from the period when it became Dorian down to the seventh century B.C., we know nothing. Our first information respecting it concerns the establishment of the despotism of Orthagoras, about 680—670 B.C. And it is a point deserving of notice, that all

[1] The first account seems referred to Dêmôn (a writer on Attic archæology, or what is called an Ἀτθιδόγραφος, whose date is about 280 B.C. See Phanodêmi, Dêmônis, Clitodêmi, atque Istri, Ἀτθίδων Fragmenta, ed. Siebelies, Præfatio, p. viii.—xi.). It is given as the explanation of the locution—ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος. See Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. vii. ad finem; Schol. Aristophan. Ran. 440: the Corinthians seem to have represented their Eponymous hero as son of Zeus, though other Greeks did not believe them (Pausan. ii. 1, 1). That the Megarians were compelled to come to Corinth for demonstration of mourning on occasion of the decease of any of the members of the Bacchiad oligarchy, is perhaps a story copied from the regulation at Sparta regarding the Perioeki and Helots (Herodot. vi. 57; Pausan. iv. 14, 3; Tyrtæus, Fragm.). Pausanias conceives the victory of the Megarians over the Corinthians, which he saw commemorated in the Megarian θησαυρός at Olympia, as having taken place before the first Olympiad, when Phorbas was life-archon at Athens: Phorbas is placed by chronologers fifth in the series from Medôn son of Codrus (Pausan. i. 39, 4; vi. 19, 9). The early enmity between Corinth and Megara is alluded to in Plutarch, De Malignitate Herodoti, p. 868, c. 35.

The second story noticed in the text is given by Plutarch, Quæstion. Græc. c. 17, p. 295, in illustration of the meaning of the word Δορύξενος.

[2] Pausanias, i. 44, 1, and the epigram upon Orsippus in Boeckh, Corpus Inscript. Gr., No. 1050, with Boeckh's commentary.

the three above-mentioned towns,—Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara —underwent during the course of this same century a similar change of government. In each of them a despot established himself: Orthagoras in Sikyôn; Kypselus in Corinth; Theagenês in Megara.

Rise of the despots.

Unfortunately we have too little evidence as to the state of things by which this change of government was preceded and brought about, to be able to appreciate fully its bearing. But what draws our attention to it more particularly is, that the like phænomenon seems to have occurred contemporaneously throughout a large number of cities, continental, insular and colonial, in many different parts of the Grecian world. The period between 650 and 500 B.C. witnessed the rise and downfall of many despots and despotic dynasties, each in its own separate city. During the succeeding interval between 500 and 350 B.C., new despots, though occasionally springing up, become more rare. Political dispute takes another turn, and the question is raised directly and ostensibly between the many and the few—the people and the oligarchy. But in the still later times which follow the battle of Chæroneia, in proportion as Greece, declining in civic not less than in military spirit, is driven to the constant employment of mercenary troops, and humbled by the overruling interference of foreigners—the despot with his standing foreign body-guard becomes again a characteristic of the time; a tendency partially counteracted, but never wholly subdued, by Aratus and the Achæan league of the third century B.C.

Earliest changes of government in Greece.

It would have been instructive if we had possessed a faithful record of these changes of government in some of the more considerable of the Grecian towns. In the absence of such evidence, we can do little more than collect the brief sentences of Aristotle and others respecting the causes which produced them. For as the like change of government was common, near about the same time, to cities very different in locality, in race of inhabitants, in tastes and habits, and in wealth, it must partly have depended upon certain general causes which admit of being assigned and explained.

In a preceding chapter I tried to elucidate the heroic government of Greece, so far as it could be known from the epic poems —a government founded (if we may employ modern phraseology)

upon divine right as opposed to the sovereignty of the people, but requiring, as an essential condition, that the king shall possess force, both of body and mind, not unworthy of the exalted breed to which he belongs.[1] In this government the authority, which pervades the whole society, all resides in the king. But on important occasions it is exercised through the forms of publicity: he consults, and even discusses, with the council of chiefs or elders—he communicates after such consultation with the assembled Agora,—who hear and approve, perhaps hear and murmur, but are not understood to exercise an option or to reject. In giving an account of the Lykurgean system, I remarked that the old primitive Rhetræ (or charters of compact) indicated the existence of these same elements; a king of superhuman lineage (in this particular case two co-ordinate kings)—a senate of twenty-eight old men, besides the kings who sat in it—and an Ekklesia or public assembly of citizens, convened for the purpose of approving or rejecting propositions submitted to them, with little or no liberty of discussion. The elements of the heroic government of Greece are thus found to be substantially the same as those existing in the primitive Lykurgean constitution; in both cases the predominant force residing in the kings, and the functions of the senate, still more those of the public assembly, being comparatively narrow and restricted; in both cases the regal authority being upheld by a certain religious sentiment, which tended to exclude rivalry and to ensure submission in the people up to a certain point, in spite of misconduct or deficiency in the reigning individual. Among the principal Epirotic tribes this government subsisted down to the third century B.C.,[2] though some of them had passed out of it, and were in the habit of electing annually a president out of the gens to which the king belonged.

Peculiarity of Sparta.

Starting from these points, common to the Grecian heroic government, and to the original Lykurgean system, we find that in the Grecian cities generally the king is replaced by an oligarchy, consisting of a limited number of families—while at Sparta the kingly authority, though greatly curtailed, is never abolished. And the different turn of events at

[1] See a striking passage in Plutarch, Præcept. Republ. Gerend. c. 5, p. 801.

[2] Plutarch, Pyrrh. c. 5. Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 1.

Sparta admits of being partially explained. It so happened that for five centuries neither of the two coordinate lines of Spartan kings was ever without some male representatives, so that the sentiment of divine right, upon which their pre-eminence was founded, always proceeded in an undeviating channel. That sentiment never wholly died out in the tenacious mind of Sparta, but it became sufficiently enfeebled to occasion a demand for guarantees against abuse. If the senate had been a more numerous body, composed of a few principal families, and comprising men of all ages, it might perhaps have extended its powers so much as to absorb those of the king. But a council of twenty-eight old men, chosen indiscriminately from all Spartan families, was essentially an adjunct and secondary force. It was insufficient even as a restraint upon the king—still less was it competent to become his rival; and it served indirectly even as a support to him, by preventing the formation of any other privileged order powerful enough to be an overmatch for his authority. This insufficiency on the part of the senate was one of the causes which occasioned the formation of the annually renewed Council of Five, called the Ephors; originally a defensive board like the Roman Tribunes, intended as a restraint upon abuse of power in the kings, but afterwards expanding into a paramount and unresponsible Executive Directory. Assisted by endless dissensions between the two coordinate kings, the Ephors encroached upon their power on every side, limited them to certain special functions, and even rendered them accountable and liable to punishment, but never aspired to abolish the dignity. That which the regal authority lost in extent (to borrow the just remark of king Theopompus[1]) it gained in durability. The descendants of the twins Eurysthenês and Proklês continued in possession of their double sceptre from the earliest historical times down to the revolutions of Agis III. and Kleomenês III.—generals of the military force, growing richer and richer, and reverenced as well as influential in the state, though the Directory of Ephors were their superiors. And the Ephors became in time quite as despotic, in reference to internal affairs, as the kings could ever have been before them. For the Spartan

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 1.

mind, deeply possessed with the feelings of command and obedience, remained comparatively insensible to the ideas of control and responsibility, and even averse to that open discussion and censure of public measures or officers which such ideas imply. We must recollect that the Spartan political constitution was both simplified in its character and aided in its working by the comprehensive range of the Lykurgean discipline with its rigorous equal pressure upon rich and poor, which averted many of the causes elsewhere productive of sedition—habituating the proudest and most refractory citizen to a life of undeviating obedience—satisfying such demand as existed for system and regularity—rendering Spartan personal habits of life much more equal than even democratical Athens could parallel; but contributing at the same time to engender a contempt for talkers, and a dislike of methodical and prolonged speech, which of itself sufficed to exclude all regular interference of the collective citizens, either in political or judicial affairs.

Such were the facts at Sparta. But in the rest of Greece the primitive heroic government was modified in a very different manner: the people outgrew, much more decidedly, that feeling of divine right and personal reverence which originally gave authority to the king. Willing submission ceased on the part of the people, and still more on the part of the inferior chiefs; and with it ceased the heroic royalty. Something like a system or constitution came to be demanded.

Discontinuance of kingship in Greece generally.

Of this discontinuance of kingship, so universal in the political march of Hellas, one main cause is doubtless to be sought in the smallness and concentrated residence of each distinct Hellenic society. A single chief, perpetual and unresponsible, was noway essential for the maintenance of union. In modern Europe, for the most part, the different political societies which grew up out of the Roman empire embraced each a considerable population and a wide extent of territory. The monarchical form presented itself as the only known means of union between the parts; the only visible and imposing symbol of a national identity. Both the military character of the Teutonic invaders, as well as the traditions of the Roman empire which they dismembered, tended towards the

Comparison with the middle ages of Europe.

establishment of a monarchical chief. The abolition of his dignity would have been looked upon as equivalent, and would really have been equivalent, to the breaking up the nation; since the maintenance of a collective union by means of general assemblies was so burdensome, that the kings themselves vainly tried to exact it by force, and representative government was then unknown.

The history of the middle ages—though exhibiting constant resistance on the part of powerful subjects, frequent deposition of individual kings, and occasional changes of dynasty—contains few instances of any attempt to maintain a large political aggregate united without a king, either hereditary or elective. Even towards the close of the last century, at the period when the federal constitution of the United States of America was first formed, many reasoners regarded[1] as an impossibility the application of any other system than the monarchical to a territory of large size and population, so as to combine union of the whole with equal privileges and securities to each of the parts. And it might perhaps be a real impossibility among any rude people, with strong local peculiarities, difficult means of communication, and habits of representative government not yet acquired. Hence throughout all the larger nations of mediæval and modern Europe, with few exceptions, the prevailing sentiment has been favourable to monarchy; but wherever any single city or district, or cluster of villages, whether in the plains of Lombardy or in the mountains of Switzerland, has acquired independence—wherever any small fraction has severed itself from the aggregate—the opposite sentiment has been found, and the natural tendency has been towards some modification of republican government;[2] out of which indeed, as in Greece, a despot has often

[1] See this subject discussed in the admirable collection of letters, called the Federalist, written in 1787, during the time when the federal constitution of the United States of America was under discussion—Letters, 9, 10, 14, by Mr. Madison.

"Il est de la nature d'une république (says Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, viii. 16) de n'avoir qu'un petit territoire: sans cela, elle ne peut guère subsister."

[2] David Hume, in his Essay XV. (vol. i. p. 159, ed. 1760), after remarking "that all kinds of government, free and despotic, seem to have undergone in modern times (*i.e.* as compared with ancient) a great change to the better, with regard both to foreign and domestic management," proceeds to say:—

"But though all kinds of government be improved in modern times, yet monarchical government seems to have made the greatest advances towards perfection. It may now be affirmed of civilized monarchies, what

been engendered, but always through some unnatural mixture of force and fraud. The feudal system, evolved out of the disordered state of Europe between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, always presumed a permanent suzerain, vested with large rights of a mixed personal and proprietary character over his vassals, though subject also to certain obligations towards them: the immediate vassals of the king had subordinate vassals of their own, to whom they stood in the same relation: and in this hierarchy [1] of power, property, and territory blended together, the rights of the chief, whether king, duke, or baron, were conceived as constituting a status apart, and neither conferred originally by the grant, nor revocable at the pleasure of those over whom they were exercised. This view of the essential nature of political authority was a point in which the three great elements of modern European society—the Teutonic, the Roman, and the Christian—all concurred, though each in a different way and with different modifications; and the result was, a variety of attempts on the part of subjects to compromise with their chief, without any idea of substituting a delegated executive in his place. On particular points of these feudal monarchies there grew up gradually towns with a concentrated population, among whom was seen the remarkable combination of a republican feeling, demanding collective and responsible management in their own local affairs, with a necessity of union and subordination towards the great monarchical whole; and hence again arose a new force tending both to maintain the form, and to predetermine the march of kingly government.[2] And it has been found

was formerly said in praise of republics alone, that they are a government of laws, not of men. They are found susceptible of order, method, and constancy to a surprising degree. Property is there secure: industry encouraged; the arts flourish; and the prince lives secure among his subjects, like a father among his children. There are perhaps, and have been for two centuries, near two hundred absolute princes, great and small, in Europe; and allowing twenty years to each reign, we may suppose that there have been in the whole two thousand monarchs or tyrants, as the Greeks would have called them; yet of these there has not been one, not even Philip II. of Spain, so bad as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, who were four in twelve amongst the Roman emperors. It must however be confessed, that though monarchical governments have approached nearer to popular ones in gentleness and stability, they are still much inferior. Our modern education and customs instil more humanity and moderation than the ancient, but have not as yet been able to overcome entirely the disadvantages of that form of government."

[1] See the Lectures of M. Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, Leçon 30, vol. iii. p. 187, edit. 1829.

[2] M. Augustin Thierry observes, Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, Lettre xvi. p. 235:

"Sans aucun souvenir de l'histoire

in practice possible to attain this latter object—to combine regal government with fixity of administration, equal law impartially executed, security to person and property, and freedom of discussion under representative forms, in a degree which the wisest ancient Greek would have deemed hopeless.[1] Such an improvement in the practical working of this species of government, speaking always comparatively with the kings of ancient times in Syria, Egypt, Judea, the Grecian cities, and Rome,—coupled with the increased force of all established routine, and the greater durability of all institutions and creeds which have obtained footing throughout any wide extent of territory and people,—has caused the monarchical sentiment to remain predominant in the European mind (though not without vigorous occasional dissent) throughout the increased knowledge and the enlarged political experience of the last two centuries.

It is important to show that the monarchical institutions and monarchical tendencies prevalent throughout mediæval and modern Europe have been both generated and perpetuated by

Grecque ou Romaine, les bourgeois des onzième et douzième siècles, soit que leur ville fût sous la seigneurie d'un roi, d'un comte, d'un duc, d'un évêque ou d'une abbaye allaient droit à la république; mais la réaction du pouvoir établi les rejetait souvent en arrière. Du balancement de ces deux forces opposées résultait pour la ville une sorte de gouvernement mixte, et c'est ce qui arriva, en général, dans le nord de la France, comme le prouvent les chartes de commune."

Even among the Italian cities, which became practically self-governing, and produced despots as many in number and as unprincipled in character as the Grecian (I shall touch upon this comparison more largely hereafter), Mr. Hallam observes, that "the sovereignty of the emperors, though not very effective, was in theory always admitted: their name was used in public acts and appeared upon the coin".—View of the Middle Ages, Part I. ch. 3, p. 346, sixth edit.

See also M. Raynouard, Histoire du Droit Municipal en France, Book iii. ch. 12, vol. ii. p. 156: "Cette séparation essentielle et fondamentale entre les actes, les agens du gouvernement—et les actes, les agens de l'administration locale pour les affaires locales—cette démarcation politique, dont l'empire Romain avoit donné l'exemple, et qui concilioit le gouvernement monarchique avec une administration populaire—continua plus ou moins expressément sous les trois dynasties".

M. Raynouard presses too far his theory of the continuous preservation of the municipal powers in towns from the Roman empire down to the third French dynasty; but into this question it is not necessary for my purpose to enter.

[1] In reference to the Italian republics of the middle ages, M. Sismondi observes, speaking of Philip della Torre, denominated *signor* by the people of Como, Vercelli and Bergamo, "Dans ces villes, non plus que dans celles que son frère s'était auparavant assujetties, le peuple ne croyoit point renoncer à sa liberté: il n'avoit point voulu choisir un maître, mais seulement un protecteur contre les nobles, un capitaine des gens de guerre, et un chef de la justice. L'expérience lui apprit trop tard, que ces prérogatives réunies constituoient un souverain."—Républiques Italiennes, vol. iii. ch. 20, p. 273.

causes peculiar to those societies, whilst in the Hellenic societies such causes had no place—in order that we may approach Hellenic phænomena in the proper spirit, and with an impartial estimate of the feeling universal among Greeks towards the idea of a king. The primitive sentiment entertained towards the heroic king died out, passing first into indifference, next—after experience of the despots—into determined antipathy.

Anti-monarchical sentiment of Greece—Mr. Mitford.

To an historian like Mr. Mitford, full of English ideas respecting government, this anti-monarchical feeling appears of the nature of insanity, and the Grecian communities like madmen without a keeper: while the greatest of all benefactors is the hereditary king who conquers them from without—the second best is the home despot who seizes the acropolis and puts his fellow-citizens under coercion. There cannot be a more certain way of misinterpreting and distorting Grecian phænomena than to read them in this spirit, which reverses the maxims both of prudence and morality current in the ancient world. The hatred of kings as it stood among the Greeks (whatever may be thought about a similar feeling now) was a pre-eminent virtue, flowing directly from the noblest and wisest part of their nature. It was a consequence of their deep conviction of the necessity of universal legal restraint; it was a direct expression of that regulated sociality which required the control of individual passion from every one without exception, and most of all from him to whom power was confided. The conception which the Greeks formed of an unresponsible One, or of a king who could do no wrong, may be expressed in the pregnant words of Herodotus:[1] "He subverts the customs of the country: he violates women: he puts men to death without trial". No other conception of the probable tendencies of kingship was justified either by a general knowledge of human nature, or by political experience as it stood from Solôn downward: no other feeling than abhorrence could be entertained for the character so conceived: no other than a man of unprincipled ambition would ever seek to invest himself with it.

Our larger political experience has taught us to modify this

1 Herod iii. 80. Νομαιά τε κινεῖ πάτρια, καὶ βιᾶται γυναῖκας, κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους.

opinion, by showing that under the conditions of monarchy in the best governments of modern Europe the enormities described by Herodotus do not take place—and that it is possible, by means of representative constitutions acting under a certain force of manners, customs, and historical recollection, to obviate many of the mischiefs likely to flow from proclaiming the duty of peremptory obedience to an hereditary and unresponsible king, who cannot be changed without extra-constitutional force. But such larger observation was not open to Aristotle, the wisest as well as the most cautious of ancient theorists: nor if it had been open, could he have applied with assurance its lessons to the governments of the single cities of Greece. The theory of a constitutional king, especially, as it exists in England, would have appeared to him impracticable: to establish a king who will reign without governing—in whose name all government is carried on, yet whose personal will is in practice of little or no effect—exempt from all responsibility, without making use of the exemption—receiving from every one unmeasured demonstrations of homage, which are never translated into act except within the bounds of a known law—surrounded with all the paraphernalia of power, yet acting as a passive instrument in the hands of ministers marked out for his choice by indications which he is not at liberty to resist. This remarkable combination of the fiction of superhuman grandeur and licence with the reality of an invisible strait-waistcoat, is what an Englishman has in his mind when he speaks of a constitutional king. The events of our history have brought it to pass in England, amidst an aristocracy the most powerful that the world has yet seen—but we have still to learn whether it can be made to exist elsewhere, or whether the occurrence of a single king, at once able, aggressive, and resolute, may not suffice to break it up. To Aristotle, certainly, it could not have appeared otherwise than unintelligible and impracticable: not likely even in a single case—but altogether inconceivable as a permanent system, and with all the diversities of temper inherent in the successive members of an hereditary dynasty. When the Greeks thought of a man exempt from legal responsibility, they conceived him as really and truly such, in deed as well as in name, with a defenceless community exposed to his oppressions; and their fear and hatred of him were measured by their reverence for a govern-

ment of equal law and free speech,[1] with the ascendency of which their whole hopes of security were associated,—in the democracy of Athens more perhaps than in any other portion of Greece. And this feeling, as it was one of the best in the Greek mind, so it was also one of the most widely spread,—a point of unanimity highly valuable amidst so many points of dissension. We cannot construe or criticise it by reference to the feelings of modern Europe, still less to the very peculiar feelings of England, respecting kingship: and it is the application, sometimes explicit and sometimes tacit, of this unsuitable standard, which renders Mr. Mitford's appreciation of Greek politics so often incorrect and unfair.

Causes which led to the growth of that sentiment.

When we try to explain the course of Grecian affairs, not from the circumstances of other societies, but from those of the Greeks themselves, we shall see good reason for the discontinuance as well as for the dislike of kingship. Had the Greek mind been as stationary and unimproving as that of the Orientals, the discontent with individual kings might have led to no other change than the deposition of a bad king in favour of one who promised to be better, without ever extending the views of the people to any higher conception than that of a personal government. But the Greek mind was of a progressive character, capable of conceiving and gradually of realizing amended social combinations. Moreover it is in the nature of things that any government—regal, oligarchical or democratical—which comprises only a single city, is far less stable than if it embraced a wider surface and a larger population. When that semi-religious and

[1] Euripidês (Supplices, 429) states plainly the idea of a τύραννος, as received in Greece; the antithesis to laws:—

Οὐδεν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πόλει·
Ὅπου, τὸ μὲν πρώτιστον, οὐκ εἰσιν νόμοι
Κοινοὶ, κρατεῖ δ' εἷς, τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος
Αὐτὸς παρ' αὑτῷ.

Compare Soph. Antigon. 737. See also the discussion in Aristot. Polit. iii. sect. 10 and 11, in which the rule of the king is discussed in comparison with the government of laws; compare also iv. 8, 2—3. The person called "a king according to law" is, in his judgment, no king at all: Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος καθάπερ εἰπομεν βασιλείας (iii. 11, 1).

Respecting ἰσονομίη, ἰσηγορίη, παῤῥησία—equal laws and equal speech—as opposed to monarchy, see Herodot. iii. 142, v. 78—92. Thucyd. iii. 62; Demosthen. ad Leptin. c. 6, p. 461; Eurip. Ion. 671.

Of Timoleôn it was stated, as a part of the grateful vote passed after his death by the Syracusan assembly—ὅτι τοὺς τυράννους καταλύσας,—ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Σικελιώταις. (Plutarch. Timoleôn, c. 39.)

See Karl Fried. Hermann, Griech. Staatsalterthümer, sect. 61—65.

mechanical submission, which made up for the personal deficiencies of the heroic king, became too feeble to serve as a working principle, the petty prince was in too close contact with his people, and too humbly furnished out in every way, to get up a prestige or delusion of any other kind. He had no means of overawing their imaginations by that combination of pomp, seclusion, and mystery, which Herodotus and Xenophôn so well appreciate among the artifices of kingcraft.[1] As there was no new feeling upon which a perpetual chief could rest his power, so there was nothing in the circumstances of the community which rendered the maintenance of such a dignity necessary for visible and effective union.[2] In a single city, and a small circumjacent community, collective deliberation and general rules, with temporary and responsible magistrates, were practicable without difficulty.

To maintain an unresponsible king, and then to contrive accompaniments which shall extract from him the benefits of responsible government, is in reality a highly complicated system, though, as has been remarked, we have become familiar with it in modern Europe. The more simple and obvious change is, to substitute one or more temporary and responsible magistrates in place of the king himself. Such was the course which affairs took in Greece. The inferior chiefs, who had originally served as council to the king, found it possible to supersede him, and to alternate the functions of administration among themselves; retaining probably the occasional convocation of the general assembly, as it had existed before, and with as little practical efficacy. Such was in substance the character of that mutation which occurred generally throughout the Grecian states, with the exception of Sparta: kingship was abolished, and an oligarchy took its place—a council deliberating collectively, deciding general matters by the majority of voices, and selecting some individuals of their

Change to oligarchical government.

[1] See the account of Dêïokês the first Median king in Herodotus, i. 98, evidently an outline drawn by Grecian imagination: also the Cyropædia of Xenophôn, viii. 1, 40; viii. 3, 1—14; vii. 5, 37 . . . οὐ τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε (Κῦρος) χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τῷ βελτίονας αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοητεύειν ᾧετο χρῆναι αὐτούς, &c.

[2] David Hume, Essay xvii., On the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences, p. 198, ed. 1760. The effects of the greater or less extent of territory, upon the nature of the government, are also well discussed in Destutt Tracy, Commentaire sur l'Esprit des Loix de Montesquieu, ch. viii.

own body as temporary and accountable administrators. It was always an oligarchy which arose on the defeasance of the heroic kingdom. The age of democratical movement was yet far distant, and the condition of the people—the general body of freemen—was not immediately altered, either for better or worse, by the revolution. The small number of privileged persons, among whom the kingly attributes were distributed and put in rotation, were those nearest in rank to the king himself; perhaps members of the same large gens with him, and pretending to a common divine or heroic descent. As far as we can make out, this change seems to have taken place in the natural course of events and without violence. Sometimes the kingly lineage died out and was not replaced; sometimes, on the death of a king, his son and successor was acknowledged[1] only as archon—or perhaps set aside altogether to make room for a Prytanis or president out of the men of rank around.

At Athens, we are told that Kodrus was the last king and that his descendants were recognised only as archons for life. After some years, the archons for life were replaced by archons for ten years, taken from the body of Eupatridæ or nobles; subsequently, the duration of the archonship was further shortened to one year. At Corinth, the ancient kings are said to have passed in like manner into the oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ, out of whom an annual Prytanis was chosen. We are only able to make out the general fact of such a change, without knowing how it was brought about—our first historical acquaintance with the Grecian cities beginning with these oligarchies.

Such oligarchical governments, varying in their details but analogous in general features, were common throughout the cities of Greece Proper as well as of the colonies, throughout the

[1] Aristot. Polit. iii. 6—7; iii. 10, 7—8

M. Augustin Thierry remarks, in a similar spirit, that the great political change, common to so large a portion of mediæval Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries whereby the many different *communes* or city constitutions were formed, was accomplished under great varieties of manner and circumstances; sometimes by violence, sometimes by harmonious accord.

"C'est une controverse qui doit finir, que celle des franchises municipales obtenues par l'insurrection et des franchises municipales accordées. Quelque face du problème qu'on envisage, il reste bien entendu que les constitutions urbaines du xii. et du xiii. siècle, comme toute espèce d'institutions politiques dans tous les temps, ont pu s'établir à force ouverte, s'octroyer de guerre lasse ou de plein gré, être arrachées ou sollicitées, vendues ou données gratuitement: les grandes révolutions sociales s'accomplissent par tous ces moyens à la fois."—Aug. Thierry, Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, Préface, p. 19, 2de édit.

seventh century B.C. Though they had little immediate tendency to benefit the mass of the freemen, yet when we compare them with the antecedent heroic government, they indicate an important advance—the first adoption of a deliberate and preconceived system in the management of public affairs.[1] They exhibit the first evidences of new and important political ideas in the Greek mind—the separation of legislative and executive powers; the former vested in a collective body, not merely deliberating but also finally deciding—while the latter is confided to temporary individual magistrates, responsible to that body at the end of their period of office. We are first introduced to a community of citizens, according to the definition of Aristotle—men qualified, and thinking themselves qualified, to take turns in command and obedience. The collective sovereign, called The City, is thus constituted. It is true that this first community of citizens comprised only a small proportion of the men personally free; but the ideas upon which it was founded began gradually to dawn upon the minds of all. Political power had lost its heaven-appointed character, and had become an attribute legally communicable as well as determined to certain definite ends: and the ground was thus laid for those thousand questions which agitated so many of the Grecian cities during the ensuing three centuries, partly respecting its apportionment, partly respecting its employment,—questions sometimes raised among the members of the privileged oligarchy itself, sometimes between that order as a whole and the non-privileged Many. The seeds of those popular movements, which called forth so much profound emotion, so much bitter antipathy, so much energy and talent, throughout the Grecian world, with different modifications in each particular city, may thus be traced back to that early revolution which erected the primitive oligarchy upon the ruins of the heroic kingdom.

Such change indicates an advance in the Greek mind.

[1] Aristot. Polit. iii. 10, 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ (*i.e.* after the early kings had had their day) *συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι πολλοὺς ὁμοίους πρὸς ἀρετὴν, οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον (τὴν βασιλείαν) ἀλλ' ἐζήτουν κοινόν τι, καὶ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν.*

Κοινόν τι, *a commune*, the great object for which the European towns in the middle ages, in the twelfth century, struggled with so much energy, and ultimately obtained: a charter of incorporation, and a qualified privilege of internal self-government.

How these first oligarchies were administered we have no direct information. But the narrow and anti-popular interests naturally belonging to a privileged few, together with the general violence of private manners and passions, leave us no ground for presuming favourably respecting either their prudence or their good feeling; and the facts which we learn respecting the condition of Attica prior to the Solonian legislation (to be recounted in the next chapter) raise inferences all of an unfavourable character.

Dissatisfaction with the oligarchies—modes by which the despots acquired power.

The first shock which they received, and by which so many of them were subverted, arose from the usurpers called Despots, who employed the prevalent discontents both as pretexts and as aids for their own personal ambition, while their very frequent success seems to imply that such discontents were wide spread as well as serious. These despots arose out of the bosom of the oligarchies, but not all in the same manner.[1] Sometimes the executive magistrate, upon whom the oligarchy themselves had devolved important administrative powers for a certain temporary period, became unfaithful to his choosers, and acquired sufficient ascendency to retain his dignity permanently in spite of them—perhaps even to transmit it to his son. In other places, and seemingly more often, there arose that noted character called the Demagogue, of whom historians both ancient and modern commonly draw so repulsive a picture:[2] a man of energy and ambition, sometimes even a member of the oligarchy itself, who stood forward as champion of the grievances and sufferings of the non-privileged Many, acquired their favour, and employed their strength so effectively as to put down the oligarchy by force, and constitute himself despot. A third form of despot, some presumptuous wealthy man, like Kylôn at Athens, without even the pretence of popularity, was occasionally emboldened, by the success of similar adventurers in other places, to

[1] The definition of a despot is given in Cornelius Nepos, Vita Miltiadis, c. 8:—"Omnes habentur et dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetuâ in eâ civitate, quæ libertate usa est": compare Cicero de Republicâ, ii. 26, 27; iii. 14.

The word τύραννος was said by Hippias the sophist to have first found its way into the Greek language about the time of Archilochus (B.C. 660): Boeckh thinks that it came from the Lydians or Phrygians (Comment. ad Corp. Inscrip. No. 3439).

[2] Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 2, 3, 4. Τύραννος—ἐκ προστατικῆς ῥίζης καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοθεν ἐκβλαστάνει (Plato, Repub. viii. c. 17, p. 565). Οὐδενὶ γὰρ δὴ ἄδηλον, ὅτι πᾶς τύραννος ἐκ δημοκόλακος φύεται (Dionys. Halic. vi. 60): a proposition decidedly too general.

hire a troop of retainers and seize the acropolis. And there were examples, though rare, of a fourth variety—the lineal descendant of the ancient kings—who, instead of suffering himself to be restricted or placed under control by the oligarchy, found means to subjugate them, and to extort by force an ascendency as great as that which his forefathers had enjoyed by consent. To these must be added, in several Grecian states, the Æsymnête or Dictator, a citizen formally invested with supreme and unresponsible power, placed in command of the military force, and armed with a standing body-guard, but only for a time named, and in order to deal with some urgent peril or ruinous internal dissension.[1] The person thus exalted, always enjoying a large measure of confidence, and generally a man of ability, was sometimes so successful, or made himself so essential to the community, that the term of his office was prolonged, and he became practically despot for life; or even if the community were not disposed to concede to him this permanent ascendency, he was often strong enough to keep it against their will.

Such were the different modes in which the numerous Greek despots of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. acquired their power. Though we know thus much in general terms from the brief statements of Aristotle, yet unhappily we have no contemporary picture of any one of these communities, so as to give us the means of appreciating the change in detail. Of the persons who, possessing inherited kingly dignity, stretched their paternal power so far as to become despots, Aristotle gives us Pheidôn of Argos as an example, whose reign has been already narrated. Of those who made themselves despots by means of official power previously held under an oligarchy, he names Phalaris at Agrigentum and the despots at Milêtus and other cities of the Ionic Greeks: among others who raised themselves by becoming demagogues, he specifies Panætius in the Sicilian town of Leontini, Kypselus at Corinth, and Peisistratus at Athens:[2] of Æsymnêtes or

Examples.

[1] Aristot. iii. 9, 5; iii. 10, 1—10; iv. 8, 2. Αἰσυμνῆται—αὐτοκράτορες μόναρχοι ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησι—αἱρετὴ τυραννίς; compare Theophrastus, Fragment. περὶ Βασιλείας, and Dionys. Hal., A. R. v. 73—74; Strabo, xiii. p. 617; and Aristot. Fragment. Rerum Publicarum, ed. Neumann, p. 122, Κυμαίων Πολιτεία.

[2] Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 2, 3, 4; v. 4, 5. Aristotle refers to one of the songs

chosen despots, Pittakus of Mitylênê is the prominent instance. The military and aggressive demagogue, subverting an oligarchy which had degraded and ill-used him, governing as a cruel despot for several years, and at last dethroned and slain, is farther depicted by Dionysius of Halikarnassus in the history of Aristodêmus of the Italian Cumæ.[1]

Tendency towards a better organised citizenship.

From the general statement of Thucydidês as well as of Aristotle, we learn that the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. were centuries of progress for the Greek cities generally, in wealth, in power, and in population; and the numerous colonies founded during this period (of which I shall speak in a future chapter) will furnish further illustration of such progressive tendencies. Now the changes just mentioned in the Grecian governments, imperfectly as we know them, are on the whole decided evidences of advancing citizenship. For the heroic government, with which Grecian communities begin, is the rudest and most infantine of all governments: destitute even of the pretence of system or security, incapable of being in any way foreknown, and depending only upon the accidental variations in the character of the reigning individual, who in most cases, far from serving as a protection to the poor against the rich and great, was likely to indulge his passions in the same unrestrained way as the latter, and with still greater impunity.

Character and working of the despots.

The despots, who in so many towns succeeded and supplanted this oligarchical government, though they governed on principles usually narrow and selfish, and often oppressively cruel, "taking no thought (to use the emphatic words of Thucydidês) except each for his own body and his own family"—yet since they were not strong enough to crush the Greek mind, imprinted upon it a painful but improving political lesson, and contributed much to enlarge the range of experience as well as to determine the subsequent cast of feeling.[2] They partly broke down the wall of distinction

of Alkæus as his evidence respecting the elevation of Pittakus: a very sufficient proof doubtless—but we may see that he had no other informants, except the poets, about these early times.

[1] Dionys. Hal., A. R. vii. 2, 12 The reign of Aristodêmus falls about 510 B.C.

[2] Thucyd. i. 17. Τύραννοι δὲ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλλανικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἔς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὔξειν δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα, τὰς πόλεις ᾤκουν.

between the people—properly so called, the general mass of freemen—and the oligarchy: indeed the demagogue-despots are interesting as the first evidence of the growing importance of the people in political affairs. The demagogue stood forward as representing the feelings and interests of the people against the governing few, probably availing himself of some special cases of ill-usage, and taking pains to be conciliatory and generous in his own personal behaviour. When the people by their armed aid had enabled him to overthrow the existing rulers, they had thus the satisfaction of seeing their own chief in possession of the supreme power, but they acquired neither political rights nor increased securities for themselves. What measure of positive advantage they may have reaped, beyond that of seeing their previous oppressors humiliated, we know too little to determine.[1] But even the worst of despots was more formidable to the rich than to the poor; and the latter may perhaps have gained by the change, in comparative importance, notwithstanding their share in the rigours and exactions of a government which had no other permanent foundation than naked fear.

A remark made by Aristotle deserves especial notice here, as illustrating the political advance and education of the Grecian communities. He draws a marked distinction between the early demagogue of the seventh and sixth centuries, and the later demagogue, such as he himself, and the generations immediately preceding, had witnessed. The former was a military chief, daring and full of resource, who took arms at the head of a body of popular insurgents, put down the government by force, and made himself the master both of those whom he deposed and of those by whose aid he deposed them: while the latter was a speaker, possessed of all the talents necessary for moving an audience, but neither inclined to, nor qualified for, armed attack—accomplishing all his purposes by pacific and constitutional methods. This valuable change—substituting discussion and the vote of an assembly in place of an

The demagogue-despot of the earlier times compared with the demagogue of later times.

[1] Wachsmuth (Hellenische Alterthumskunde, sect. 49—51) and Tittmann (Griechisch. Staatsverfassungen, p. 527—533) both make too much of the supposed friendly connexion and mutual goodwill between the despot and the poorer freemen. Community of antipathy against the old oligarchy was a bond essentially temporary, dissolved as soon as that oligarchy was put down.

appeal to arms, and procuring for the pronounced decision of the assembly such an influence over men's minds as to render it final and respected even by dissentients—arose from the continued practical working of democratical institutions. I shall have occasion, at a later period of this history, to estimate the value of that unmeasured obloquy which has been heaped on the Athenian demagogues of the Peloponnesian war—Kleôn and Hyperbolus; but assuming the whole to be well-founded, it will not be the less true that these men were a material improvement on the earlier demagogues such as Kypselus and Peisistratus, who employed the armed agency of the people for the purpose of subverting the established government and acquiring despotic authority for themselves. The demagogue was essentially a leader of opposition, who gained his influence by denouncing the men in real ascendency, and in actual executive functions. Now under the early oligarchies his opposition could be shown only by armed insurrection, and it conducted him either to personal sovereignty or to destruction. But the growth of democratical institutions insured both to him and to his political opponents full liberty of speech, and a paramount assembly to determine between them; whilst it both limited the range of his ambition and set aside the appeal to armed force. The railing demagogue of Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian war (even if we accept literally the representations of his worst enemies) was thus a far less mischievous and dangerous person than the fighting demagogue of the earlier centuries: and the "growth of habits of public speaking"[1] (to use Aristotle's expression) was the cause of the difference. Opposition by the tongue was a beneficial substitute for opposition by the sword.

The rise of these despots on the ruins of the previous oligarchies was, in appearance, a return to the principles of the heroic age—the restoration of a government of personal will in place of that systematic arrangement known as the City. But the Greek mind had so far outgrown those early principles, that no new

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 4, 4; 7, 3. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασι. Αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γενέσθαι, νῦν δὲ μή, ὅτι τότε μέν, οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγούντων· οὐ γάρ πω δεινοὶ ἦσαν λέγειν· νῦν δὲ, τῆς ῥητορικῆς ηὐξημένης, οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγοῦσι μὲν, δι' ἀπειρίαν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπίθενται, πλὴν εἴ που βραχύ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον.

government founded thereupon could meet with willing acquiescence, except under some temporary excitement. At first doubtless the popularity of the usurper—combined with the fervour of his partisans and the expulsion or intimidation of opponents, and further enhanced by the punishment of rich oppressors—was sufficient to procure for him obedience; and prudence on his part might prolong this undisputed rule for a considerable period, perhaps even throughout his whole life. But Aristotle intimates that these governments, even when they began well, had a constant tendency to become worse and worse. Discontent manifested itself, and was aggravated rather than repressed by the violence employed against it, until at length the despot became a prey to mistrustful and malevolent anxiety, losing any measure of equity or benevolent sympathy which might once have animated him. If he was fortunate enough to bequeath his authority to his son, the latter, educated in a corrupt atmosphere and surrounded by parasites, contracted dispositions yet more noxious and unsocial. His youthful appetites were more ungovernable, while he was deficient in the prudence and vigour which had been indispensable to the self-accomplished rise of his father.[1] For such a position, mercenary guards and a fortified acropolis were the only stay—guards fed at the expense of the citizens, and thus requiring constant exactions on behalf of that which was nothing better than a hostile garrison. It was essential to the security of the despot that he should keep down the spirit of the free people whom he governed; that he should isolate them from each other, and prevent those meetings and mutual communications which Grecian cities habitually presented in the School, the Leschê, or the Palæstra; that he should strike off the overtopping ears of corn in the field (to use the Greek locution) or crush the exalted and enterprising minds.[2] Nay, he had even to

Contrast between the despot and the early heroic king. Position of the despot.

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 20. The whole tenor of this eighth chapter (of the fifth book) shows how unrestrained were the personal passions—the lust as well as the anger—of a Grecian τύραννος.

Τόν τοι τύραννον εὐσεβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον (Sophokles ap. Schol. Aristides, vol. iii. p. 291, ed. Dindorf).

[2] Aristot. Polit. iii. 8, 3; v. 8, 7. Herodot. v. 92. Herodotus gives the story as if Thrasybulus had been the person to suggest this hint by conducting the messenger of Periander into a corn-field and there striking off the tallest ears with his stick. Aristotle reverses the two, and makes Periander the adviser: Livy (i. 54) transfers the scene to Gabii and Rome, with Sextus Tarquinius as the person sending for counsel to his father at Rome. Com-

a certain extent an interest in degrading and impoverishing them, or at least in debarring them from the acquisition either of wealth or leisure. The extensive constructions undertaken by Polykratês at Samos, as well as the rich donations of Periander to the temple at Olympia, are considered by Aristotle to have been extorted by these despots with the express view of engrossing the time and exhausting the means of their subjects.

It is not to be imagined that all were alike cruel or unprincipled. But the perpetual supremacy of one man or one family had become so offensive to the jealousy of those who felt themselves to be his equals, and to the general feeling of the people, that repression and severity were inevitable, whether originally intended or not. And even if an usurper, having once entered upon this career of violence, grew sick and averse to its continuance, abdication only left him in imminent peril, exposed to the vengeance[1] of those whom he had injured—unless indeed he could clothe himself with the mantle of religion, and stipulate with the people to become priest of some temple and deity; in which case his new function protected him, just as the tonsure and the monastery sheltered a dethroned prince in the middle ages.[2] Several of the despots were patrons of music and poetry, courting the goodwill of contemporary intellectual men by invitation as well as by reward. Moreover there were some cases, such as that of Peisistratus and his sons at Athens, in which an attempt was made (analogous to

Good government impossible to him.

pare Plato, Republ. viii. c. 17, p. 565. Eurip. Supplic. 414—455.

The discussion which Herodotus ascribes to the Persian conspirators, after the assassination of the Magian king, whether they should constitute the Persian government as a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy, exhibits a vein of ideas purely Grecian, and altogether foreign to the Oriental conception of government. But it sets forth—briefly, yet with great perspicuity and penetration—the advantages and disadvantages of all the three. The case made out against monarchy is by far the strongest, while the counsel on behalf of monarchy assumes as a part of his case that the individual monarch is to be the best man in the state. The anti-monarchial champion Otanes concludes a long string of criminations against the despot with these words above-noticed,—"He subverts the customs of the country: he violates women: he puts men to death untried" (Herod. iii. 80—82).

[1] Thucyd. ii. 62. Compare again the speech of Kleôn, iii. 37—40—*ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔχετε αἰτῆν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικινδυνον.*

The bitter sentiment against despots seems to be as old as Alkæus, and we find traces of it in Solôn and Theognis (Theognis, 38—50; Solôn, Fragm. vii. p. 32, ed. Schneidewin). Phanias of Eresus had collected in a book the "Assassinations of Despots from revenge" (*Τυράννων ἀναιρέσεις ἐκ τιμωρίας*—Athenæus, iii. p. 90; x. p. 438).

[2] See the story of Mæandrius, minister and successor of Polykratês of Samos, in Herodotus, iii. 142, 143.

that of Augustus at Rome) to reconcile the reality of personal omnipotence with a certain respect for pre-existing forms.[1] In such instances the administration—though not unstained by guilt, never otherwise than unpopular, and carried on by means of foreign mercenaries—was doubtless practically milder. But cases of this character were rare; and the maxims usual with Grecian despots were personified in Periander the Kypselid of Corinth—a harsh and brutal person, though not destitute either of vigour or intelligence.

The position of a Grecian despot, as depicted by Plato, by Xenophôn, and by Aristotle,[2] and farther sustained by the indi-

[1] Thucyd. vi. 54. The epitaph of Archedikê, the daughter of Hippias (which was inscribed at Lampsakus, where she died), though written by a great friend of Hippias, conveys the sharpest implied invective against the usual proceedings of the despots:—

Ἣ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὖσα τυράννων
Παιδῶν τ', οὐχ ᾗρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην.
(Thuc. vi. 59.)

The position of Augustus at Rome, and of Peisistratus at Athens, may be illustrated by a passage in Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, vol. iv. ch. 26, p. 208:—"Les petits monarques de chaque ville s'opposaient eux-mêmes à ce que leur pouvoir fût attribué à un droit héréditaire, parce que l'hérédité aurait presque toujours été retorqué contre eux. Ceux qui avaient succédé à une république, avaient abaissé des nobles plus anciens et plus illustres qu'eux: ceux qui avaient succédé à d'autres seigneurs n'avaient tenu aucun compte du droit de leurs prédécesseurs, et se sentaient intéressés à le nier. Ils se disaient donc mandataires du peuple: ils ne prenaient jamais le commandement d'une ville, lors même qu'ils l'avaient soumise par les armes, sans se faire attribuer par les anciens ou par l'assemblée du peuple, selon que les uns ou les autres se montraient plus dociles, le titre et les pouvoirs de seigneur général, pour un an, pour cinq ans, ou pour toute leur vie, avec une paie fixe, qui devoit être prise sur les deniers de la communauté."

[2] Consult especially the treatise of Xenophôn, called Hiero, or Τυραννικός, in which the interior life and feelings of the Grecian despot are strikingly set forth, in a supposed dialogue with the poet Simonidês. The tenor of Plato's remarks in the eighth and ninth books of the Republic, and those of Aristotle in the fifth book (ch. 8 and 9) of the Politics, display the same picture, though not with such fulness of detail. The speech of one of the assassins of Euphrôn (despot of Sikyôn) is remarkable, as a specimen of Grecian feeling (Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 3, 7—12). The expressions both of Plato and Tacitus, in regard to the mental wretchedness of the despot, are the strongest which the language affords:—Καὶ πένης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φαίνεται, ἐάν τις ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐπίστηται θεάσασθαι, καὶ φόβου γέμων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, σφαδασμῶν τε καὶ ὀδυνῶν πλήρης . . . . Ἀνάγκη καὶ εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ πρότερον διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, φθονερῷ, ἀπίστῳ, ἀδίκῳ, ἀφίλῳ, ἀνοσίῳ, καὶ πάσης κακίας παυδοκεῖ τε καὶ τροφεῖ, καὶ ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ δυστυχεῖ εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον αὐτοῦ τοιούτους ἀπεργάζεσθαι. (Republic. ix. p. 580.)

And Tacitus, in the well-known passage (Annal. vi. 6): "Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus: quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines, protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur."

It is not easy to imagine power more completely surrounded with all circumstances calculated to render it repulsive to a man of ordinary benevolence; the Grecian despot had large means of doing harm,—scarcely any means of doing good. Yet the acquisition of power over others, under any

cations in Herodotus, Thucydidês, and Isokratês, though always coveted by ambitious men, reveals clearly enough "those wounds and lacerations of mind" whereby the internal Erinnys avenged the community upon the usurper who trampled them down. Far from considering success in usurpation as a justification of the attempt (according to the theories now prevalent respecting Cromwell and Bonaparte, who are often blamed because they kept out a legitimate king, but never because they seized an unauthorized power over the people), these philosophers regard the despot as among the greatest of criminals. The man who assassinated him was an object of public honour and reward, and a virtuous Greek would seldom have scrupled to carry his sword concealed in myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Aristogeitôn, for the execution of the deed.[1] A station, which overtopped the restraints and obligations involved in citizenship, was understood at the same time to forfeit all title to the common sympathy and protection;[2] so that it was unsafe for the despot to visit in person those great Pan-Hellenic games in which his own chariot might perhaps have gained the prize, and in which the Theôrs or sacred envoys, whom he sent as representatives of his Hellenic city, appeared with ostentatious pomp. A government carried on under these unpropitious circumstances could never be otherwise than short-lived. Though the individual daring enough to seize

conditions, is a motive so all-absorbing, that even this precarious and anti-social sceptre was always intensely coveted,—*Τυραννὶς, χρῆμα σφαλερὸν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι* (Herod. iii. 53). See the striking lines of Solôn (Fragment. vii. ed. Schneidewin), and the saying of Jasôn of Pheræ, who used to declare that he felt hunger until he became despot,—*πεινῆν, ὁτε μὴ τυραννοῖ· ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης εἶναι* (Aristot. Polit. iii. 2, 6).

[1] See the beautiful Skolion of Kallistratus, so popular at Athens, xxvii. p. 456, apud Schneidewin, Poet. Græc. —*Ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω*, &c.

Xenophôn, Hiero, ii. 8. *Οἱ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται.* Compare Isokratês, Or. viii. (De Pace) p. 182; Polyb. ii. 59; Cicero, Orat. pro Milone, c. 29.

Aristot. Polit. ii. 4, 8. *Ἐπεὶ ἀδικοῦσί γε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τἀναγκαῖα· οἷον τυραννοῦσιν, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶσι· διὸ καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ τις, οὐ κλέπτην, ἀλλὰ τύραννον.*

There cannot be a more powerful manifestation of the sentiment entertained towards a despot in the ancient world, than the remarks of Plutarch on the conduct of Timoleôn in assisting to put to death his brother the despot Timophanês (Plutarch, Timoleôn, c. 4—7, and Comp. of Timoleôn with Paulus Æmilius, c. 2). See also Plutarch, Comparison of Dion and Brutus, c. 3, and Plutarch, Præcepta Reipublicæ Gerendæ, c. 11, p. 805; c. 17, p. 813; c. 32, p. 824,—he speaks of the putting down of a despot (*τυραννίδων καταλύσεις*) as among the most splendid of human exploits—and the account given by Xenophôn of the assassination of Jasôn of Pheræ, Hellenic. vi. 4, 32.

[2] Livy, xxxviii. 50. "Qui jus æquum pati non possit, in eum vim haud injustam esse." Compare Theognis, v. 1183. ed. Gaisf.

it often found means to preserve it for the term of his own life, yet the sight of a despot living to old age was rare, and the transmission of his power to his son still more so.[1]

Amidst the numerous points of contention in Grecian political morality, this rooted antipathy to a permanent hereditary ruler stood apart as a sentiment almost unanimous, in which the thirst for pre-eminence felt by the wealthy few, and the love of equal freedom in the bosoms of the many, alike concurred. It first began among the oligarchies of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., being a reversal of that pronounced monarchical sentiment which we now read in the Iliad; and it was transmitted by them to the democracies which did not arise until a later period. The conflict between oligarchy and despotism preceded that between oligarchy and democracy, the Lacedæmonians standing forward actively on both occasions to uphold the oligarchical principle. A mingled sentiment of fear and repugnance led them to put down despotism in several cities of Greece during the sixth century B.C., just as during their contest with Athens in the following century, they assisted the oligarchical party to overthrow democracy. And it was thus that the demagogue-despot of these earlier times—bringing out the name of the people as a pretext, and the arms of the people as a means of accomplishment, for his own ambitious designs—served as a preface to the reality of democracy which manifested itself at

Conflict between oligarchy and depotism preceded that between oligarchy and democracy.

[1] Plutarch, Sept. Sapient. Conviv. c. 2, p. 147.—ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Μολπαγόρου τοῦ Ἴωνος, τί παραδοξότατον εἰης ἐωρακὼς, ἀποκρίναιο, τύραννον γέροντα.—Compare the answer of Thales in the same treatise, c. 7, p. 152.

The orator Lysias, present at the Olympic games, and seeing the Theôrs of the Syracusan despot Dionysius also present in tents with gilding and purple, addressed an harangue inciting the assembled Greeks to demolish the tents (Lysiæ Λόγος Ὀλυμπιακός, Fragm. p. 911, ed. Reisk.; Dionys. Halicarn. De Lysiâ Judicium, c. 29—30). Theophrastus ascribed to Themistoklês a similar recommendation in reference to the Theôrs and prize chariots of the Syracusan despot Hiero (Plutarch, Themistoklês, c. 25).

The common-places of the rhetors afford the best proof how unanimous was the tendency in the Greek mind to rank the despot among the most odious criminals, and the man who put him to death among the benefactors of humanity. The rhetor Theôn, treating upon *common-places*, says: Τόπος ἐστὶ λόγος αὐξητικὸς ὁμολογουμένου πράγματος, ἤτοι ἁμαρτήματος, ἢ ἀνδραλαθήματος. Ἔστι γὰρ δίττος ὁ τόπος· ὁ μέν τις, κατὰ τῶν πεπονηρευμένων, οἷον κατὰ τυράννου, προδότου, ἀνδροφόνου, ἀσώτου· ὁ δέ τις, ὑπὲρ τῶν χρηστόν τι διαπεπραγμένων· οἷον ὑπὲρ τυραννοκτόνου, ἀριστέως, νομοθέτου. (Theôn, Progymnasmata, c. vii. ap. Walz. Coll. Rhett. vol. i. p. 222. Compare Aphthonius, Progymn. c. vii. p. 82 of the same volume, and Dionysius Halikarn., Ars Rhetorica, x. 15, p. 390, ed. Reiske.)

Athens a short time before the Persian war, as a development of the seed planted by Solôn.

Early oligarchies included a multiplicity of different sections and associations.

As far as our imperfect information enables us to trace, these early oligarchies of the Grecian states, against which the first usurping despots contended, contained in themselves more repulsive elements of inequality, and more mischevious barriers between the component parts of the population, than the oligarchies of later days. What was true of Hellas as an aggregate, was true, though in a less degree, of each separate community which went to compose that aggregate. Each included a variety of clans, orders, religious brotherhoods, and local or professional sections, very imperfectly cemented together: so that the oligarchy was not (like the government so denominated in subsequent times) the government of a rich few over the less rich and the poor, but that of a peculiar order, sometimes a Patrician order, over all the remaining society. In such a case the subject Many might number opulent and substantial proprietors as well as the governing Few; but these subject Many would themselves be broken into different heterogeneous fractions not heartily sympathising with each other, perhaps not intermarrying together, nor partaking of the same religious rites. The country-population, or villagers who tilled the land, seem in these early times to have been held to a painful dependence on the great proprietors who lived in the fortified town, and to have been distinguished by a dress and habits of their own, which often drew upon them an unfriendly nickname. These town proprietors often composed the governing class in early Grecian states; while their subjects consisted—1. Of the dependent cultivators living in the district around, by whom their lands were tilled. 2. Of a certain number of small self-working proprietors (*αὐτουργοί*), whose possessions were too scanty to maintain more than themselves by the labour of their own hands on their own plot of ground—residing either in the country or the town, as the case might be. 3. Of those who lived in the town, having not land, but exercising handicraft, arts, or commerce.

The governing proprietors went by the name of the Gāmori or Geômori, according as the Doric or Ionic dialect might be used in describing them, since they were found in states belonging

to one race as well as to the other. They appear to have constituted a close order, transmitting their privileges to their children, but admitting no new members to a participation. The principle called by Greek thinkers a Timocracy (the apportionment of political rights and privileges according to comparative property) seems to have been little, if at all, applied in the earlier times. We know no example of it earlier than Solôn. So that by the natural multiplication of families and mutation of property, there would come to be many individual Gāmori possessing no land at all,[1] and perhaps worse off than those small freeholders who did not belong to the order; while some of these latter freeholders, and some of the artisans and traders in the towns, might at the same time be rising in wealth and importance.

Government of the Geômori—a close order of present or past proprietors.

Under a political classification such as this, of which the repulsive inequality was aggravated by a rude state of manners, and which had no flexibility to meet the changes in relative position amongst individual inhabitants, discontent and outbreaks were unavoidable. The earliest despot, usually a wealthy man of the disfranchised class, became champion and leader of the malcontents.[2] However oppressive his rule might be, at least it was an oppression which bore with indiscriminate severity upon all the fractions of the population; and when the hour of reaction against him or against his successor arrived, so that the common enemy was expelled by the united efforts of all, it was hardly possible to revive the pre-existing system of exclusion and inequality without some considerable abatements.

As a general rule, every Greek city-community included in its population, independent of bought slaves, the three elements above noticed,—considerable land-proprietors with rustic dependents, small self-working proprietors, and town-artisans,—the three elements being found everywhere in different proportions. But the progress of events in Greece, from the seventh century B.C. downwards, tended continually to elevate the comparative importance of the two latter; while in those early days the ascendency of the former was at its maximum, and

Classes of the people.

[1] Like various members of the Polish or Hungarian noblesse in recent times.

[2] Thucyd. i. 13.

altered only to decline. The military force of most of the cities was at first in the hands of the great proprietors, and formed by them. It consisted of cavalry, themselves and their retainers, with horses fed upon their lands. Such was the primitive oligarchical militia, as constituted in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.,[1] at Chalkis and Eretria in Eubœa, as well as at Kolophôn and other cities in Ionia, and as it continued in Thessaly down to the fourth century B.C. But the gradual rise of the small proprietors and town-artisans was marked by the substitution of heavy-armed infantry in place of cavalry. Moreover a further change not less important took place, when the resistance to Persia led to the great multiplication of Grecian ships of war, manned by a host of seamen who dwelt congregated in the maritime towns. All these movements in the Grecian communities tended to break up the close and exclusive oligarchies with which our first historical knowledge commences; and to conduct them, either to oligarchies rather more open, embracing all men of a certain amount of property—or else to democracies. But the transition in both cases was usually attained through the interlude of the despot.

Military force of the early oligarchies consisted of cavalry.

Rise of the heavy-armed infantry and of the free military marine—both unfavourable to oligarchy.

In enumerating the distinct and unharmonious elements of which the population of these early Grecian communities was made up, we must not forget one further element which was to be found in the Dorian states generally—men of Dorian, as contrasted with men of non-Dorian, race. The Dorians were in all cases immigrants and conquerors, establishing themselves along with and at the expense of the prior inhabitants. Upon what terms the co-habitation was established, and in what proportions invaders and invaded came together—we have little information. Important as this circumstance is in the history of these Dorian communities, we know it only as a general fact, without being able to follow its results in detail. But we see enough to satisfy ourselves that in those revolutions which overthrew the oligarchies both at Corinth and Sikyôn—perhaps also at Megara—the Dorian

Dorian states—Dorian and non-Dorian inhabitants.

[1] Aristot. Polit. iv. 3, 2; 11, 10. Neumann, Fragm. v. Εὐβοέων πολιτεῖαι, Aristot. Rerum Public. Fragm. ed. p. 112; Strabo, x. p. 447.

and non-Dorian elements of the community came into conflict more or less direct.

Dynasty of despots at Sikyôn—the Orthagoridæ.

The despots of Sikyôn are the earliest of whom we have any distinct mention. Their dynasty lasted 100 years, a longer period than any other Grecian despots known to Aristotle; they are said[1] moreover to have governed with mildness and with much practical respect to the pre-existing laws. Orthagoras, the beginner of the dynasty, raised himself to the position of despot about 676 B.C., subverting the pre-existing Dorian oligarchy;[2] but the cause and circumstances of this revolution are not preserved. He is said to have been originally a cook. In his line of successors we find mention of Andreas, Myrôn, Aristônymus, and Kleisthenês. Myrôn gained a chariot victory at Olympia in the 33rd Olympiad (648 B.C.), and built at the same holy place a thesaurus containing two ornamented alcoves of copper, for the reception of commemorative offerings from himself and his family.[3] Respecting Kleisthenês (whose age must be placed between 600—560 B.C., but can hardly be determined accurately), some facts are reported to us highly curious, but of a nature not altogether easy to follow or verify.

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 21. An oracle is said to have predicted to the Sikyonians that they would be subjected for the period of a century to the hand of the scourger (Diodor. Fragm. lib. vii.—x.; Fragm. xiv. ed. Mai).

[2] Herodot. vi. 126; Pausan. ii. 8, 1. There is some confusion about the names of Orthagoras and Andreas; the latter is called a *cook* in Diodorus (Fragment. Excerpt. Vatic. lib. vii.—x. Fragm. xiv.). Compare Libanius in Sever. vol. iii. p. 251, Reisk. It has been supposed, with some probability, that the same person is designated under both names: the two names *do* not seem to occur in the same author. See Plutarch, Ser. Numin. Vind. c. 7. p. 553.

Aristotle (Polit. v. 10, 3) seems to have conceived the dominion as having passed direct from Myrôn to Kleisthenês, omitting Aristônymus.

[3] Pausan. vi. 19, 2. The Eleians informed Pausanias that the brass in these alcoves came from Tartessus (the south-western coast of Spain from the Strait of Gibraltar to the territory beyond Cadiz): he declines to guarantee the statement. But O. Müller treats it as a certainty,—"two apartments inlaid with Tartessian brass, and adorned with Doric and Ionic columns. Both the architectural orders employed in this building, and the Tartessian brass, which the Phokæans had then brought to Greece in large quantities from the hospitable king Arganthonius, attest the intercourse of Myrôn with the Asiatics." (Dorians, i. 8, 2.) So also Dr. Thirlwall states the fact: "copper of Tartessus, which had not long been introduced into Greece". (Hist. Gr. ch. x. p. 483, 2nd ed.) Yet, if we examine the chronology of the case, we shall see that the thirty-third Olympiad (648 B.C.) must have been earlier even than the first discovery of Tartessus by the Greeks,—before the accidental voyage of the Samian merchant Kôlaeus first made the region known to them, and more than half a century (at least) earlier than the commerce of the Phokæans with Arganthonius. Compare Herod. iv. 152; i. 163, 167.

We learn from the narrative of Herodotus that the tribe to which Kleisthenês[1] himself (and of course his progenitors Orthagoras and the other Orthagoridæ also) belonged, was distinct from the three Dorian tribes, who have been already named in my previous chapter respecting the Lykurgean constitution at Sparta—the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes. We also learn that these tribes were common to the Sikyonians and the Argeians. Kleisthenês, being in a state of bitter hostility with Argos, tried in several ways to abolish the points of community between the two. Sikyôn, originally dorised by settlers from Argos, was included in the "lot of Têmenus," or among the towns of the Argeian confederacy. The coherence of this confederacy had become weaker and weaker, partly without doubt through the influence of the predecessors of Kleisthenês; but the Argeians may perhaps have tried to revive it, thus placing themselves in a state of war with the latter, and inducing him to disconnect palpably and violently Sikyôn from Argos. There were two anchors by which the connexion held—first, legendary and religious sympathy; next, the civil rites and denominations current among the Sikyonian Dorians: both of them were torn up by Kleisthenês. He changed the names both of the three Dorian tribes, and of that non-Dorian tribe to which he himself belonged: the last he called by the complimentary title of Archelai (commanders of the people); the first three he styled by the insulting names of Hyatæ, Oneatæ, and Chœreatæ, from the three Greek words signifying a boar, an ass, and a little pig. The extreme bitterness of such an insult can only be appreciated when we fancy to ourselves the reverence with which the tribes in a Grecian city regarded the hero from whom their name was borrowed. That these new denominations, given by Kleisthenês, involved an intentional degradation of the Dorian tribes as well as an assumption of superiority for his own, is affirmed by Herodotus, and seems well deserving of credit.

Violent proceedings of Kleisthenês.

But the violence of which Kleisthenês was capable in his anti-Argeian antipathy is manifested still more plainly in his proceedings with respect to the hero Adrastus and to the legendary sentiment of the people. Something has already been said in a

[1] Herod. v. 67.

former chapter[1] about this remarkable incident, which must however be here again briefly noticed. The hero Adrastus, whose chapel Herodotus himself saw in the Sikyonian agora, was common both to Argos and to Sikyôn, and was the object of special reverence at both. He figures in the legend as king of Argos, and as the grandson and heir of Polybus king of Sikyôn. He was the unhappy leader of the two sieges of Thêbes, so famous in the ancient epic. The Sikyonians listened with delight both to the exploits of the Argeians against Thêbes, as celebrated in the recitations of the epical rhapsodes, and to the mournful tale of Adrastus and his family misfortunes, as sung in the tragic chorus. Kleisthenês not only forbade the rhapsodes to come to Sikyôn, but further resolved to expel Adrastus himself from the country —such is the literal Greek expression,[2] the hero himself being believed to be actually present and domiciled among the people. He first applied to the Delphian oracle for permission to carry this banishment into direct effect; but the Pythian priestess returned an answer of indignant refusal,—"Adrastus is king of the Sikyonians, but thou art a ruffian". Thus baffled, he put in practice a stratagem calculated to induce Adrastus to depart of his own accord.[3] He sent to Thêbes to beg that he might be allowed to introduce into Sikyôn the hero Melanippus; and the permission was granted. Now Melanippus—being celebrated in the legend as the puissant champion of Thêbes against Adrastus and the Argeian besiegers, and as having slain both Mêkisteus the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law, of Adrastus—was pre-eminently odious to the latter. Kleisthenês brought this anti-national hero into Sikyôn, assigning to him consecrated ground in the prytaneium or government-house, and even in that part which was most strongly fortified[4] (for it seems that Adrastus was conceived as likely to assail and to battle with the intruder); moreover he took away both the tragic choruses and the sacrifice from Adrastus, assigning the former to the god Dionysus, and the latter to Melanippus.

The religious manifestations of Sikyôn being thus transferred

[1] See above, Part I. ch. 21.

[2] Herod. v. 67. Τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρης.

[3] Herod. v. 67. Ἐφρόντιζε μηχανήν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται.

[4] Ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιππον, τέμενος οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανηίῳ καί μιν ἐνθαῦτα ἵδρυσε ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. (Herod. *ib.*)

from Adrastus to his mortal foe, and from the cause of Argeians in the siege of Thêbes to that of the Thebans, Adrastus was presumed to have voluntarily retired from the place. And the purpose which Kleisthenês contemplated, of breaking the community of feeling between Sikyôn and Argos, was in part accomplished.

Classes of Sikyonian population.

A ruler who could do such violence to the religious and legendary sentiment of his community may well be supposed capable of inflicting that deliberate insult upon the Dorian tribes which is implied in their new appellations. As we are uninformed, however, of the state of things which preceded, we know not how far it may have been a retaliation for previous insult in the opposite direction. It is plain that the Dorians of Sikyôn maintained themselves and their ancient tribes quite apart from the remaining community; though what the other constituent portions of the population were, or in what relation they stood to these Dorians, we are not enabled to make out. We hear indeed of a dependent rural population in the territory of Sikyôn, as well as in that of Argos and Epidaurus, analogous to the Helots in Laconia. In Sikyôn this class was termed the Korynêphori (club-men) or the Katônakophori, from the thick woollen mantle which they wore, with a sheepskin sewn on to the skirt: in Argos they were called Gymnêsii, from their not possessing the military panoply or the use of regular arms: in Epidaurus, Konipodes or the Dusty-footed.[1] We may conclude that a similar class existed in Corinth, in Megara, and in each of the Dorian towns of the Argolic Aktê. But besides the Dorian tribes and these rustics, there must probably have existed non-Dorian proprietors and town-residents, and upon them we may suppose that the power of the Orthagoridæ and of Kleisthenês was founded, perhaps more friendly and indulgent to the rustic serfs than that of the Dorians had been previously. The moderation which Aristotle ascribes to the Orthagoridæ generally is belied by the proceedings of Kleisthenês. But we may probably believe that his predecessors, content with maintaining the real predominance of the non-Dorian over the

[1] Julius Pollux, iii. 83; Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 1. p. 291; Theopompus ap. Athenæum, vi. p. 271; Welcker, Prolegomen. ad Theognid. c. 19. p. xxxiv. As an analogy to this name of Konipodes, we may notice the ancient courts of justice called Courts of *Pie-powder* in England, *Pieds-poudres*.

Dorian population, meddled very little with the separate position and civil habits of the latter—while Kleisthenês, provoked or alarmed by some attempt on their part to strengthen alliance with the Argeians, resorted both to repressive measures and to that offensive nomenclature which has been above cited. The preservation of the power of Kleisthenês was due to his military energy (according to Aristotle) even more than to his moderation and popular conduct. It was aided probably by his magnificent displays at the public games, for he was victor in the chariot-race at the Pythian games 582 B.C., as well as at the Olympic games besides. Moreover he was in fact the last of the race, nor did he transmit his power to any successor.[1]

Fall of the Orthagoridæ—state of Sikyôn after it.

The reigns of the early Orthagoridæ then may be considered as marking a predominance, newly acquired but quietly exercised, of the non-Dorians over the Dorians in Sikyôn: the reign of Kleisthenês, as displaying a strong explosion of antipathy from the former towards the latter. And though this antipathy, with the application of those opprobrious tribe-names in which it was conveyed, stand ascribed to Kleisthenês personally, we may see that the non-Dorians in Sikyôn shared it generally, because these same tribe-names continued to be applied not only during the reign of that despot, but also for sixty years longer, after his death. It is hardly necessary to remark that such denominations could never have been acknowledged or employed among the Dorians themselves. After the lapse of sixty years from the death of Kleisthenês, the Sikyonians came to an amicable adjustment of the feud, and placed the tribe-names on a footing satisfactory to all parties. The old Dorian denominations (Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes) were re-established, while the name of the fourth tribe, or non-Dorians, was changed from Archelai to Ægialeis, Ægialeus son of Adrastus being constituted their eponymus.[2] This choice, of the son of Adrastus for an eponymus, seems to show that the worship of Adrastus him-

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 21; Pausan. x. 7, 3.

[2] Herod. v. 68. Τούτοισι τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυώνιοι, καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεος ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ' ἔτεα ἑξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφισὶ δόντες, μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας· τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενοι κακλῆσθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

self was then revived in Sikyôn, since it existed in the time of Herodotus.

The Sikyonian despots not put down by Sparta.

Of the war which Kleisthenês helped to conduct against Kirrha, for the protection of the Delphian temple, I shall speak in another place. His death and the cessation of his dynasty seem to have occurred about 560 B.C., as far as the chronology can be made out.[1] That he was put down by the Spartans (as K. F. Hermann, O. Müller, and Dr. Thirlwall suppose)[2] can be hardly admitted consistently with the narrative of Herodotus, who mentions the continuance of the insulting names imposed by him upon the Dorian tribes for many years after his death. Now, had the Spartans forcibly interfered for the suppression of his dynasty, we may reasonably presume that, even if they did not restore the decided preponderance of the Dorians in Sikyôn, they would at least have rescued the Dorian tribes from this obvious ignominy. But it

[1] The chronology of Orthagoras and his dynasty is perplexing. The commemorative offering of Myrôn at Olympia is marked for 648 B.C., and this must throw back the beginning of Orthagoras to a period between 680—670. Then we are told by Aristotle that the entire dynasty lasted 100 years; but it must have lasted probably somewhat longer, for the death of Kleisthenês can hardly be placed earlier than 560 B.C. The war against Kirrha (595 B.C.) and the Pythian victory (582 B.C.) fall within his reign: but the marriage of his daughter Agaristê with Megaklês can hardly be put earlier than 570 B.C., if so high; for Kleisthenês the Athenian, the son of that marriage, effected the democratical revolution at Athens in 509 or 508 B.C. Whether the daughter whom Megaklês gave in marriage to Peisistratus about 554 B.C., was also the offspring of that marriage, as Larcher contends, we do not know.

Megaklês was the son of that Alkmæôn who had assisted the deputies sent by Crœsus of Lydia into Greece to consult the different oracles, and whom Crœsus rewarded so liberally as to make his fortune (compare Herod. i. 46; vi. 125): and the marriage of Megaklês was in the next generation after this enrichment of Alkmæôn—μετὰ δὲ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον (Herod. vi. 126). Now the reign of Crœsus extended from 560—546 B.C., and his deputation to the oracles in Greece appears to have taken place about 556 B.C. If this chronology be admitted, the marriage of Megaklês with the daughter of the Sikyonian Kleisthenês cannot have taken place until considerably after 556 B.C. See the long, but not very satisfactory, note of Larcher, ad Herodot. v. 66.

But I shall show grounds for believing, when I recount the interview between Solôn and Crœsus, that Herodotus in his conception of events misdates very considerably the reign and proceedings of Crœsus as well as of Peisistratus. This is a conjecture of Niebuhr which I think very just, and which is rendered still more probable by what we find here stated about the succession of the Alkmæônidæ. For it is evident that Herodotus here conceives the adventure between Alkmæôn and Crœsus as having occurred one generation (about twenty-five or thirty years) anterior to the marriage between Megaklês and the daughter of Kleisthenês. That adventure will thus stand about 590—585 B.C., which would be about the time of the supposed interview (if real) between Solôn and Crœsus, describing the maximum of the power and prosperity of the latter.

[2] Müller, Dorians, book i. 8, 2; Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, vol. i. ch. x. p. 486, 2nd ed.

seems doubtful whether Kleisthenês had any son: and the extraordinary importance attached to the marriage of his daughter Agaristê, whom he bestowed upon the Athenian Megaklês of the great family Alkmæônidæ, seems rather to evince that she was an heiress—not to his power, but to his wealth. There can be no doubt as to the fact of that marriage, from which was born the Athenian leader Kleisthenês, afterwards the author of the great democratical revolution at Athens after the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ; but the lively and amusing details with which Herodotus has surrounded it bear much more the stamp of romance than of reality. Drest up apparently by some ingenious Athenian as a compliment to the Alkmæônid lineage of his city, which comprised both Kleisthenês and Periklês, the narrative commemorates a marriage-rivalry between that lineage and another noble Athenian house, and at the same time gives a mythical explanation of a phrase seemingly proverbial at Athens —"*Hippokleidês don't care*".[1]

Plutarch numbers Æschinês of Sikyôn[2] among the despots put down by Sparta: at what period this took place, or how it is to

[1] Herod. vi. 127—131. The locution explained is—Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ: compare the allusions to it in the Parœmiographi, Zenob. v. 31; Diogenian. vii. 21; Suidas, xi. 45, ed. Schott.

The convocation of the suitors at the invitation of Kleisthenês from all parts of Greece, and the distinctive mark and character of each, is prettily told, as well as the drunken freak whereby Hippokleidês forfeits both the favour of Kleisthenês and the hand of Agaristê which he was on the point of obtaining. It seems to be a story framed upon the model of various incidents in the old epic, especially the suitors of Helen.

On one point, however, the author of the story seems to have overlooked both the exigencies of chronology and the historical position and feelings of his hero Kleisthenês. For among the suitors who present themselves at Sikyôn in conformity with the invitation of the latter, one is Leôkêdês, son of Pheidôn the despot of Argos. Now the hostility and vehement antipathy towards Argos, which Herodotus ascribes in another place to the Sikyonian Kleisthenês, renders it all but impossible that the son of any king of Argos could have become a candidate for the hand of Agaristê. I have already recounted the violence which Kleisthenês did to the legendary sentiment of his native town, and the insulting names which he put upon the Sikyonian Dorians—all under the influence of a strong anti-Argeian feeling. Next, as to chronology: Pheidôn king of Argos lived some time between 760—730; and his son can never have been a candidate for the daughter of Kleisthenês, whose reign falls 600—560 B.C. Chronologers resort here to the usual resource in cases of difficulty: they recognise a second and later Pheidôn, whom they affirm that Herodotus has confounded with the first; or they alter the text of Herodotus by reading in place of "son of Pheidôn," "descendant of Pheidôn". But neither of these conjectures rests upon any basis: the text of Herodotus is smooth and clear, and the second Pheidôn is nowhere else authenticated. See Larcher and Wesseling *ad loc.*: compare also Part II. ch. 4 of this History.

[2] Plutarch, De Herod. Malign. c. 21, p. 859.

be connected with the history of Kleisthenês as given in Herodotus, we are unable to say.

Despots at Corinth—Kypselus.

Contemporaneous with the Orthagoridæ at Sikyôn—but beginning a little later and closing somewhat earlier—we find the despots Kypselus and Periander at Corinth. The former appears as the subverter of the oligarchy called the Bacchiadæ. Of the manner in which he accomplished his object we find no information: and this historical blank is inadequately filled up by various religious prognostics and oracles, foreshadowing the rise, the harsh rule, and the dethronement, after two generations, of these powerful despots.

According to an idea deeply seated in the Greek mind, the destruction of a great prince or of a great power is usually signified by the gods beforehand, though either through hardness of heart or inadvertence no heed is taken of the warning. In reference to Kypselus and the Bacchiadæ, we are informed that Melas, the ancestor of the former, was one of the original settlers at Corinth who accompanied the first Dorian chief Alêtês, and that Alêtês was in vain warned by an oracle not to admit him.[1] Again too, immediately before Kypselus was born, the Bacchiadæ received notice that his mother was about to give birth to one who would prove their ruin: the dangerous infant escaped destruction only by a hair's breadth, being preserved from the intent of his destroyers by lucky concealment in a chest. Labda, the mother of Kypselus, was daughter of Amphiôn, who belonged to the gens or sept of the Bacchiadæ; but she was lame, and none of the gens would consent to marry her with that deformity. Eetiôn, son of Echekratês, who became her husband, belonged to a different, yet hardly less distinguished, heroic genealogy. He was of the Lapithæ, descended from Kæneus, and dwelling in the Corinthian deme called Petra. We see thus that Kypselus was not only a high-born man in the city, but a Bacchiad by half-birth: both of these circumstances were likely to make exclusion from the government intolerable to him. He rendered himself highly popular with the people, and by their aid overthrew and expelled the Bacchiadæ, continuing as despot at Corinth for

[1] Pausan. ii. 4, 9.

thirty years until his death (B.C. 655—625). According to Aristotle, he maintained throughout life the same conciliatory behaviour by which his power had first been acquired; and his popularity was so effectually sustained that he had never any occasion for a body-guard. But the Corinthian oligarchy of the century of Herodotus (whose tale that historian has embodied in the oration of the Corinthian envoy Sosiklês[1] to the Spartans) gave a very different description, and depicted Kypselus as a cruel ruler, who banished, robbed, and murdered by wholesale.

His son and successor Periander, though energetic as a warrior, distinguished as an encourager of poetry and music, and even numbered by some among the seven wise men of Greece, is nevertheless uniformly represented as oppressive and inhuman in his treatment of subjects. The revolting stories which are told respecting his private life, and his relations with his mother and his wife, may for the most part be regarded as calumnies suggested by odious associations with his memory. But there seems good reason for imputing to him tyranny of the worst character. The sanguinary maxims of precaution, so often acted upon by Grecian despots, were traced back in ordinary belief to Periander[2] and his contemporary Thrasybulus, despot of Milêtus. He maintained a powerful body-guard, shed much blood, and was exorbitant in his exactions, a part of which was employed in votive offerings at Olympia. Such munificence to the gods was considered by Aristotle and others as part of a deliberate system, with the view of keeping his subjects both hard at work and poor. On one occasion we are told that he invited the women of Corinth to assemble for the celebration of a religious festival, and then stripped them of their rich attire and ornaments. By some later writers he is painted as the stern foe of everything like luxury and dissolute habits—enforcing industry, compelling every man to render account of his means of livelihood, and causing the procuresses of Corinth to be thrown into the sea.[3]

Periander

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 22. Herodot. v. 92. The tale respecting Kypselus and his wholesale exaction from the people, contained in the spurious second book of the Œconomica of Aristotle, coincides with the general view of Herodotus (Aristot. Œconom. ii. 2); but I do not trust the statements of this treatise for facts of the sixth or seventh centuries B.C.

[2] Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 3—22; iii. 8, 3. Herodot. v. 92.

[3] Ephorus, Frag. 106, ed. Marx.; Herakleidês Ponticus, Frag. v. ed. Köhler; Nicolaus Damasc. p. 50, ed. Orell.; Diogen. Laërt. i. 96—98; Suidas, v. Κυψελίδων ἀνάθημα.

Though the general features of his character, his cruel tyranny no less than his vigour and ability, may be sufficiently relied on, yet the particular incidents connected with his name are all extremely dubious. The most credible of all seems to be the tale of his inexpiable quarrel with his son and his brutal treatment of many noble Korkyræan youths, as related in Herodotus. Periander is said to have put to death his wife Melissa, daughter of Proklês, despot of Epidaurus. His son Lykophrôn, informed of this deed, contracted an incurable antipathy against him. Periander, after vainly trying both by rigour and by conciliation to conquer this feeling on the part of his son, sent him to reside at Korkyra, then dependent upon his rule; but when he found himself growing old and disabled, he recalled him to Corinth, in order to ensure the continuance of the dynasty. Lykophrôn still obstinately declined all personal communication with his father, upon which the latter desired him to come to Corinth, and engaged himself to go over to Korkyra. So terrified were the Korkyræans at the idea of a visit from this formidable old man, that they put Lykophrôn to death—a deed which Periander avenged by seizing three hundred youths of their noblest families, and sending them over to the Lydian king Alyattês at Sardis, in order that they might be castrated and made to serve as eunuchs. The Corinthian vessels in which the youths were despatched fortunately touched at Samos in the way; where the Samians and Knidians, shocked at a proceeding which outraged all Hellenic sentiment, contrived to rescue the youths from the miserable fate intended for them, and after the death of Periander sent them back to their native island.[1]

Great power of Corinth under Periander.

While we turn with displeasure from the political life of this man, we are at the same time made acquainted with the great extent of his power—greater than that which was ever possessed by Corinth after the extinction of his dynasty. Korkyra, Ambrakia, Leukas, and Anaktorium, all Corinthian colonies, but in the next century independent states, appear in his time dependencies of Corinth. Ambrakia is said to have been under the rule of another despot named Periander, probably also a Kypselid by birth. It seems

[1] Herodot. iii. 47—54. He details at some length this tragical story. Compare Plutarch, De Herodoti Malignitat. c. 22, p 860

indeed that the towns of Anaktorium, Leukas, and Apollonia in the Ionian Gulf were either founded by the Kypselids, or received reinforcements of Corinthian colonists, during their dynasty, though Korkyra was established considerably earlier.[1]

The reign of Periander lasted for forty years (B.C. 625—585): Psammetichus son of Gordius, who succeeded him, reigned three years, and the Kypselid dynasty is then said to have closed after having continued for seventy-three years.[2] In respect of power, magnificent display, and wide-spread connexions both in Asia and in Italy, they evidently stood high among the Greeks of their time. Their offerings consecrated at Olympia excited great admiration, especially the gilt colossal statue of Zeus and the large chest of cedar-wood dedicated in the temple of Hêrê, overlaid with various figures in gold and ivory. The figures were borrowed from mythical and legendary story, while the chest was a commemoration both of the name of Kypselus and of the tale of his marvellous preservation in infancy.[3] If Plutarch is correct, this powerful dynasty is to be numbered among the despots put down by Sparta.[4] Yet such intervention of the Spartans, granting it to have been matter of fact, can hardly have been known to Herodotus.

Fall of the Kypselid dynasty.

Coincident in point of time with the commencement of Periander's reign at Corinth, we find Theagenês despot at Megara, who is also said to have acquired his power by demagogic arts, as

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 3, 6; 8, 9. Plutarch, Amatorius, c. 23, p. 768, and De Serâ Numinis Vindicta, c. 7, p. 553. Strabo, vii. p. 325; x. p. 452. Scymnus Chius, v. 454, and Antoninus Liberalis, c. iv., who quotes the lost work called Ἀμβρακικά of Athanadas.

[2] See Mr. Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, ad ann. 625—585 B.C.

[3] Pausan. v. 2, 4; 17, 2. Strabo, viii. p. 353. Compare Schneider, Epimetrum ad Xenophon. Anabas. p. 570. The chest was seen at Olympia both by Pausanias and by Dio Chrysostom (Or. x. p. 325, Reiske).

[4] Plutarch, De Herodot. Malign. c. 21, p. 859. If Herodotus had known or believed that the dynasty of the Kypselids at Corinth was put down by Sparta, he could not have failed to make allusion to the fact in the long harangue which he ascribes to the Corinthian Sosiklês (v. 92). Whoever reads that speech will perceive that the inference from silence to ignorance is in this case almost irresistible.

O. Müller ascribes to Periander a policy intentionally anti-Dorian—"prompted by the wish of utterly eradicating the peculiarities of the Doric race. For this reason he abolished the public tables, and prohibited the ancient education." (O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 8, 3.)

But it cannot be shown that any *public tables* (συσσίτια) or any peculiar education, analogous to those of Sparta, ever existed at Corinth. If nothing more be meant by these συσσίτια than public banquets on particular festive occasions (see Welcker, Prolegom. ad Theognid. c. 20, p. xxxvii.), these are noway peculiar to Dorian cities. Nor does Theognis, v. 270, bear out Welcker in affirming "syssitiorum vetus institutum" at Megara.

well as by violent aggressions against the rich proprietors, whose cattle he destroyed in their pastures by the side of the river. We are not told by what previous conduct on the part of the rich this hatred of the people had been earned; but Theagenês carried the popular feeling completely along with him, obtained by public vote a body of guards ostensibly for his personal safety, and employed them to overthrow the oligarchy.[1] Yet he did not maintain his power even for his own life. A second revolution dethroned and expelled him, on which occasion, after a short interval of temperate government, the people are said to have renewed in a still more marked way their antipathies against the rich; banishing some of them with confiscation of property, intruding into the houses of others with demands for forced hospitality, and even passing a formal Palintokia—or decree to require from the rich who had lent money on interest the refunding of all past interest paid to them by their debtors.[2] To appreciate correctly such a demand, we must recollect that the practice of taking interest for money lent was regarded by a large proportion of early ancient society with feelings of unqualified reprobation. And it will be seen, when we come to the legislation of Solôn, how much such violent reactionary feeling against the creditor was provoked by the antecedent working of the harsh law determining his rights.

Megara—Theagenês the despot.

We hear in general terms of more than one revolution in the government of Megara—a disorderly democracy subverted by returning oligarchical exiles, and these again unable long to maintain themselves;[3] but we are alike uninformed as to dates and details. And in respect to one of these struggles we are admitted to the outpourings of a contemporary and a sufferer—the Megarian poet Theognis. Unfortunately his elegiac verses as we possess them are in a state so broken, incoherent, and interpolated, that we make out no distinct conception of the events which call them forth. Still less can we discover in the verses of Theognis that strength and peculiarity of pure Dorian feeling, which, since the publication of O. Müller's History of the Dorians, it has been

Disturbed government at Megara—Theognis.

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 4, 5; Rhetor. i. 2, 7.
[2] Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 18, p. 295.
[3] Aristot. Polit. iv. 12, 10: v. 2, 6; 4, 3.

the fashion to look for so extensively. But we see that the poet was connected with an oligarchy of birth, and not of wealth, which had recently been subverted by the breaking in of the rustic population previously subject and degraded—that these subjects were content to submit to a single-headed despot, in order to escape from their former rulers—and that Theognis had himself been betrayed by his own friends and companions, stripped of his property and exiled, through the wrong-doing "of enemies whose blood he hopes one day to be permitted to drink".[1] The condition of the subject cultivators previous to this revolution he depicts in sad colours: they "dwelt without the city, clad in goatskins, and ignorant of judicial sanctions or laws":[2] after it, they had become citizens, and their importance had been immensely enhanced. Thus (according to his impression) the vile breed has trodden down the noble—the bad have become masters, and the good are no longer of any account. The bitterness and humiliation which attend upon poverty, and the undue ascendency which wealth confers even upon the most worthless of mankind,[3] are among the prominent subjects of his complaint. His keen personal feeling on this point would be alone sufficient to show that the recent revolution had no way overthrown the influence of property; in contradiction to the opinion of Welcker, who infers without ground, from a passage of uncertain meaning, that the land of the state had been formally re-divided.[4] The Megarian revolution, so far as we apprehend

[1] Theognis, vv. 262, 349, 512, 600, 828, 834, 1119, 1200, Gaisf. edit.:—

Τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν, &c.

[2] Theognis, v. 349, Gaisf.:—

Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἥδ' ἔτι πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι,
Οἳ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ᾔδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,
Ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευρῇσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
Ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.

[3] Theognis, vv. 174, 267, 523, 700, 865, Gaisf.

[4] Consult the Prolegomena to Welcker's edition of Theognis; also those of Schneidewin (Delectus Elegiac. Poetar. p. 46—55).

The Prolegomena of Welcker are particularly valuable and full of instruction. He illustrates at great length the tendency common to Theognis with other early Greek poets, to apply the words *good* and *bad*, not with reference to any ethical standard, but to wealth as contrasted with poverty—nobility with low birth—strength with weakness—conservative and oligarchical politics as opposed to innovation (sect. 10—18). The ethical meaning of these words is not absolutely unknown, yet rare, in Theognis: it gradually grew up at Athens, and became popularized by the Socratic school of philosophers as well as by the orators. But the early or political meaning always remained, and the fluctuation between the two has been productive of frequent misunderstanding. Constant attention is necessary when we read the expressions οἱ ἀγαθοί,

it from Theognis, appears to have improved materially the condition of the cultivators around the town, and to have strengthened a certain class whom he considers "the bad rich"—while it extinguished the privileges of that governing order, to which he himself belonged, denominated in his language "the good and the virtuous," with ruinous effect upon his own individual fortunes. How far this governing order was exclusively Dorian, we have no means of determining. The political change by which Theognis suffered, and the new despot whom he indicates as either actually installed or nearly impending, must have come considerably after the despotism of Theagenês; for the life of the poet seems to fall between 570—490 B.C., while Theagenês must have ruled about 630—600 B.C. From the unfavourable picture, therefore, which the poet gives as his own early experience, of the condition of the rural cultivators, it is evident that the despot Theagenês had neither conferred upon them any permanent benefit, nor given them access to the judicial protection of the city.

Analogy of Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara.

It is thus that the despots of Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara serve as samples of those revolutionary influences which towards the beginning of the sixth century B.C. seem to have shaken or overturned the oligarchical governments in very many cities throughout the Grecian world.

ἐσθλοί, καλοκἀγαθοί, χρηστοί, &c., or on the other hand, οἱ κακοί, δειλοί, &c., to examine whether the context is such as to give to them the ethical or the political meaning. Welcker seems to go a step too far when he says that the latter sense "fell into desuetude, through the influence of the Socratic philosophy". (Proleg. sect. 11, p. xxv.) The two meanings both remained extant at the same time, as we see by Aristotle (Polit. iv. 8, 2)—σχεδὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὔποροι, τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν δοκοῦσι κατέχειν χώραν. A careful distinction is sometimes found in Plato and Thucydidès, who talk of the oligarchs as "the persons *called* superexcellent"—τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους (Thucyd. viii. 48)—ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων τε καὶ καλῶν κἀγαθῶν λεγομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει (Plato, Rep. viii. p. 569).

The same double sense is to be found equally prevalent in the Latin language: "*Bon*ique et *mali* cives appellati, non ob merita in rempublicam, omnibus pariter corruptis: sed uti quisque locupletissimus, et injuriâ validior, quia præsentia defendebat, pro bono habebatur". (Sallust. Hist. Fragment. lib. i. p. 935, Cort.) And again Cicero (De Republ. i. 34): "Hoc errore vulgi cum rempublicam opes paucorum, non virtutes, tenere cœperunt, nomen illi principes *optimatium* mordicus tenent, re autem carent eo nomine". In Cicero's Oration pro Sextio (c. 45) the two meanings are intentionally confounded together, when he gives his definition of *optimus quisque*. Welcker (Proleg. s. 12) produces several other examples of the like equivocal meaning. There are not wanting instances of the same use of language in the laws and customs of the early Germans—boni homines, probi homines, Rachinburgi, Gudemänner. See Savigny, Geschichte des Römisch. Rechts im Mittelalter, vol. i. p. 184; vol. ii. p. xxii.

There existed a certain sympathy and alliance between the despots of Corinth and Sikyôn :[1] how far such feeling was further extended to Megara we do not know. The latter city seems evidently to have been more populous and powerful during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. than we shall afterwards find her throughout the two brilliant centuries of Grecian history. Her colonies, found as far distant as Bithynia and the Thracian Bosphorus on one side, and as Sicily on the other, argue an extent of trade as well as naval force once not inferior to Athens; so that we shall be the less surprised when we approach the life of Solôn, to find her in possession of the island of Salamis, and long maintaining it, at one time with every promise of triumph, against the entire force of the Athenians.

[1] Herod. vi. 128.

CHAPTER X.

IONIC PORTION OF HELLAS—ATHENS BEFORE SOLÔN.

HAVING traced in the preceding chapters the scanty stream of Peloponnesian history, from the first commencement of an authentic chronology in 776 B.C., to the maximum of Spartan territorial acquisition, and the general acknowledgement of Spartan primacy, prior to 547 B.C., I proceed to state as much as can be made out respecting the Ionic portion of Hellas during the same period. This portion comprehends Athens and Eubœa,—the Cyclades islands—and the Ionic cities on the coast of Asia Minor, with their different colonies.

History of Athens before Drako—only a list of names.

In the case of Peloponnêsus, we have been enabled to discern something like an order of real facts in the period alluded to—Sparta makes great strides, while Argos falls. In the case of Athens, unfortunately, our materials are less instructive. The number of historical facts, anterior to the Solonian legislation, is very few indeed: the interval between 776 B.C. and 624 B.C., the epoch of Drako's legislation a short time prior to Kylôn's attempted usurpation, gives us merely a list of archons, denuded of all incident.

No king after Kodrus. Life archons. Decennial archons. Annual archons, nine in number.

In compliment to the heroism of Kodrus, who had sacrificed his life for the safety of his country, we are told that no person after him was permitted to bear the title of king.[1] His son Medôn, and twelve successors—Akastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megaklês, Diognêtus, Phereklês, Ariphrôn, Thespieus, Agamestôr, Æschylus, and Alkmæôn—were all archons for life. In the second year of Alkmæôn (752 B.C.), the dignity of archon was restricted to a duration of ten years: and seven of

[1] Justin. ii. 7.

these decennial archons are numbered—Charops, Æsimidês, Kleidikus, Hippomenês, Leokratês, Apsandrus, Eryxias. With Kreôn who succeeded Eryxias the archonship was not only made annual, but put into commission and distributed among nine persons. These nine archons annually changed continue throughout all the historical period, interrupted only by the few intervals of political disturbance and foreign compression. Down to Kleidikus and Hippomenês (714 B.C.), the dignity of archon had continued to belong exclusively to the Medontidæ or descendants of Medôn and Kodrus;[1] at that period it was thrown open to all the Eupatrids, or order of nobility in the state.

Such is the series of names by which we step down from the level of legend to that of history. All our historical knowledge of Athens is confined to the annual archons; which series of eponymous archons, from Kreôn downwards, is perfectly trustworthy.[2] Above 683 B.C., the Attic antiquaries have provided us with a string of names, which we must take as we find them, without being able either to warrant the whole or to separate the false from the true. There is no reason to doubt the general fact that Athens, like so many other communities of Greece, was in its primitive times governed by an hereditary line of kings, and that it passed from that form of government into a commonwealth, first oligarchical, afterwards democratical.

Archonship of Kreôn, B.C. 683—commencement of Attic chronology.

We are in no condition to determine the civil classification and political constitution of Attica, even at the period of the archonship of Kreôn, 683 B.C., when authentic Athenian chronology first commences—much less can we pretend to any knowledge of the anterior centuries. Great political changes were introduced first by Solôn (about 594 B.C.), next by Kleisthenês (509 B.C), afterwards by Aristeidês, Periklês, and Ephialtês, between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars: so that the old ante-Solonian—nay even the real Solonian—polity was thus put more and more out of date and out of knowledge. But all the information which we possess respecting that old polity is derived from authors who

[1] Pausan. i. 3, 2; Suidas, Ἱππομένης; Diogenian. Centur. Proverb. iii. 1. Ἀσεβέστερον Ἱππομένους.

[2] See Boeckh on the Parian Marble, in Corp. Inscrip. Græc. part 12, sect. 6, pp. 307, 310, 332.

From the beginning of the reign of Medôn son of Kodrus, to the first annual archon Kreôn, the Parian Marble computes 407 years, Eusebius 387.

lived after all or most of these great changes—and who, finding no records, nor anything better than current legends, explained the foretime as well as they could by guesses more or less ingenious, generally attached to the dominant legendary names. They were sometimes able to found their conclusions upon religious usages, periodical ceremonies, or common sacrifices, still subsisting in their own time. These were doubtless the best evidences to be found respecting Athenian antiquity, since such practices often continued unaltered throughout all the political changes. It is in this way alone that we arrive at some partial knowledge of the ante-Solonian condition of Attica, though as a whole it still remains dark and unintelligible, even after the many illustrations of modern commentators.

Obscurity of the civil condition of Attica before Solôn.

Philochorus, writing in the third century before the Christian æra, stated, that Kekrops had originally distributed Attica into twelve districts—Kekropia, Tetrapolis, Epakria, Dekeleia, Eleusis, Aphidnæ, Thorikus, Braurôn, Kythêrus, Sphêttus, Kêphisia, Phalêrus—and that these twelve were consolidated into one political society by Thêseus.[1] This partition does not comprise the Megarid, which, according to other statements, is represented as united with Attica, and as having formed part of the distribution made by king Pandiôn among his four sons, Nisus, Ægeus, Pallas, and Lykus—a story as old as Sophoklês at least.[2] In other accounts, again, a quadruple division is applied to the tribes, which are stated to have been four in number, beginning from Kekrops—called in his time Kekrŏpis, Autochthôn, Aktæa, and Paralia. Under king Kranaus, these tribes (we are told) received the names of Kranaïs, Atthis, Mesogæa, and Diakria[3]—under Erichthonius, those of Dias, Athenaïs, Poseidonias, Hephæstias: at last, shortly after Erechtheus, they were denominated after the four sons of Iôn (son of Kreusa daughter of Erechtheus, by Apollo), Geleontes, Hoplêtes, Ægikoreis, Argadeis. The four Attic or Ionic tribes, under these last-mentioned names, continued to

Alleged duodecimal division of Attica in early times.

[1] Philochorus ap. Strabo. ix. p. 396. See Schömann, Antiq. J. P. Græc. b. v. sect. 2—5.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 392. Philochorus and Andrôn extended the kingdom of Nisus from the isthmus of Corinth as far as the Pythium (near Œnoê) and Eleusis (Str. *ib.*): but there were many different tales.

[3] Pollux, viii. c. 9, 109—111.

form the classification of the citizens until the revolution of Kleisthenês in 509 B.C., by which the ten tribes were introduced, as we find them down to the period of Macedonian ascendency. It is affirmed, and with some etymological plausibility, that the denominations of these four tribes must originally have had reference to the occupations of those who bore them—the Hoplêtes being the *warrior-class*, the Ægikoreis *goatherds*, the Argadeis *artisans*, and the Geleontes (Teleontes, or Gedeontes) *cultivators*. Hence some authors have ascribed to the ancient inhabitants of Attica[1] an actual primitive distribution into hereditary professions or castes, similar to that which prevailed in India and Egypt. If we should even grant that such a division into castes might originally have prevailed, it must have grown obsolete long before the time of Solôn: but there seem no sufficient grounds for believing that it ever did prevail. The names of the tribes may have been originally borrowed from certain professions, but it does not necessarily follow that the reality corresponded to this derivation, or that every individual who belonged to any tribe was a member of the profession from whence the name had originally been derived. From the etymology of the names, be it ever so clear, we cannot safely assume the historical reality of a classification according to professions. And this objection (which would be weighty even if the etymology had been clear) becomes irresistible when we add that even the etymology is not beyond dispute;[2] that the names themselves are written with a diversity which cannot be reconciled; and that the four professions named by Strabo omit the goatherds and include the priests; while those specified by Plutarch leave out the latter and include the former.[3]

Four Ionic tribes—Geleontes, Hoplêtes, Ægikoreis, Argadeis.

Not names of castes or professions.

[1] Iôn, the father of the four heroes, after whom these tribes were named, was affirmed by one story to be the primitive civilising legislator of Attica, like Lykurgus, Numa, or Deukaliôn (Plutarch, adv. Kolôten, c. 31, p. 1125).

[2] Thus Euripidês derives the Αἰγικορεῖς, not from αἴξ a goat, but from Αἰγίς the Ægis of Athênê (Iôn, 1581): he also gives *Teleontes*, derived from an eponymous *Telôn* son of Iôn, while the inscriptions at Kyzikus concur with Herodotus and others in giving Geleontes. Plutarch (Solôn, 25) gives Gedeontes. In an Athenian inscription recently published by Professor Ross (dating seemingly in the first century after the Christian era), the worship of Zeus Geleôn at Athens has been for the first time verified—Διὸς Γελέοντος ἱεροκήρυξ (Ross, *Die Attischen Demen*, pp. vii.—ix. Halle, 1846).

[3] Plutarch (Solôn, c. 25); Strabo, viii. p. 383. Compare Plato, Kritias, p. 110.

All that seems certain is, that these were the four ancient Ionic tribes (analogous to the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes among the Dorians) which prevailed not only at Athens, but among several of the Ionic cities derived from Athens. The Geleontes are mentioned in inscriptions now remaining belonging to Teôs in Ionia, and all the four are named in those of Kyzikus in the Prqpontis, which was a foundation from the Ionic Miletus.[1] The four tribes, and the four names (allowing for some variations of reading), are therefore historically verified. But neither the time of their introduction, nor their primitive import, are ascertainable matters; nor can any faith be put in the various constructions of the legends of Iôn, Erechtheus, and Kekrops by modern commentators.

Component portions of the four tribes.

These four tribes may be looked at either as religious and social aggregates, in which capacity each of them comprised three Phratries and ninety Gentes; or as political aggregates, in which point of view each included three Trittyes and twelve Naukraries. Each Phratry contained thirty Gentes: each Trittys comprised four Naukraries: the total numbers were thus 360 Gentes and 48 Naukraries. Moreover each gens is said to have contained thirty heads of families, of whom therefore there would be a total of 10,800.

The Trittys and the Naukrary.

Comparing these two distributions one with the other, we may remark that they are distinct in their nature and proceed in opposite directions. The Trittys and the Naukrary are essentially fractional subdivisions of the tribe, and resting upon the tribe as their higher unity: the Naukrary is a local circumscription, composed of the Naukrars or principal householders (so the etymology seems to indicate), who levy in each respective district the quota of public contributions which belongs to it, and superintend the disbursement,—provide the military force incumbent upon the district, being for each naukrary two horsemen and one ship,—and furnish the

[1] Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Nos. 3078, 3079, 3665. The elaborate commentary on this last mentioned inscription, in which Boeckh vindicates the early historical reality of the classification by professions, is noway satisfactory to my mind.

K. F. Hermann (Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, sect. 91—96) gives a summary of all that can be known respecting these old Athenian tribes. Compare Ilgen, De Tribubus Atticis, p. 9 *seq.*; Tittmann, Griechische Staatsverfassungen, pp. 570—582; Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, sect. 43, 44.

chief district-officers, the Prytanes of the Naukrari.[1] A certain number of foot soldiers, varying according to the demand, must probably be understood as accompanying these horsemen; but the quota is not specified, as it was, perhaps, thought unnecessary to limit precisely the obligations of any except the wealthier men who served on horseback,—at a period when oligarchical ascendency was paramount, and when the bulk of the people was in a state of comparative subjection. The forty-eight naukraries are thus a systematic subdivision of the four tribes, embracing altogether the whole territory, population, contributions, and military force of Attica,—a subdivision framed exclusively for purposes connected with the entire state.

The Phratry and the Gens.

But the Phratries and Gentes are a distribution completely different from this. They seem aggregations of small primitive unities into larger; they are independent of, and do not presuppose, the tribe; they arise separately and spontaneously, without preconcerted uniformity, and without reference to a common political purpose; the legislator finds them pre-existing, and adapts or modifies them to answer some national scheme. We must distinguish the general fact of the classification, and the successive subordination in the scale, of the families to the gens, of the gentes to the phratry, and of the phratries to the tribe—from the precise numerical symmetry with which this subordination is invested, as we read it,—thirty families to a gens, thirty gentes to a phratry, three phratries to each tribe. If such nice equality of numbers could ever have been procured, by

[1] About the Naukraries, see Aristot. Fragment. Rerum Public. p. 89, ed. Neumann; Harpokration, vv. Δήμαρχος, Ναυκραρικά; Photius, v. Ναυκραρία; Pollux, viii. 108; Schol. ad Aristoph. Nubes, 37.

Οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν Ναυκράρων, Herodot. v. 71: they conducted the military proceedings in resistance to the usurpation of Kylôn.

The statement that each Naukrary was obliged to furnish one ship can hardly be true of the time before Solôn: as Pollux states it, we should be led to conceive that he only infers it from the name ναύκραρος (Pollux, viii. 108), though the real etymology seems rather to be from ναίω (Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alt. sect. 44, p. 240). There may be some ground for believing that the old meaning also of the word ναύτης connected it with ναίω; such a supposition would smooth the difficulty in regard to the functions of the ναυτοδίκαι as judges in cases of illicit admission into the phratores. See Hesychius and Harpokration, v. Ναυτοδίκαι; and Baumstark, De Curatoribus Emporii, Friburg, 1828, p. 67 *seq.*: compare also the fragment of the Solonian law, ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργίων ἢ ναῦται, which Niebuhr conjecturally corrects. Röm. Gesch. v. i. p. 323, 2nd ed.; Hesychius, Ναυστῆρες—οἱ οἰκέται. See Pollux, Ναῦλον, and Lobeck, Ῥηματικόν, sect. 3, p. 7; Ἀεινάυται παρὰ Μιλησίοις? Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 32, p. 298.

legislative constraint[1] operating upon pre-existent natural elements, the proportions could not have been permanently maintained. But we may reasonably doubt whether it ever did so exist: it appears more like the fancy of an antiquary who pleased himself by supposing an original systematic creation in times anterior to records, by multiplying together the number of days in the month and of months in the year. That every phratry contained an equal number of gentes, and every gens an equal number of families, is a supposition hardly admissible without better evidence than we possess. But apart from this questionable precision of numerical scale, the Phratries and Gentes themselves were real, ancient, and durable associations among the Athenian people, highly important to be understood.[2] The basis of the whole was the house, hearth, or family,—a number of which, greater or less, composed the Gens or Genos. This gens was therefore a clan, sept, or enlarged, and partly factitious, brotherhood, bound together by—1. Common religious ceremonies, and exclusive privilege of priesthood, in honour of the same god, supposed to be the primitive ancestor and characterised by a special surname. 2. By a common burial place. 3. By mutual rights of successions to property. 4. By reciprocal obligations of help, defence, and redress of injuries. 5. By mutual right and obligation to intermarry in certain determinate cases, especially where there was an orphan daughter or heiress. 6. By possession, in some cases at least, of common property, an archon and a treasurer of their own.

What constituted the gens or gentile communion.

[1] Meier, De Gentilitate Attică, pp. 22—24, conceives that this numerical completeness was enacted by Solôn; but of this there is no proof, nor is it in harmony with the general tendencies of Solôn's legislation.

[2] So in reference to the Anglo-Saxon *Tythings* and *Hundreds*, and to the still more widely-spread division of the *Hundred*, which seems to pervade the whole of Teutonic and Scandinavian antiquity, much more extensively than the *tything*;—there is no ground for believing that these precise numerical proportions were in general practice realized: the systematic nomenclature served its purpose by marking the idea of graduation and the type to which a certain approach was actually made. Mr. Thorpe observes respecting the Hundred in his Glossary to the "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," v. *Hundred, Tything, Frid-Borg, &c.* "In the Dialogus de Scaccario, it is said that a Hundred 'ex hydarum aliquot centenariis, sed non determinatis, constat: quidam enim ex pluribus, quidam ex paucioribus constat'. Some accounts make it consist of precisely a hundred hydes, others of a hundred tythings, others of a hundred free families. Certain it is, that whatever may have been its original organization, the Hundred, at the time when it becomes known to us, differed greatly in extent in various parts of England."

Such were the rights and obligations characterising the gentile union.[1] The phratric union, binding together several gentes, was less intimate, but still included some mutual rights and obligations of an analogous character; especially a communion of particular sacred rites, and mutual privileges of prosecution in the event of a phratôr being slain. Each phratry was considered as belonging to one of the four tribes, and all the phratries of the same tribe enjoyed a certain periodical communion of sacred rites, under the presidency of a magistrate called the Phylo-Basileus or Tribe King, selected from the Eupatrids: Zeus Geleôn was in this manner the patron god of the tribe Geleontes. Lastly, all the four tribes were linked together by the common worship of Apollo Patrôus as their divine father and guardian; for Apollo was the father of Iôn, and the Eponyms of all the four tribes were reputed sons of Iôn.

Thus stood the primitive religious and social union of the population of Attica in its gradually ascending scale—as distinguished from the political union, probably of later introduction, represented at first by the Trittyes and Naukraries, and in after times by the ten Kleisthenean tribes, subdivided into Trittyes and Demes. The religious and family bond of aggregation is the earlier of the two: but the political bond, though beginning later, will be found to acquire constantly increasing influence throughout the greater part of this history. In the former, personal relation is the essential and predominant characteristic[2]—local relation being subordinate: in the latter, property and residence become the chief considerations, and the personal element counts only as measured along with these accompaniments. All these phratric and gentile associations, the larger as well as the smaller, were founded upon the same principles and tendencies of the Grecian mind[3]—a coalescence of the idea of worship with that of

[1] See the instructive inscription in Professor Ross's work (Ueber die Demen von Attika, p. 26) of the γένος Ἀμυναν̃δριδῶν, commemorating the archon of that gens, the priest of Kekrops, the Ταμίας or treasurer, and the names of the members, with the deme and tribe of each individual. Compare Bossler, De Gent. Atticis, p. 53. About the peculiar religious rites of the gens called Gephyræi, see Herodot. v. 61.

[2] Φυλαὶ γενικαί opposed to φυλαὶ τοπικαί.—Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. iv. 14.

[3] Plato, Euthydem. p. 302; Aristot. ap. Schol. in Platon. Axioch. p. 465, ed. Bek. Ἀριστοτέλης φησί· τοῦ ὅλου πλήθους διῃρημένου Ἀθήνησιν εἵς τε τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς δημιουργούς, φυλὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι τέσσαρας, τῶν δὲ φυλῶν ἑκάστης μοιρὰς εἶναι τρεῖς, ἃς τριττύας τε καλοῦσι καὶ φρατρίας· ἑκάστης δὲ τούτων τριάκοντα εἶναι γένη, τὸ δὲ γένος ἐκ τριά-

ancestry, or of communion in certain special religious rites with communion of blood, real or supposed. The god or hero, to whom the assembled members offered their sacrifices, was conceived as the primitive ancestor to whom they owed their origin; often through a long list of intermediate names, as in the case of the Milesian Hekatæus, so often before adverted to.[1] Each family had its own sacred rites and funeral commemoration of ancestors, celebrated by the master of the house, to which none but members of the family were admissible: so that the extinction of a family, carrying with it the suspension of these religious rites, was held by the Greeks to be a misfortune, not merely from the loss of the citizens composing it, but also because the family gods and the names of deceased citizens were thus deprived of their honours[2] and might visit the country with displeasure. The

κοντα ἀνδρῶν συνιστάναι· τούτους δὴ τοὺς εἰς τὰ γένη τεταγμένους γεννήτας καλοῦσι. Pollux, viii. 3. οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ γένους, γεννῆται καὶ ὁμογάλακτες· γένει μὲν οὖ προσήκοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνόδου οὕτω προσαγορευόμενοι: compare also iii. 52; Mœrist. Atticist. p. 108.

Harpokrat. v. Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος, Θεοίνιον, Γεννῆται, Ὀργεῶνες, &c. Etymol. Magn. v. Γεννῆται; Suidas, v. Ὀργεῶνες; Pollux, viii. 85; Demosthen. cont. Eubulid. p. 1319. εἶτα φράτορες, εἶτα Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου καὶ Διὸς ἑρκείου γεννῆται: and cont. Neæram, p. 1365. Isæus uses ὀργεῶνες as synonymous with γεννῆται (see Orat. ii. p. 19, 20—28, ed. Bek.). Schömann (Antiq. J. P. Græc. § xxvi.) considers the two as essentially distinct. Φρήτρη and φύλον both occur in the Iliad, ii. 362. See the Dissertation of Buttmann, Ueber den Begriff von φρατρία (Mythologus, c 24, p. 305); and that of Meier, De Gentilitate Atticâ, where the points of knowledge attainable respecting the Gentes are well put together and discussed.

In the Theræan Inscription (No. 2448 ap. Boeckh. Corp. Inscr., see his comment, p. 310) containing the testament of Epiktêta, whereby a bequest is made to οἱ συγγενεῖς—ὁ ἀνδρεῖος τῶν συγγενῶν—this latter word does not mean kindred or blood relations, but a variety of the gentile union—"thiasus" or "sodalitium". Boeckh.

[1] Herodot. i. 143. Ἐκταίῳ—γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεόν. Again: γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν, καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεόν. The Attic expression ἀγχίστεια ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων illustrates the intimate association between family relationship and common religious privileges.—Isæus, Orat. vi. p. 89, ed. Bek.

[2] Isæus, Or. vi. p. 61; ii. p. 38; Demosth. adv. Makartatum, p. 1053—1075; adv. Leochar. p. 1093. Respecting this perpetuation of the family sacred rites, the feeling prevalent among the Athenians is much the same as what is now seen in China.

Mr. Davis observes—"Sons are considered in this country, where the power over them is so absolute through life, as a sure support, as well as a probable source of wealth and dignities, should they succeed in learning. But the grand object is, the perpetuation of the race, to sacrifice at the family tombs. Without sons, a man lives without honour or satisfaction, and dies unhappy; and as the only remedy, he is permitted to adopt the sons of his younger brothers.

"It is not during life only that a man looks for the service of his sons. It is his consolation in declining years, to think that they will continue the performance of the prescribed rites in the hall of ancestors, and at the family tombs, when he is no more; and it is the absence of this prospect which makes the childless doubly miserable. The superstition derives influence from the importance attached by the government to this species of posthumous duty; a neglect of which is punishable, as we have seen, by the laws. Indeed,

larger associations, called Gens, Phratry, Tribe, were formed by an extension of the same principle—of the family considered as a religious brotherhood, worshipping some common god or hero with an appropriate surname, and recognising him as their joint ancestor; and the festivals Theœnia and Apaturia[1] (the first Attic, the second common to all the Ionic race) annually brought together the members of these phratries and gentes for worship, festivity, and maintenance of special sympathies; thus strengthening the larger ties without effacing the smaller.

Artificial enlargement of the primitive family association. Ideas of worship and ancestry coalesce.

Such were the manifestations of Grecian sociality, as we read them in the early constitution, not merely of Attica, but of other Grecian states besides. To Aristotle and Dikæarchus it was an interesting inquiry to trace back all political society into certain assumed elementary atoms, and to show by what motives and means the original families, each having its separate meal-bin and fire-place,[2] had been brought together into larger aggregates. But the historian must accept as an ultimate fact the earliest state of things which his witnesses make known to him, and in the case now before us, the gentile and phratric unions are matters into the beginning of which we cannot pretend to penetrate.

Pollux (probably from Aristotle's lost work on the Constitutions of Greece) informs us distinctly that the members of the same gens at Athens were not commonly related by blood,—and even without any express testimony we might have concluded such to be the fact. To what extent the gens at the unknown epoch of its first formation was based upon actual relationship, we have no means of determining, either with regard to the Athenian or

of all the subjects of their care, there are none which the Chinese so religiously attend to as the tombs of their ancestors, conceiving that any neglect is sure to be followed by worldly misfortune."—(The Chinese, by John Francis Davis, chap. ix. p. 131—134, ed. Knight, 1840.)

Mr. Mill notices the same state of feeling among the Hindoos.—(History of British India, book ii. chap. vii. p. 381, ed. 8vo.)

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. i. 5, 8; Herodot. i. 147; Suidas, Ἀπατουρία—Ζεὺς Φράτριος—Ἀθηναία φρατρία, the presiding god of the phratric union.—Plato, Euthydem, c. 28, p. 302; Demosth. adv. Makart. p. 1054. See Meier, De Gentilitate Atticâ, p. 11—14.

The πάτριαι at Byzantium, which were different from θίασοι, and which possessed corporate property (τά τε θιασωτικὰ καὶ τὰ πατριωτικά, Aristot. Œconomic. ii. 4), are doubtless the parallel of the Athenian phratries.

[2] Dikæarchus ap. Stephan. Byz. v. Πατρά; Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 6; Ὁμοσιπύος and ὁμοκάπνους are the old words cited by the latter from Charondas and Epimenidês.

the Roman gentes, which were in all main points analogous. Gentilism is a tie by itself; distinct from the family ties, but presupposing their existence and extending them by an artificial analogy, partly founded in religious belief and partly on positive compact, so as to comprehend strangers in blood. All the members of one gens, or even of one phratry, believed themselves to be sprung, not indeed from the same grandfather or great-grandfather, but from the same divine or heroic ancestor. All the contemporary members of the phratry of Hekatæus had a common god for their ancestor in the sixteenth degree; and this fundamental belief, into which the Greek mind passed with so much facility, was adopted and converted by positive compact into the Gentile and Phratric principle of union. It is because such a transfusion, not recognised by Christianity, is at variance with modern habits of thought, and because we do not readily understand how such a legal and religious fiction can have sunk deep into the Greek feelings, that the Phratries and Gentes appear to us mysterious. But they are in harmony with all the legendary genealogies which have been set forth in earlier chapters. Doubtless Niebuhr, in his valuable discussion of the ancient Roman Gentes, is right in supposing that they were not real families, procreated from any common historical ancestor. Still it is not the less true (though he seems to suppose otherwise) that the idea of the gens involved *the belief* in a common first father, divine or heroic—a genealogy which we may properly call fabulous, but which was consecrated and accredited among the members of the gens itself, and served as one important bond of union between them.[1] And though an

Belief in a common divine ancestor.

This ancestry fabulous, yet still accredited.

[1] Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 317—337. Varro's language on that point is clear:—"Ut in hominibus quædam sunt cognationes et gentilitates, sic in verbis. Ut enim ab Æmilio homines orti Æmilii et gentiles, sic ab Æmilii nomine declinatæ voces in gentilitate nominali." Paul. Diacon. p. 94. "Gentilis dicitur ex eodem genere ortus, et is qui simili nomine appellatur," &c. See Becker, Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer, part 2, abth. 2, p. 36.

The last part of the definition ought to be struck out for the Grecian gentes. The passage of Varro does not prove the historical reality of the primitive father or Genarch Æmilius, but it proves that the members of the gens believed in him.

Dr. Wilda, in his learned work, "Das Deutsche Strafrecht" (Halle, 1842), dissents from Niebuhr in the opposite direction, and seems to maintain that the Grecian and Roman gentes were really distant blood relations (p. 123). How this can be proved, I do not know: and it is inconsistent with the opinion which he advances in the preceding page (p. 122) very justly

analytical mind like Aristotle might discern the difference between the gens and the family, so as to distinguish the former as the offspring of some special compact—still this is no fair test of the feelings usual among early Greeks. Nor is it certain that Aristotle himself, son of the physician Nikomachus, who belonged to the gens of the Asklepiads,[1] would have consented to disallow the procreative origin of *all* these religious families without any exception. The natural families of course changed from generation to generation, some extending themselves while others diminished or died out; but the gens received no alterations, except through the procreation, extinction, or subdivision of these component families. Accordingly the relations of the families with the gens were in perpetual course of fluctuation, and the gentile ancestorial genealogy, adapted as it doubtless was to the early condition of the gens, became in process of time partially obsolete and unsuitable. We hear of this genealogy but rarely, because it is only brought before the public in certain cases pre-eminent and venerable. But the humbler gentes had their common rites, and common superhuman ancestor and genealogy, as well as the more celebrated: the scheme and ideal basis was the same in all.

Analogies from other nations.

Analogies, borrowed from very different people and parts of the world, prove how readily these enlarged and factitious family unions assort with the ideas of an early stage of society. The Highland clan, the Irish sept,[2] the

—that these *quasi* families are primordial facts in early human society, beyond which we cannot carry our researches. "The farther we go back in history, the more does the community exhibit the form of a family, though in reality it is *not* a mere family. This is the limit of historical research, which no man can transgress with impunity" (p. 122).

[1] Diogen. Laërt. v. 1.

[2] See Colonel Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, ch. 2, p. 85 (the Greek word φράτριαι seems to be adopted in Albania); Boué, La Turquie en Europe, vol. ii. ch. i. p. 15—17; chap. 4, p. 530; Spenser's View of the State of Ireland (vol. vi. p. 1542—1543 of Tonson's edition of Spenser's Works, 1715); Cyprien Robert, Die Slaven in der Türkey, b. 1, ch. 1 and 2.

So too, in the laws of King Alfred in England on the subject of murder, the guild-brethren or members of the same guild are made to rank in the position of distant relatives if there happen to be no blood relatives:—

"If a man, kinless of parental relatives, fight and slay a man, then if he have maternal relatives, let them pay a third of the wēr: his guild-brethren a third part: for a third let him flee. If he have no maternal relatives, let his guild-brethren pay half: for half let him flee . . . . If a man kill a man thus circumstanced, if he have no relatives, let half be paid to the king, half to his guild-brethren." (Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. i. p. 79—81.) Again in the same work, Leges Henrici Primi, vol. i. p. 596, the ideas of the kindred

ancient legally constituted families in Friesland and Dithmarsch, the Phis or Phara among the Albanians, are examples of a similar practice:[1] and the adoption of prisoners by the North

and the guild run together in the most intimate manner:—"Si quis hominem occidat—Si eum tunc *cognatio sua* deserat, et pro eo *gildare* nolit," &c. In the Salic law, the members of a *contubernium* were invested with the same rights and obligations one towards the other (Rogge, Gerichtswesen der Germanen, ch. iii. p. 62). Compare Wilda, Deutsches Strafrecht, p. 389, and the valuable special treatise of the same author (Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter. Berlin, 1831), where the origin and progress of the guilds from the primitive times of German heathenism is unfolded. He shows that these associations have their basis in the earliest feelings and habits of the Teutonic race—the family was as it were a natural guild—the guild a factitious family. Common religious sacrifices and festivals—mutual defence and help, as well as mutual responsibility—were the recognised bonds among the *congildones*; they were *sororitates* as well as *fraternitates*, comprehending both men and women (deren Genossen wie die Glieder einer Familie eng unter einander verbunden waren, p. 145). Wilda explains how this primitive social and religious *phratry* (sometimes this very expression *fratria* is used, see p. 109) passed into something like the more political tribe or *phylê* (see pp. 43, 57, 60, 116, 126, 129, 344). The sworn *commune*, which spread so much throughout Europe in the beginning of the twelfth century, partakes both of the one and of the other—*conjuratio—amicitia jurata* (pp. 148, 169).

The members of an Albanian *phara* are all jointly bound to exact, and each severally exposed to suffer, the vengeance of blood, in the event of homicide committed upon, or by, any one of them (Boué, *ut supra*).

[1] See the valuable chapter of Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. i. pp. 317, 350, 2nd edit.

The *Alberghi* of Genoa in the middle ages were enlarged families created by voluntary compact:—"De tout temps (observes Sismondi) les familles puissantes avoient été dans l'usage, à Gênes, d'augmenter encore leur puissance en adoptant d'autres familles moins riches, moins illustres, ou moins nombreuses—auxquelles elles communiquoient leur nom et leurs armes, qu'elles prenoient ainsi l'engagement de protéger—et qui en retour s'associoient à toutes leurs querelles. Les maisons dans lesquelles on entroit ainsi par adoption, étoient nommées des alberghi (auberges), et il y avoit peu de maisons illustres qui ne se fussent ainsi recrutées à l'aide de quelque famille étrangère." (Républiques Italiennes, t. xv. ch. 120, p. 366.)

Eichhorn (Deutsche Staats- und Rechts-Geschichte, sect. 18, vol. i. p. 84, 5th edit.) remarks in regard to the ancient Germans, that the German "familiæ et propinquitates" mentioned by Tacitus (Germ. c. 7), and the "gentibus cognationibusque hominum" of Cæsar (B. G. vi. 22), bore more analogy to the Roman *gens* than to relationship of blood or wedlock. According to the idea of some of the German tribes, even blood-relationship might be formally renounced and broken off, with all its connected rights and obligations, at the pleasure of the individual: he might declare himself ἐκποιητός, to use the Greek expression. See the Titul. 63 of the Salic law as quoted by Eichhorn, *l. c.*

Professor Koutorga of St. Petersburg (in his Essai sur l'Organisation de la Tribu dans l'Antiquité, translated from Russian into French by M. Chopin, Paris, 1839) has traced out and illustrated the fundamental analogy between the social classification, in early times, of Greeks, Romans, Germans, and Russians (see especially pp. 47, 213). Respecting the early history of Attica, however, many of his positions are advanced upon very untrustworthy evidence (see p. 123 *seq.*).

Among the Arab tribes in Algeria there are some which are supposed to be formed from the descendants, real or reputed, of some holy man or *marabout*, whose tomb, covered with a white dome, is the central point of the tribe. Sometimes a tribe of this sort is divided into *ferka* or sections, each of which has for its head or founder a son of the Tribe-eponymus or founder. Sometimes these tribes are enlarged, by adjunction or adoption of new elements; so that they become larger tribes, "formées à la fois par le ac-

American Indians, as well as the universal prevalence and efficacy of the ceremony of adoption in the Grecian and Roman world, exhibit to us a solemn formality under certain circumstances originating an union and affections similar to those of kindred. Of this same nature were the Phratries and Gentes at Athens, the Curiæ and Gentes at Rome. But they were peculiarly modified by the religious imagination of the ancient world, which always traced back the past time to gods and heroes: and religion thus supplied both the common genealogy as their basis, and the privileged communion of special sacred rites as means of commemoration and perpetuity. The Gentes, both at Athens and in other parts of Greece, bore a patronymic name, the stamp of their believed common paternity: we find the Asklepiadæ in many parts of Greece—the Aleuadæ in Thessaly—the Midylidæ, Psalychidæ, Blepsiadæ, Euxenidæ, at Ægina—the Branchidæ at Milêtus—the Nebridæ at Kôs—the Iamidæ and Klytiadæ at Olympia—the Akestoridæ at Argos—the Kinyradæ in Cyprus—the Penthilidæ at Mitylene[1]—the Talthybiadæ at Sparta,—not less than the Kodridæ, Eumolpidæ, Phytalidæ, Lykomêdæ, Butadæ, Euneidæ, Hesychidæ, Brytiadæ, &c., in Attica.[2] To each of these corresponded a mythical ancestor more or less known, and passing for the first father as well as the eponymous hero of the gens—Kodrus, Eumolpus, Butes, Phytalus, Hesychus, &c.

The revolution of Kleisthenês in 509 B.C. abolished the old tribes for civil purposes, and created ten new tribes—leaving the phratries and gentes unaltered, but introducing the local distribution according to demes or cantons, as the foundation of his new political tribes. A certain number of demes belong to each

veloppement de l'élément familial, et par l'aggrégation d'élémens étrangers". —"Tout cela se naturalise par le contact, et chacun des nouveaux venus prend la qualité d'Amri (homme des Beni Amer) tout aussi bien que les descendans d'Amer lui-même." (Tableau de la Situation des Etablissemens Français en Algérie, Mar 1846, p. 393.)

[1] Pindar, Pyth. viii. 53; Isthm. vi. 92; Nem. vii. 103; Strabo, ix. p. 421; Stephan. Byz. v. Κῶς; Herodot. v. 44; vii. 134; ix. 37; Pausan. x. 1, 4; Kallimachus, Lavacr. Pallad. 33; Schol. Pindar. Pyth. ii 27; Aristot. Pol. v. 8, 13; Ἀλευάδων τοὺς πρώτους, Plato, Menôn, 1, which marks them as a numerous gens. See Buttmann, Dissert. on the Aleuadæ, in the Mythologus, vol. ii. p. 246. Bacchiadæ at Corinth, ἐδίδοσαν καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων (Herod. v. 92).

[2] Harpokration, v. Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, Βουτάδαι; Thucyd. viii. 53; Plutarch, Theseus, 12; Themistoklês, 1; Demosth. cont. Neær. p. 1365; Polemo ap Schol. ad Soph. Œdip. Kol. 489; Plutarch, Vit. X Orator. p. 841—844. See the Dissertation of O. Müller, De Minervâ Poliade, c. 2.

of the ten Kleisthenean tribes (the demes in the same tribes were not usually contiguous, so that the tribe was not coincident with a definite circumscription), and the deme, in which every individual was then registered, continued to be that in which his descendants were also registered. But the gentes had no connexion, as such, with these new tribes, and the members of the same gens might belong to different demes.[1] It deserves to be remarked, however, that to a certain extent, in the old arrangement of Attica, the division into gentes coincided with the division into demes, *i.e.* it happened not unfrequently that the gennêtes (or members of the same gens) lived in the same canton, so that the name of the gens and the name of the deme was the same. Moreover, it seems that Kleisthenês recognised a certain number of new demes, to which he gave names derived from some important gens resident near the spot. It is thus that we are to explain the large number of the Kleisthenean demes which bear patronymic names.[2]

[1] Demosth cont. Neær. p. 1365. Tittmann (Griechische Staatsverfass. p. 277) thinks that every citizen, after the Kleisthenean revolution, was of necessity a member of some phratry, as well as of some deme: but the evidence which he produces is in my judgment insufficient. The ideas of the phratry and the tribe are often confounded together; thus the Ægeidæ of Sparta, whom Herodotus (iv. 149) calls a tribe, are by Aristotle called a Phratry, of Thebans (ap. Schol, ad Pindar. Isthm. vii. 18). Compare Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, sect. 83, p. 17.

A great many of the demes seem to have derived their names from the shrubs or plants which grew in their neighbourhood (Schol. ad Aristophan. Plutus, 586, *Μυῤῥινοῦς*, *Ῥαμνοῦς*, &c.).

[2] For example, Æthalidæ, Butadæ, Kothôkidæ, Dædalidæ, Eiresidæ, Epieikidæ, Ercœadæ, Eupyridæ, Echelidæ, Keiriadæ, Kydantidæ, Lakiadæ, Pambôtadæ, Perithoidæ, Persidæ, Semachidæ, Skambônidæ, Sybridæ, Titakidæ, Thyrgonidæ, Hybadæ, Thymœtadæ, Pæonidæ, Philaidæ, Chollidæ: all these names of demes, bearing the patronymic form, are found in Harpokration and Stephanus Byz. alone.

We do not know that the *Κεραμεῖς* ever constituted a *γένος*, but the name of the deme *Κεραμεῖς* is evidently given, upon the same principle, to a place chiefly occupied by potters. The gens *Κοιρώνιδαι* are said to have been called *Φιλιεῖς* (? *Φλυεῖς*) and *Περιθοῖδαι* as well as *Κοιρώνιδαι*: the names of gentes and those of demes seem not always distinguishable.

The Butadæ, though a highly venerable gens, also ranked as a deme (see the Psephism about Lykurgus in Plutarch, Vit. X. Orator. p. 852): yet we do not know that there was any locality called Butadæ. Perhaps some of the names above noticed may be simply names of gentes, enrolled as demes, but without meaning to imply any community of abode among the members.

The members of a Roman gens occupied adjoining residences, on some occasions—to what extent we do not know (Heiberg, De Familiari Patricorum Nexu, ch. 24, 25. Sleswic, 1829).

We find the same patronymic names of demes and villages elsewhere: in Kôs and Rhodes (Ross, Inscr. Gr. ined., Nr. 15—26. Halle, 1846); *Lêstadæ* in Naxos (Aristotle ap. Athenæ. viii. p. 348); *Botachidæ* at Tegea (Steph. Byz. in v.); *Branchidæ* near Miletus, &c.; and an interesting illustration is afforded, in other times and other places, by the frequency of the ending *ikon* in villages near Zürich in Switzerland,—Mezikon, Nennikon, Wezikon,

There is one remarkable difference between the Roman and the Grecian gens, arising from the different practice in regard to naming. A Roman Patrician bore habitually three names—the gentile name, with one name following it to denote his family, and another preceding it peculiar to himself in that family. But in Athens, at least after the revolution of Kleisthenês, the gentile name was not employed: a man was described by his own single name, followed first by the name of his father and next by that of the deme to which he belonged, —as *Æschinês, son of Atromêtus, a Kothôkid.* Such a difference in the habitual system of naming tended to make the gentile tie more present to every one's mind at Rome than in the Greek cities.

Roman and Grecian gentes.

Before the pecuniary classification of the Atticans introduced by Solôn, the Phratries and Gentes, and the Trittyes and Naukraries, were the only recognised bonds among them, and the only basis of legal rights and obligations, over and above the natural family. The gens constituted a close incorporation, both as to property and as to persons. Until the time of Solôn, no man had any power of testamentary disposition. If he died without children, his gennêtes succeeded to his property,[1] and so they continued to do even after Solôn, if he died intestate. An orphan girl might be claimed in marriage of right by any member of the gens, the nearest agnates being preferred;[2] if she was poor, and he did not choose to marry her himself, the law of Solôn compelled him to provide her with a dowry proportional to his enrolled scale of property, and to give her out in marriage to another; and

Rights and obligations of the gentile and phratric brethren.

&c. Bluntschli, in his history of Zürich, shows that these terminations are abridgments of *inghoven*, including an original patronymic element—indicating the primary settlement of members of a family, or of a band bearing the name of its captain, on the same spot (Bluntschli, Staats- und Rechts-Geschichte der Stadt Zürich, vol. i. p. 26).

In other inscriptions from the island of Kôs, published by Professor Ross, we have a deme mentioned (without name), composed of three coalescing gentes. "In hoc et sequente titulo alium jam deprehendimus *demum Coum, e tribus gentibus appellatione patronymicâ* conflatum, Antimachidarum, Ægiliensium, Archidarum". (Ross, Inscript. Græc. Ined. Fascic. iii. No. 307, p. 44. Berlin, 1845.) This is a specimen of the process systematically introduced by Kleisthenês in Attica.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 21. We find a common cemetery exclusively belonging to the gens and tenaciously preserved (Demosth. cont. Eubulid. p. 1307; Cicero, Legg. ii. 26).

[2] Demosth. cont. Makartat. p. 1068. See the singular additional proviso in Plutarch, Solôn, c. 20.

the magnitude of the dowry required to be given (large even as fixed by Solôn and afterwards doubled) seems a proof that the law-giver intended indirectly to enforce actual marriage.[1] If a man was murdered, first his near relations, next his gennêtes and phrators, were both allowed and required to prosecute the crime at law;[2] while his fellow demots, or inhabitants of the same deme, did not possess the like right of prosecuting. All that we hear of the most ancient Athenian laws is based upon the gentile and phratric divisions, which are treated throughout as extensions of the family. It is to be observed that this division is completely independent of any property qualification—rich men as well as poor being comprehended in the same gens.[3] Moreover the different gentes were very unequal in dignity, arising chiefly from the religious ceremonies of which each possessed the hereditary and exclusive administration, and which, being in some cases considered as of pre-eminent sanctity in reference to the whole city, were therefore nationalized. Thus the Eumolpidæ and Kêrykes, who supplied the Hierophant and superintended the mysteries of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr—and the Butadæ, who furnished the priestess of Athênê Polias as well as the priest of Poseidôn Erechtheus in the acropolis—seem to have been

[1] See Meursius, Themis Attica, i 13.

[2] That this was the primitive custom, and that the limitation *μέχρις ἀνεψιαδῶν* (Meier, De Bonis Damnat. p. 23, cites *ἀνεψιαδῶν καὶ φρατόρων*) was subsequently introduced (Demosth. cont. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1161), we may gather from the law as it stands in Demosth. cont. Makartat. p. 1069, which includes the phrators, and therefore, *à fortiori*, the gennêtes or gentiles.

The same word *γένος* is used to designate both the circle of nameable relatives, brothers, first cousins (*ἀγχιστεῖς*, Demosth. cont. Makartat. c. 9, p. 1058), &c., going beyond the *οἶκος*—and the quasi-family or gens. As the gentile tie tended to become weaker, so the former sense of the word became more and more current, to the extinction of the latter. Οἱ *ἐν γένει* or οἱ *προσήκοντες* would have borne a wider sense in the days of Drako than in those of Demosthenês: *Συγγενής* usually belongs to *γένος* in the narrower sense, *γεννήτης* to *γένος* in the wider sense, but Isæus sometimes uses the former word as an exact equivalent of the latter (Orat. vii. pp. 95, 99, 102, 103, Bekker). *Τριακάς* appears to be noted in Pollux as the equivalent of *γένος* or gens (viii. 111), but the word does not occur in the Attic orators, and we cannot make out its meaning with certainty: the Inscription of the Deme of Peiræeus given in Boeckh (Corp. Insc. No. 101, p. 140) rather adds to the confusion by revealing the existence of a *τριακάς* constituting the fractional part of a deme, and not connected with a gens: compare Boeckh's Comment. ad loc. and his Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 900.

Dr. Thirlwall translates *γένος house*; which I cannot but think inconvenient, because that word is the natural equivalent of *οἶκος*—a very important word in reference to Attic feelings, and quite different from *γένος* (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 14, ch. 11). It will be found impossible to translate it by any known English word which does not at the same time suggest erroneous ideas: which I trust will be accepted as my excuse for adopting it untranslated into this history.

[3] Demosthen. cont. Makartat. *l. c.*

reverenced above all the other gentes.[1] When the name Butadæ was selected in the Kleisthenean arrangement as the name of a deme, the holy gens so called adopted the distinctive denomination of Eteobutadæ, or "The true Butadæ".[2]

A great many of the ancient gentes of Attica are known to us by name; but there is only one phratry (the Achniadæ) whose title has come down to us.[3] These phratries and gentes probably never at any time included the whole population of the country—and the proportion not included in them tended to become larger and larger, in the times anterior to Kleisthenês,[4] as well as afterwards. They remained, under his constitution and throughout the subsequent history, as religious quasi-families or corporations, conferring rights and imposing liabilities which were enforced in the regular dikasteries, but not directly connected with the citizenship or with political functions: a man might be a citizen without being enrolled in any gens. The forty-eight Naukraries ceased to exist, for any important purposes, under his constitution.

[1] See Æschines de Falsâ Legat. p. 292, c. 46; Lysias cont. Andokid. p. 108; Andokid. de Mysteriis, p. 63, Reiske; Deinarchus and Hellanikus ap. Harpokration. v. Ἱεροφάντης.

In case of crimes of impiety, particularly in offences against the sanctity of the Mysteries, the Eumolpidæ had a peculiar tribunal of their own number, before which offenders were brought by the king archon. Whether it was often used, seems doubtful. They had also certain unwritten customs of great antiquity, according to which they pronounced (Demosthen. cont. Androtion. p. 601; Schol. ad Demosth. vol. ii. p. 137, Reiske: compare Meier and Schömann, Der Attische Prozess, p. 117). The Butadæ also had certain old unwritten maxims (Androtiôn ap. Athenæ. ix. p. 374).

Compare Bossler, De Gentibus et Familiis Atticæ, p. 20, and Ostermann, De Præconibus Græcor. sect. 2 and 3 (Marpurg. 1845).

[2] Lykurgus the orator is described as τὸν δήμον Βουτάδης, γένους τοῦ τῶν Ἐτεοβουταδῶν (Plutarch, Vit. X. Orator. p. 841).

[3] In an inscription (apud Boeckh. Corpus Inscrip. No. 465).

Four names of the phratries at the Greek city of Neapolis, and six names out of the thirty Roman curiæ, have been preserved (Becker, Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer, p. 32; Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. ii. p. 650).

Each Attic phratry seems to have had its own separate laws and customs, distinct from the rest, τοῖς φράτορσι, κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους (Isæus, Or. viii. p. 115, ed. Bek.; vii. p. 99; iii. p. 49).

Bossler (De Gentibus et Familiis Atticæ, Darmstadt, 1833), and Meier (De Gentilitate Atticâ, p. 41—54) have given the names of those Attic gentes that are known: the list of Meier comprises seventy-nine in number (see Koutorga, Organis. Trib. p. 122).

[4] Tittmann (Griech. Staatsalterthümer, p. 271) is of opinion that Kleisthenês augmented the number of phratries, but the passage of Aristotle brought to support this opinion is insufficient proof (Polit. vi. 2, 11). Still less can we agree with Platner (Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Attischen Rechts, p. 74—77), that three new phratries were assigned to each of the new Kleisthenean tribes.

Allusion is made in Hesychius, Ἀτριάκοστοι, Ἔξω τριακάδος, to persons not included in any gens, but this can hardly be understood to refer to times anterior to Kleisthenês, as Wachsmuth would argue (p. 238).

The gens and phratry after the revolution of Kleisthenês became extra-political.

The deme, instead of the naukrary, became the elementary political division, for military and financial objects; while the demarch became the working local president, instead of the chief of the naukrars. The deme, however, was not coincident with a naukrary, nor the demarch with the previous chief of the naukrary, though they were analogous and constituted for the like purpose.[1] While the naukraries had been only forty-eight in number, the demes formed smaller subdivisions, and (in later times at least) amounted to a hundred and seventy-four.[2]

But though this early quadruple division into tribes is tolerably intelligible in itself, there is much difficulty in reconciling it with that severalty of government which we learn to have originally prevailed among the inhabitants of Attica. From Kekrops down to Thêseus (says Thucydidês) there were many different cities in Attica, each of them autonomous and self-governing, with its own prytaneium and its own archons. It was only on occasions of some common danger that these distinct communities took counsel together under the authority of the Athenian kings, whose city at that time comprised merely the holy rock of Athênê on the plain[3] (afterwards so conspicuous as the acropolis of the enlarged Athens), together with a narrow area under it on the southern side. It was Thêseus (he states) who effected that great revolution whereby the whole of Attica was consolidated into one government—all the local magistracies and councils being made to centre in the prytaneium and senate of Athens. His combined sagacity and power enforced upon all the inhabitants of Attica the necessity of recognising Athens as the one city in

Many distinct political communities originally in Athens. —Thêseus.

[1] The language of Photius on this matter (v. *Ναυκραρία μέν ὁποῖόν τι ἡ συμμορία καὶ ὁ δῆμος. ναύκραρος δὲ ὁποῖόν τι ὁ δήμαρχος*) is more exact than that of Harpokration, who identifies the two completely—v. *Δήμαρχος*. If it be true that the naukraries were continued under the Kleisthenean constitution, with the alteration that they were augmented to fifty in number, five to every Kleisthenean tribe, they must probably have been continued in name alone without any real efficiency or functions. Kleidêmus makes this statement, and Boeckh follows it (Public Economy of Athens, l. ii. ch. 21, p. 256): yet I cannot but doubt its correctness. For the *τριττύς* (one-third of a Kleisthenean tribe) was certainly retained and was a working and available division (see Demosthenês de Symmoriis, c. 7, p. 184), and it seems hardly probable that there should be two co-existing divisions, one representing the third part, the other the fifth part, of the same tribes.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 396.

[3] Strabo, ix. p. 396, *πέτρα ἐν πεδίῳ περιοικουμένη κύκλῳ*. Euripid. Iôn, 1578, *σκόπελον οἳ ναίουσ' ἐμόν* (Athênê).

the country, and of occupying their own abodes simply as constituent portions of Athenian territory. This important move, which naturally produced a great extension of the central city, was commemorated throughout the historical times by the Athenians in the periodical festival called Synœkia, in honour of the goddess Athênê.[1]

Such is the account which Thucydidês gives of the original severalty and subsequent consolidation of the different portions of Attica. Of the general fact there is no reason to doubt, though the operative cause assigned by the historian—the power and sagacity of Thêseus—belongs to legend and not to history. Nor can we pretend to determine either the real steps by which such a change was brought about, or its date, or the number of portions which went to constitute the full-grown Athens—further enlarged at some early period, though we do not know when, by voluntary junction of the Bœotian or semi-Bœotian town Eleutheræ, situated among the valleys of Kithærôn between Eleusis and Platæa. It was the standing habit of the population of Attica, even down to the Peloponnesian war,[2] to reside in their several cantons, where their ancient festivals and temples yet continued as relics of a state of previous autonomy. Their visits to the city were made only at special times, for purposes religious or political, and they still looked upon the country residence as their real home. How deep-seated this cantonal feeling was among them, we may see by the fact that it survived the temporary exile forced upon them by the Persian invasion, and was resumed when the expulsion of that destroying host enabled them to rebuild their ruined dwellings in Attica.[3]

Long continuance of the cantonal feeling.

How many of the demes recognised by Kleisthenês had originally separate governments, or in what local aggregates they

[1] Thucyd. ii. 15; Theophrast. Charact. 29, 4. Plutarch (Thêseus, 24) gives the proceedings of Thêseus in greater detail, and with a stronger tinge of democracy.

[2] Pausan. i. 2, 4; 38, 2. Diodor. Sicul. iv. 2. Schol. ad Aristophan. Acharn. 242.

The Athenians transferred from Eleutheræ to Athens both a venerable statue of Dionysus and a religious ceremony in honour of that god. The junction of the town with Athens is stated by Pausanias to have taken place in consequence of the hatred of its citizens for Thêbes, and must have occurred before 509 B.C., about which period we find Hysiæ to be the frontier deme of Attica (Herodot. v. 72; vi. 108).

[3] Thucyd. ii. 15, 16. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος—respecting the Athenians from the country who were driven into Athens at the first invasion during the Peloponnesian war.

stood combined, we cannot now make out. It must be recollected that the city of Athens itself contained several demes, while Peiræeus also formed a deme apart. Some of the twelve divisions, which Philochorus ascribes to Kekrops, present probable marks of an ancient substantive existence—Kekropia, or the region surrounding and including the city and acropolis; the Tetrapolis, composed of Œnoê, Trykorythus, Probalinthus, and Marathôn;[1] Eleusis; Aphidnæ and Dekeleia,[2] both distinguished by their peculiar mythical connexion with Sparta and the Dioskūri. But it is difficult to imagine that Phalêrum (which is one of the separate divisions named by Philochorus) can ever have enjoyed an autonomy apart from Athens. Moreover, we find among some of the demes which Philochorus does not notice, evidences of standing antipathies, and prohibitions of intermarriage, which might seem to indicate that these had once been separate little states.[3] Though in most cases we can infer little from the legends and religious ceremonies which nearly every deme[4] had peculiar to itself, yet those of Eleusis are so remarkable, as to establish the probable autonomy of that township down to a comparatively late period. The Homeric hymn to Dêmêtêr, recounting the visit

What demes were originally independent of Athens.—Eleusis.

[1] Etymologicon Magn. v. Ἐπακρία χώρα; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Stephan. Byz. v. Τετράπολις.

The τετράκωμοι comprised the four demes, Πειραιεῖς, Φαληρεῖς, Ξυπετεώνες, Θυμοίταδαι (Pollux, iv. 105): whether this is an old division, however, has been doubted (see Ilgen, De Tribubus Atticis, p. 51).

The Ἐπακρέων τριττύς is mentioned in an inscription apud Ross (Die Demen von Attika, p. vi.). Compare Boeckh ad Corp. Inscr. No. 82: among other demes, it comprised the deme Plôtheia. Mesogæa also (or rather the Mesogei οἱ Μεσόγειοι) appears as a communion for sacrifice and religious purposes, and as containing the deme Batê. See Inscriptiones Atticæ nuper repertæ duodecim, by Ern. Curtius; Berlin, 1843: Inscript. i. p. 3. The exact site of the deme Batê in Attica is unknown (Ross, Die Demen von Attika, p. 64): and respecting the question, what portion of Attica was called Mesogæa, very different conjectures have been started, which there appears to be no means of testing. Compare Schömann de Comitiis, p. 343, and Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 229, 2nd edit.

[2] Dikæarchus, Fragm. p. 109, ed. Fuhr.; Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 33.

[3] Such as that between the Pallenæans and Agnusians (Plutarch, Thêseus, 12).

Acharnæ was the largest and most populous deme in Attica (see Ross, Die Demen von Attika, p. 62; Thucyd. ii. 21); yet Philochorus does not mention it as having ever constituted a substantive πόλις.

Several of the demes seem to have stood in repute for peculiar qualities, good or bad: see Aristophan. Acharn. 177, with Elmsley's note.

[4] Strabo, ix. p. 396; Plutarch, Thêseus, 14. Polemo had written a book expressly on the eponymous heroes of the Attic demes and tribes (Preller, Polemonis Fragm. p. 42): the Atthidographers were all rich on the same subject: see the Fragments of the Atthis of Hellanikus (p. 24, ed. Preller), also those of Istrus, Philochorus, &c.

of that goddess to Eleusis after the abduction of her daughter, and the first establishment of the Eleusinian ceremonies, specifies the eponymous prince Eleusis, and the various chiefs of the place—Keleos, Triptolemus, Dioklês, and Eumolpus. It also notices the Rharian plain in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. But not the least allusion is made to Athens or to any concern of the Athenians in the presence or worship of the goddess. There is reason to believe that at the time when this hymn was composed, Eleusis was an independent town: what that time was, we have no means of settling, though Voss puts it as low as the 30th Olympiad.[1] And the proof hence derived is so much the more valuable, because the hymn to Dêmêtêr presents a colouring strictly special and local: moreover the story told by Solôn to Crœsus, respecting Tellus the Athenian who perished in battle against the neighbouring townsmen of Eleusis,[2] assumes in like manner the independence of the latter in earlier times. Nor is it unimportant to notice, that even so low as 300 B.C. the observant visitor Dikæarchus professes to detect a difference between the native Athenians and the Atticans, as well in physiognomy as in character and taste.[3]

In the history set forth to us of the proceedings of Thêseus, no mention is made of these four Ionic tribes; but another and a totally different distribution of the people into Eupatridæ, Geômori, and Demiurgi, which he is said to have first introduced, is brought to our notice: Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives only a double division—Eupatridæ and dependent cultivators; corresponding to his idea of the patricians and clients in early Rome.[4] As far as we can understand this triple distinction, it seems to be disparate and unconnected with the four tribes above-mentioned. The Eupatridæ are the wealthy and powerful men, belonging to the most distinguished families in all the various gentes, and principally living in the city of Athens, after the consolidation of Attica: from them are distinguished the middling and lower people, roughly classified into husbandmen and artisans. To the Eupatridæ is ascribed a religious as well as a political and social

Eupatridæ, Geômori, and Demiurgi.

[1] J. H. Voss, Erläuterungen, p. 1: see the hymn, 96—106, 451—475: compare Hermesianax ap. Athen. xiii. p. 597.

[2] Herodot. i. 30.

[3] Dikæarch. Vita Græciæ, p. 141, Fragm. ed. Fuhr.

[4] Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 25; Dionys. Hal. ii. 8.

ascendency. They are represented as the source of all authority on matters both sacred and profane:[1] they doubtless comprised those gentes, such as the Butadæ, whose sacred ceremonies were looked upon with the greatest reverence by the people; and we may conceive Eumolpus, Keleos, Dioklês, &c., as they are described in the Homeric hymn to Dêmêtêr, in the character of Eupatridæ of Eleusis. The humbler gentes, and the humbler members of each gens, would appear in this classification confounded with that portion of the people who belonged to no gens at all.

Eupatridæ originally held all political power.

From these Eupatridæ exclusively, and doubtless by their selection, the nine annual archons—probably also the Prytanes of the Naukrari—were taken. That the senate of Areopagus was formed of members of the same order, we may naturally presume. The nine archons all passed into it at the expiration of their year of office, subject only to the condition of having duly passed the test of accountability; and they remained members for life. These are the only political authorities of whom we hear in the earliest imperfectly known period of the Athenian government, after the discontinuance of the king, and the adoption of the annual change of archons. The senate of Areopagus seems to represent the Homeric council of old men;[2] and there were doubtless, on particular occasions, general assemblies of the people, with the same formal and passive character as the Homeric agora—at least we shall observe traces of such assemblies anterior to the Solonian legislation. Some of the writers of antiquity ascribed the first establishment of the senate of Areopagus to Solôn, just as there were also some who considered Lykurgus as having first brought together the Spartan Gerûsia. But there can be little doubt that this is a mistake, and that the senate of Areopagus is a primordial institution, of immemorial antiquity, though its constitution as well as its functions underwent many changes. It stood at first alone as a permanent and collegiate

Senate of Areopagus.

[1] Etymologic. Magn. Εὐπατρίδαι—οἱ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ οἰκοῦντες, καὶ μετέχοντες τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενοι. The βασιλικὸν γένος includes not only the Kodrids but also the Erechtheids, Pandionids, Pallantids, &c. See also Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 24; Hesychius, Ἀγροιῶται.

Yet Isokratês seems to speak of the great family of the Alkmæônidæ as not included among the Eupatridæ (Orat. xvi. De Bigis, p. 351, p. 506 Bek.).

[2] Meier und Schömann, Der Attische Prozess, Einleitung. p. 10.

authority, originally by the side of the kings and afterwards by the side of the archons. It would then of course be known by the title of *The* Boulê—*The* senate or council; its distinctive title, "Senate of Areopagus" (borrowed from the place where its sittings were held) would not be bestowed until the formation by Solôn of the second senate or council, from which there was need to discriminate it.

This seems to explain the reason why it was never mentioned in the ordinances of Drako, whose silence supplied one argument in favour of the opinion that it did not exist in his time, and that it was first constituted by Solôn.[1] We hear of the senate of Areopagus chiefly as a judicial tribunal, because it acted in this character constantly throughout Athenian history, and because the orators have most frequent occasion to allude to its decision on matters of trial. But its functions were originally of the widest senatorial character, directive generally as well as judicial. And although the gradual increase of democracy at Athens (as will be hereafter explained) both abridged its powers and contributed still further comparatively to lower it, by enlarging the direct working of the people in assembly and judicature, as well as that of the senate of Five Hundred, which was a permanent adjunct and auxiliary of the public assembly—yet it seems to have been, even down to the time of Periklês, the most important body in the state. And after it had been cast into the background by the political reforms of that great man, we still find it on particular occasions stepping forward to reassert its ancient powers, and to assume for the moment that undefined interference which it had enjoyed without dispute in antiquity. The attachment of the Athenians to their ancient institutions gave to the senate of Areopagus a constant and powerful hold on their minds, and this feeling was rather strengthened than weakened when it ceased to be an object of popular jealousy—when it could no longer be employed as an auxiliary of oligarchical pretensions.

The nine archons—their functions.

Of the nine archons, whose number continued unaltered from 683 B.C. to the end of the free democracy, three bore special titles—the Archon Eponymus, from whose name the designation of the year was derived, and

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 19; Aristotle, Polit. ii. 9, 2; Cicero, De Offic. i. 22. Pollux seems to follow the opinion that Solôn first instituted the senate of Areopagus (viii. 125).

who was spoken of as *The Archon;* the Archon Basileus (king), or more frequently, the Basileus; and the Polemarch. The remaining six passed by the general title of Thesmothetæ. Of the first three, each possessed exclusive judicial competence in regard to certain special matters: the Thesmothetæ were in this respect all on a par, acting sometimes as a board, sometimes individually.[1] The Archon Eponymus determined all disputes relative to the family, the gentile, and the phratric relations: he was the legal protector of orphans and widows.[1] The Archon Basileus (or king archon) enjoyed competence in complaints respecting offences against the religious sentiment and respecting homicide. The Polemarch (speaking of times anterior to Kleisthenês) was the leader of military force and judge in disputes between citizens and non-citizens. Moreover each of these three archons had particular religious festivals assigned to him, which it was his duty to superintend and conduct. The six Thesmothetæ seem to have been judges in disputes and complaints, generally, against citizens, saving the special matters reserved for the cognizance of the first two archons. According to the proper sense of the word Thesmothetæ, all the nine archons were entitled to be so called,[2] though the first three had especial designations of their own. The word Thesmoi (analogous to the Themistes[3] of Homer) includes in its meaning both general laws and particular sentences—the two ideas not being yet discriminated, and the

[1] Pollux, viii. 89—91.

[2] We read the θεσμοθετῶν ἀνάκρισις in Demosthen. cont. Eululidem, c 17, p. 1319, and Pollux, viii. 85; a series of questions which it was necessary for them to answer before they were admitted to occupy their office. Similar questions must have been put to the Archon, the Basileus, and the Polemarch: so that the words θεσμοθέτων ἀνάκρισις may reasonably be understood to apply to all the nine archons, as indeed we find the words τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἀνακρίνετε shortly afterwards, p. 1320. Besides, all the nine, after passing the εὐθύναι at the close of their official year, became members of the Areopagus.

[3] Respecting the word θέμιστες in the Homeric sense, see above, ch. xx.

Both Aristotle (Polit. ii. 9, 9) and Demosthenês (contr. Euerg. et Mnêsibul. c. 18, p. 1161) call the ordinances of Drako νόμοι, not θεσμοί. Andokidês distinguishes the θεσμοί of Drako and νόμοι of Solôn (De Mysteriis, p. 11). This is the adoption of a phrase comparatively modern; Solôn called his own laws θεσμοί. The oath of the περίπολοι ἔφηβοι (the youth who formed the armed police of Attica during the first two years of their military âge), as given in Pollux (vii. 106), seems to contain many ancient phrases: this phrase—καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἱδρυμένοις πείσομαι—is remarkable, as it indicates the ancient association of religious sanction which adhered to the word θεσμοί; for ἱδρύεσθαι is the word employed in reference to the establishment and domiciliation of the gods who protected the country—θέσθαι νόμους is the later expression for making laws. Compare Stobæus De Republic. xliii. 48, ed. Gaisford, and Demosthen. cont. Makartat. c. 13, p. 1069.

general law being conceived only in its application to some particular case. Drako was the first Thesmothet who was called upon to set down his Thesmoi in writing, and thus to invest them essentially with a character of more or less generality.

In the later and better-known times of Athenian law, we find these archons deprived in great measure of their powers of judging and deciding, and restricted to the task of first hearing the parties and collecting the evidence, next, of introducing the matter for trial into the appropriate dikastery, over which they presided. But originally there was no separation of powers; the archons both judged and administered, sharing among themselves those privileges which had once been united in the hands of the king, and probably accountable at the end of their year of office to the senate of Areopagus. It is probable also that the functions of that senate, and those of the prytanes of the naukrars, were of the same double and confused nature. All of these functionaries belonged to the Eupatrids, and all of them doubtless acted more or less in the narrow interest of their order: moreover there was ample room for favouritism, in the way of connivance, as well as antipathy, on the part of the archons. That such was decidedly the case, and that discontent began to be serious, we may infer from the duty imposed on the thesmothet Drako, B.C. 624, to put in writing the Thesmoi or Ordinances, so that they might be "shown publicly" and known beforehand.[1] He did not meddle with the political constitution, and in his ordinances Aristotle finds little worthy of remark except the extreme severity[2] of the punishments awarded: petty thefts, or even proved idleness of life, being visited with death or disfranchisement.

Drako and his laws.

But we are not to construe this remark as demonstrating any special inhumanity in the character of Drako, who was not invested with the large power which Solôn afterwards enjoyed, and cannot be imagined to have imposed upon the community

[1] Ὅτε θεσμὸς ἐφάνη ὅδε—such is the exact expression of Solôn's law (Plutarch, Solôn, c. 19); the word θεσμός is found in Solôn's own poems, θεσμοὺς δ' ὁμοίους τῷ κακῷ τε κἀγαθῷ.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 9; Rhetoric. ii. 25, 1; Aulus Gell. N. A. xi. 18; Pausanias, ix. 36, 4; Plutarch, Solôn, c. 19; though Pollux (viii. 42) does not agree with him. Taylor, Lectt. Lysiacæ, ch. 10.

Respecting the θεσμοί of Drako, see Kuhn ad Ælian. V. H. viii. 10. The preliminary sentence which Porphyry (De Abstinentiâ, iv. 22) ascribes to Drako can hardly be genuine.

severe laws of his own invention. Himself of course an Eupatrid, he set forth in writing such ordinances as the Eupatrid archons had before been accustomed to enforce without writing, in the particular cases which came before them; and the general spirit of penal legislation had become so much milder, during the two centuries which followed, that these old ordinances appeared to Aristotle intolerably rigorous. Probably neither Drako, nor the Lokrian Zaleukus, who somewhat preceded him in date, were more rigorous than the sentiment of the age: indeed the few fragments of the Drakonian tables which have reached us, far from exhibiting indiscriminate cruelty, introduce, for the first time, into the Athenian law, mitigating distinctions in respect to homicide;[1] founded on the variety of concomitant circumstances. He is said to have constituted the judges called Ephetæ, fifty-one elders belonging to some respected gens or possessing an exalted position, who held their sittings for trial of homicide in three different spots, according to the difference of the cases submitted to them. If the accused party, admitting the fact, denied any culpable intention and pleaded accident, the case was tried at the place called the Palladium; when found guilty of accidental homicide, he was condemned to a temporary exile, unless he could appease the relatives of the deceased, but his property was left untouched. If, again, admitting the fact, he defended himself by some valid ground of justification, such as self-defence, or flagrant adultery with his wife on the part of the deceased, the trial took place on ground consecrated to Apollo and Artemis, called the Delphinium. A particular spot called the Phreattys, close to the seashore, was also named for the trial of a person, who, while under sentence of exile for an unintentional homicide, might be charged with a second homicide, committed of course without the limits of the territory: being considered as impure from the effects of the former sentence, he was not permitted to set foot on the soil, but stood his trial on a boat hauled close in shore. At the Prytaneium or government-house itself, sittings were held by the four Phylo-

Different tribunals for homicide at Athens.

[1] Pausanias, ix. 36, 2. Δράκοντος Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοθετήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου κατέστη νόμων οὓς ἔγραφεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄλλων τε ὁπόσων ἀδεῖαν εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμωρίας μοιχοῦ: compare Demosthen. cont. Aristokrat. p. 637; Lysias de Cæde Eratosthen. p. 31.

Basileis or Tribe Kings, to try any inanimate object (a piece of wood or stone, &c.) which had caused death to anyone, without the proved intervention of a human hand: the wood or stone, when the fact was verified, was formally cast beyond the border.[1] All these distinctions of course imply the preliminary investigation of the case (called Anakrisis) by the king archon, in order that it might be known what was the issue and where the sittings of the Ephetæ were to be held.

So intimately was the mode of dealing with homicide connected with the religious feelings of the Athenians, that these old regulations, never formally abrogated throughout the historical times, were read engraved on their column by the contemporaries of Demosthenês.[2] The Areopagus continued in judicial operation, and the Ephetæ are spoken of as if they were so, even through the age of Demosthenês; though their functions were tacitly

[1] Harpokration, vv. Ἐφέται, Ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ; Pollux, viii. 119, 124, 125; Photius, v. Ἐφέται; Hesychius, ἐς Φρεάτου; Demosthen. cont. Aristokrat. c. 15—18, p. 642—645; cont. Makartat. c. 13, p. 1068. When Pollux speaks of the five courts in which the Ephetæ judged, he probably includes the Areopagus (see Demosthen. cont. Aristokrat. c. 14, p. 641).

About the judges ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, see Aristot. Polit. iv. 13, 2. On the general subject of this ancient and obscure criminal procedure, see Matthiæ, De Judiciis Atheniensium (in Miscellan. Philologic. vol. i. p. 143 *seq.*); also Schömann, Antiq. Jur. Pub. Att. sect. 61, p. 288; Platner, Prozess und Klagen bey den Attikern, b. i. ch. 1; and E. W. Weber, Comment. ad Demosthen. cont. Aristokrat. pp. 627, 641; Meier und Schömann, Der Attische Prozess, p. 14—19.

I cannot consider the Ephetæ as judges in appeal, and I agree with those (Schömann, Antiq. Jur. Pub. Gr. p. 171; Meier und Schömann, Der Attische Prozess, p. 16; Platner, Prozess und Klagen, t. i. p. 18) who distrust the etymology which connects this word with ἐφέσιμος. The active sense of the word, akin to ἐφίεμαι (Æsch. Prom. 4) and ἐφετμή, meets the case better: see O. Müller, Prolegg. ad Mythol. p. 424 (though there is no reason for believing the Ephetæ to be older than Drako): compare however K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, sect. 103, 104, who thinks differently.

The trial, condemnation, and banishment of inanimate objects which had been the cause of death, was founded on feelings widely diffused throughout the Grecian world (see Pausan. vi. 11, 2; and Theokritus, Idyll. xxiii. 60): analogous in principle to the English law respecting deodand, and to the spirit pervading the ancient Germanic codes generally (see Dr. C. Trümmer, Die Lehre von der Zurechnung, c. 28—38. Hamburg, 1845.)

The Germanic codes do not content themselves with imposing a general obligation to appease the relatives and gentiles of the slain party, but determine beforehand the sum which shall be sufficient for the purpose, which, in the case of involuntary homicide, is paid to the surviving relatives as a compensation. As to the difference between culpable homicide, justifiable homicide, and accidental homicide, see the elaborate treatise of Wilda, Das Deutsche Strafrecht, ch. viii. p. 544—559, whose doctrine however is disputed by Dr. Trümmer in the treatise above noticed.

At Rome, according to the Twelve Tables and earlier, involuntary homicide was to be expiated by the sacrifice of a ram (Walter, Geschichte des Römisch. Rechts, sect. 763).

[2] Demosth. cont. Euerg. et Mnêsib. p. 1161.

usurped or narrowed, and their dignity impaired,[1] by the more popular dikasteries afterwards created. It is in this way that they have become known to us, while the other Drakonian institutions have perished: but there is much obscurity respecting them, particularly in regard to the relation between the Ephetæ and the Areopagites. Indeed so little was known on the subject, even by the historical inquirers of Athens, that most of them supposed the council of Areopagus to have received its first origin from Solôn; and even Aristotle, though he contradicts this view, expresses himself in no very positive language.[2] That judges sat at the Areopagus for the trial of homicide, previous to Drako, seems implied in the arrangements of that lawgiver respecting the Ephetæ, inasmuch as he makes no new provision for trying the direct issue of intentional homicide, which, according to all accounts, fell within the cognizance of the Areopagus: but whether the Ephetæ and the Areopagites were the same persons, wholly or partially, our information is not sufficient to discover. Before Drako, there existed no tribunal for trying homicide, except the senate, sitting at the Areopagus. And we may conjecture that there was something connected with that spot—legends, ceremonies, or religious feelings—which compelled judges there sitting to condemn every man proved guilty of homicide, and forbade them to take account of extenuating or justifying circumstances.[3] Drako appointed the Ephetæ to sit at different places; places so pointedly marked, and so unalterably maintained, that we may see in how peculiar a manner those special issues, of homicide under particular circumstances, which he assigned to each, were adapted in Athenian belief, to the new sacred localities chosen,[4] each having

Regulations of Drako about the Ephetæ.

[1] Demosthen. cont. Aristocrat. p. 647. τοσούτοις δικαστηρίοις, ἃ θεοὶ κατέδειξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται πάντα τὸν χρόνον, p. 643.—οἱ ταῦτ' ἐξαρχῆς τὰ νόμιμα διαθέντες, οἵτινές ποθ' ἦσαν εἰθ' ἥρωες, εἴτε θεοί. See also the Oration cont. Makartat. p. 1067; Æschin. cont. Ktesiphon. p. 636; Antiph. De Cæde Herodis, c. 14.

The popular Dikastery, in the age of Isokratês and Demosthenês, held sittings ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ for the trial of charges of unintentional homicide—a striking evidence of the special holiness of the place for that purpose (see Isokrat. cont. Kallimachum, Or. xviii. p. 381; Demosth. cont. Neær. p. 1348).

The statement of Pollux (viii. 125), that the Ephetæ became despised, is not confirmed by the language of Demosthenês.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 19; Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 2.

[3] Read on this subject the maxims laid down by Plato, about theft (Legg. xii. p. 941). Nevertheless Plato copies, to a great degree, the arrangements of the ephetic tribunals, in his provisions for homicide (Legg. ix. p. 865—873).

[4] I know no place in which the

its own distinct ceremonial and procedure appointed by the gods themselves. That the religious feelings of the Greeks were associated in the most intimate manner with particular localities has already been often remarked; and Drako proceeded agreeably to them in his arrangements for mitigating the indiscriminate condemnation of every man found guilty of homicide, which was unavoidable so long as the Areopagus remained the only place of trial. The man who either confessed, or was proved, to have shed the blood of another, could not be acquitted or condemned to less than the full penalty (of death or perpetual exile with confiscation of property) by the judges on the hill of Arês, whatever excuse he might have to offer: but the judges at the Palladium and Delphinium might hear him, and even admit his plea, without contracting the taint of irreligion.[1]

Local superstitions at Athens about trial of homicide.

special aptitude of particular localities, consecrated each to its own purpose, is so powerfully set forth, as in the speech of Camillus against the transfer of Rome to Veii (Livy, v. 52).

[1] It has been remarked to me that what I here state is inconsistent with the Eumenides of Æschylus, which introduce Orestês as tried at the Areopagus and acquitted, although his matricide is confessed; because the justification preferred by Apollo in his behalf, that Klytæmnêstra had deserved her death by having previously slain Agamemnôn, is held sufficient. I think, however, that an attentive study of that very curious drama, far from contradicting what is here said in the text, will farther illustrate and confirm it.

The cause tried represents two parties: first, the official prosecutors or avenging goddesses (the Eumenides), who claim Orestês as their victim, peremptorily, and without even listening to any excuse, the moment that the fact of his matricide is verified: next, Orestês himself, who admits the act, but pleads that he has committed it to avenge his father, under the sanction and even instigation of Apollo, who appears as his witness and champion.

Two points of view, respecting homicide, are here put in conflict: one represented by the Eumenides, the other by Apollo, acting indirectly with the sanction of Zeus.

The divine privileges of the Eumenides are put in on one side, those of Apollo on the other: the former complain that the latter interferes with them, and meddles with proceedings which do not legitimately (227—715) belong to him, while they each hold out terrible menaces of the mischief which they will do respectively to Attica, if the verdict be given against them (710—714).

Athênê, as patroness of Attica, has to protect her territory against injury from both sides, and to avoid giving offence to either. This is really contrived, as much as it is possible to do, consistent with finding any verdict at all. The votes of the Dikasts or Jurors are made to be equal, so that they at least, as Athenians, may not exasperate either of the powerful antagonists: and the acquittal of Orestês ensues, because Athênê herself has pronounced in his favour, on the ground that her sympathies are with the male sex rather than the female, and that the murder of Agamemnôn counts with her for more than that of Klytæmnêstra. This trial, assumed as the first ever held for blood spilt (*πρώτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ*—682), terminates in a verdict of acquittal pronounced by Athênê as casting vote among equal numbers of the Dikasts.

Upon this the Eumenides burst into violent expression of complaint and menace, which Athênê does her best to appease. They complain of having been vanquished and dishonoured: she tells them that they have not been so, because the votes were equal: and that she decided herself in favour of Orestês, because he had been acting

Drako did not directly meddle with, nor indeed ever mention, the judges sitting in Areopagus.

In respect to homicide, then, the Drakonian ordinances were partly a reform of the narrowness, partly a mitigation of the rigour, of the old procedure; and these are all that have come down to us, having been preserved unchanged from the religious respect of the Athenians for antiquity on this peculiar matter. The rest of his ordinances are said to have been repealed by Solôn, on account of their intolerable severity. So they doubtless appeared, to the Athenians of a later day, who had come to measure offences by a different scale; and even to Solôn, who had to calm the wrath of a suffering people in actual mutiny.

That under this eupatrid oligarchy and severe legislation, the people of Attica were sufficiently miserable, we shall presently see when I recount the proceedings of Solôn. But the age of democracy had not yet begun, and the government received its

under the sanction and guarantee of Apollo, indirectly even of Zeus: to both of whom the responsibility of the act really belonged. She then earnestly entreats the Eumenides to renounce their displeasure, and to accept a domicile in Attica, together with the most signal testimonies of worship and reverence from the people. For a long time they refuse: at length they relent, and agree to become inmates along with her in Athens (*δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν*, 917—*μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν εὖ σέβοντες*, 1017). Athênê then conducts them, with solemn procession, to the resting-place appointed for them (*προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρὴ Στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδειξουσαν*, 1001).

Now this resting-place, consecrated ever afterwards to the Eumenides, was close by, or actually upon the hill called Areopagus. (Pausan. i. 28, 6. Schol. ad Thucyd. i. 126. *ἃς (Σεμνὰς θεὰς) μετὰ τὸν Ὀρέστην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πλήσιον τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου ἱδρύσαντο, ἵνα πολλῆς τιμῆς τύχωσιν.*) The Areopagus is thus made over and consecrated to them: and as a consequence, the procedure against homicide, as there conducted, must be made conformable to their point of view: peremptory condemnation of the guilty person, without admitting either excuse or justification. Athênê, in her bargain with them, engages that they shall never again be exposed to such an humiliation as they have recently undergone by the acquittal of Orestês: that they shall receive the highest measure of reverential worship. In return for this, they promise to ensure abundant blessings to the land (940—985).

Here, then, is the result of the drama of Æschylus, showing how those goddesses became consecrated on or close to the Areopagus, and therefore how their view of homicide became exclusively paramount *on that locality*.

It was not necessary, for the purpose of Æschylus, to say what provision Athênê made to instal Apollo and to deal with his view of homicide, opposed to that of the Eumenides. Apollo, in the case of Orestês, had gained the victory, and required nothing more. Yet his view and treatment of homicide, admitting of certain special justifications, is not to be altogether excluded from Athens, though it is excluded from the Areopagus. This difficulty is solved by providing the new judgment-seat at Delphinium, or the temple of Apollo Delphinius (Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 12—14. K. F. Hermann, Gottesdienst. Alterthümer Griech. 60, 3), where the procedure of Apollo, in contradistinction to that of the Eumenides, is followed, and where justifiable homicide may be put in plea.

The legend of Apollo and the Delphinium thus forms the sequel and complement to that of the Eumenides and the Areopagus.

first shock from the hands of an ambitious Eupatrid who aspired to the despotism. Such was the phase (as has been remarked in the preceding chapter) through which, during the century now under consideration, a large proportion of the Grecian governments passed.

Attempted usurpation by Kylôn.

Kylôn, an Athenian patrician—who superadded, to a great family position, the personal celebrity of a victory at Olympia, as runner in the double stadium—conceived the design of seizing the acropolis and constituting himself despot. Whether any special event had occurred at home to stimulate this project, we do not know: but he obtained both encouragement and valuable aid from his father-in-law Theagenês of Megara, who, by means of his popularity with the people, had already subverted the Megarian oligarchy, and become despot of his native city. Previous to so hazardous an attempt, however, Kylôn consulted the Delphian oracle, and was advised by the god in reply, to take the opportunity of "the greatest festival of Zeus" for seizing the acropolis. Such expressions, in the natural interpretation put upon them by every Greek, designated the Olympic games in Peloponnêsus. To Kylôn, moreover, himself an Olympic victor, that interpretation came recommended by an apparent peculiar propriety. But Thucydidês, not indifferent to the credit of the oracle, reminds his readers that no question was asked nor any express direction given, *where* the intended "greatest festival of Zeus" was to be sought—whether in Attica or elsewhere—and that the public festival of the Diasia, celebrated periodically and solemnly in the neighbourhood of Athens, was also denominated the "greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius". Probably no such exegetical scruples presented themselves to any one, until after the miserable failure of the conspiracy; least of all to Kylôn himself, who, at the recurrence of the next ensuing Olympic games, put himself at the head of a force, partly furnished by Theagenês, partly composed of his friends at home, and took sudden possession of the sacred rock of Athens. But the attempt excited general indignation among the Athenian people, who crowded in from the country to assist the archons and the prytanes of the Naukrari in putting it down. Kylôn and his companions were blockaded in the Acropolis, where they soon found themselves in straits for want of water and provisions; and

though many of the Athenians went back to their homes, a sufficient besieging force was left to reduce the conspirators to the last extremity. After Kylôn himself had escaped by stealth, and several of his companions had died of hunger, the remainder, renouncing all hope of defence, sat down as suppliants at the altar. The archon Megaklês, on regaining the citadel, found these suppliants on the point of expiring with hunger on the sacred ground, and to prevent such a pollution, engaged them to quit the spot by a promise of sparing their lives. No sooner however had they been removed into profane ground, than the promise was violated and they were put to death: some even, who, seeing the fate with which they were menaced, contrived to throw themselves upon the altar of the Venerable goddesses (or Eumenides) near the Areopagus, received their death wounds in spite of that inviolable protection.[1]

His failure, and massacre of his partisans by order of the Alkmæônids.

Though the conspiracy was thus put down, and the government upheld, these deplorable incidents left behind them a long train of calamity—profound religious remorse mingled with exasperated political antipathies. There still remained, if not a considerable Kylonian party, at least a large body of persons who resented the way in which the Kylonians had been put to death, and who became in consequence bitter enemies of Megaklês the archon, and of the great family of the Alkmæônidæ, to which he belonged. Not only Megaklês himself and his personal assistants were denounced as smitten with a curse, but the taint was supposed to be transmitted to his descendants, and we shall hereafter find the wound re-opened, not only in the second and third generation, but also two centuries after the original event.[2] When we see that the impression left by the proceeding was so very serious, even after the length of time which had elapsed, we may well believe that it was sufficient, immediately afterwards, to poison altogether the tranquillity of the state. The Alkmæônids and their partisans long defied their opponents, resisting any public trial. The dissensions continued without hope of termination, until Solôn, then enjoying a lofty reputation for sagacity and patriotism, as well as for bravery, persuaded them to submit to

[1] The narrative is given in Thucyd. i. 126; Herod. v. 71: Plutarch. Solôn, 12.

[2] Aristophan. Equit. 445, and the Scholia; Herodot. v. 70.

judicial cognizance,—at a moment so far distant from the event, that several of the actors were dead. They were accordingly tried before a special judicature of 300 Eupatrids, Myrôn of the deme Phlyeis being their accuser. In defending themselves against the charge that they had sinned against the reverence due to the gods and the consecrated right of asylum, they alleged that the Kylonian suppliants, when persuaded to quit the holy ground, had tied a cord round the statue of the goddess and clung to it for protection in their march; but on approaching the altar of the Eumenides, the cord accidentally broke—and this critical event (so the accused persons argued) proved that the goddess had herself withdrawn from them her protecting hand and abandoned them to their fate.[1] Their argument, remarkable as an illustration of the feelings of the time, was not however accepted as an excuse. They were found guilty, and while such of them as were alive retired into banishment, those who had already died were disinterred and cast beyond the borders. Yet their exile, continuing as it did only for a time, was not held sufficient to expiate the impiety for which they had been condemned. The Alkmæônids, one of the most powerful families in Attica, long continued to be looked upon as a tainted race,[2] and in cases of public calamity were liable to be singled out as having by their sacrilege drawn down the judgment of the gods upon their countrymen.[3]

Trial and condemnation of the Alkmæônids.

The banishment of the guilty parties was not found sufficient to restore tranquillity. Not only did pestilential disorders prevail, but the religious susceptibilities and apprehensions of the Athenian community also remained deplorably excited. They were oppressed with sorrow and despondency, saw phantoms and

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 12. If the story of the breaking of the cord had been true, Thucydidês could hardly have failed to notice it; but there is no reason to doubt that it was the real defence urged by the Alkmæônids.

When Ephesus was besieged by Crœsus, the inhabitants sought protection to their town by dedicating it to Artemis; they carried a cord from the walls of the town to the shrine of the goddess, which was situated without the walls (Herod. i. 26). The Samian despot Polykratês, when he consecrated to the Delian Apollo the neighbouring island of Rhêneia, connected it with the island of Delos by means of a chain (Thucyd. iii. 104).

These analogies illustrate the powerful effect of visible or material continuity on the Grecian imagination.

[2] Herodot. i. 61.

[3] See Thucyd. v. 16, and his language respecting Pleistoanax of Sparta.

heard supernatural menaces, and felt the curse of the gods upon them without abatement.[1] In particular, it appears that the minds of the women (whose religious impulses were recognised generally by the ancient legislators as requiring watchful control) were thus disturbed and frantic. The sacrifices offered at Athens did not succeed in dissipating the epidemic, nor could the prophets at home, though they recognised that special purifications were required, discover what were the new ceremonies capable of appeasing the divine wrath. The Delphian oracle directed them to invite a higher spiritual influence from abroad, and this produced the memorable visit of the Kretan prophet and sage Epimenidês to Athens.

Pestilence and suffering at Athens.

The century between 620 and 500 B.C. appears to have been remarkable for the first diffusion and potent influence of distinct religious brotherhoods, mystic rites, and expiatory ceremonies, none of which (as I have remarked in a former chapter) find any recognition in the Homeric epic. To this age belongs Thalêtas, Aristeas, Abaris, Pythagoras, Onomakritus, and the earliest proveable agency of the Orphic sect.[2] Of the class of men here noticed, Epimenidês, a native of Phæstus or Knossus in Krête,[3] was one of the most celebrated—and the old legendary connexion between Athens and Krête, which shows itself in the tales of Thêseus and Minos, is here again manifested in the recourse which the Athenians had to this island to supply their spiritual need. Epimenidês seems to have been connected with the worship of the Kretan Zeus, in whose favour he stood so high as to receive the denomination of the new Kurête[4] (the Kurêtes having been the primitive ministers and organizers of that worship). He was said to be the son of the nymph Baltê; to be supplied by the nymphs with constant food, since he was never seen to eat; to have fallen asleep in his youth in a cave, and to have continued in this state without interruption for fifty-seven years; though some asserted that he remained all this time a wanderer in the mountains, collecting and studying medicinal botany in the vocation of

Mystic sects and brotherhoods in the sixth century B.C. Epimenidês of Krête.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 12. Καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας ἅμα τὰ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, &c.

[2] Lobeck, Aglaophamus, ii. p. 313; Hoeck, Kreta, iii. 2, p. 252.

[3] The statements respecting Epimenidês are collected and discussed in the treatise of Heinrich, Epimenides aus Kreta. Leipsic, 1801.

[4] Diogen Laërt. i. 114, 115.

an Iatromantis, or Leech and Prophet combined. Such narratives mark the idea entertained by antiquity of Epimenidês the Purifier,[1] who was now called in to heal both the epidemic and the mental affliction prevalent among the Athenian people, in the same manner as his countryman and contemporary Thalêtas had been, a few years before, invited to Sparta to appease a pestilence by the effect of his music and religious hymns.[2] The favour of Epimenidês with the gods, his knowledge of propitiatory ceremonies, and his power of working upon the religious feeling, was completely successful in restoring both health and mental tranquillity at Athens. He is said to have turned out some black and white sheep on the Areopagus, directing attendants to follow and watch them, and to erect new altars to the appropriate local deities on the spots where the animals lay down.[3] He founded new chapels and established various lustral ceremonies; and more especially he regulated the worship paid by the women in such manner as to calm the violent impulses which had before agitated them. We know hardly anything of the details of his proceeding, but the general fact of his visit, and the salutary effects produced in removing the religious despondency which oppressed the Athenians, are well attested. Consoling assurances and new

Epimenidês visits and purifies Athens.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn. c. 12; Diogen. Laërt. i. 109—115; Pliny, H. N. vii. 52. *θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν*, &c. Maxim. Tyrius, xxxviii. 3. *δεινὸς τὰ θεῖα, οὐ μαθὼν ἀλλ' ὕπνον αὐτῷ διηγεῖτο μακρὸν καὶ ὄνειρον διδάσκαλον.*

Ἰατρόμαντις, Æschyl. Supplic. 277; *Καθαρτής*, Iamblichus, Vit. Pythagor. c. 28.

Plutarch (Sept. Sapient. Conviv. p. 157) treats Epimenidês simply as having lived up to the precepts of the Orphic life, or vegetable diet: to this circumstance, I presume, Plato (Legg. iii. p. 677) must be understood to refer, though it is not very clear. See the Fragment of the lost *Krêtes* of Euripides, p. 98, ed. Dindorf.

Karmanor of Tarrha in Krête had purified Apollo himself for the slaughter of Pytho (Pausan. ii. 30, 3).

[2] Plutarch, De Musicâ, p. 1134—1146; Pausanias, i. 14, 3.

[3] Cicero (Legg. ii. 11) states that Epimenidês directed a temple to be erected at Athens to *Ὕβρις* and *Ἀναιδεία* (Violence and Impudence): Clemens said that he had erected *altars* to the same two goddesses (Protrepticon, p. 22): Theophrastus said that there were *altars* at Athens (without mentioning Epimenidês) to the same (ap. Zenobium, Proverb. Cent. iv. 36). Ister spoke of a *ἱερὸν Ἀναιδείας* at Athens (Istri Fragm. ed. Siebelis, p. 62). I question whether this story has any other foundation than the fact stated by Pausanias, that the stones which were placed before the tribunal of Areopagus, for the accuser and the accused to stand upon, were called by these names—*Ὕβρεως*, that of the accused; *Ἀναιδείας*, that of the accuser (i. 28, 5). The confusion between stones and altars is not difficult to be understood. The other story told by Neanthês of Kyzikus respecting Epimenidês, that he had offered two young men as human sacrifices, was distinctly pronounced to be untrue by Polemo: and it reads completely like a romance (Athenæus, xiii. p. 602).

ritual precepts, from the lips of a person supposed to stand high in the favour of Zeus, were the remedy which this unhappy disorder required. Moreover, Epimenidês had the prudence to associate himself with Solôn, and while he thus doubtless obtained much valuable advice, he assisted indirectly in exalting the reputation of Solôn himself, whose career of constitutional reform was now fast approaching. He remained long enough at Athens to restore completely a more comfortable tone of religious feeling, and then departed, carrying with him universal gratitude and admiration, but refusing all other reward, except a branch from the sacred olive tree in the acropolis.[1] His life is said to have been prolonged to the unusual period of 154 years, according to a statement which was current during the time of his younger contemporary Xenophanês of Kolophôn.[2] The Kretans even ventured to affirm that he lived 300 years. They extolled him not merely as a sage and a spiritual purifier, but also as a poet—very long compositions on religious and mythical subjects being ascribed to him; according to some accounts, they even worshipped him as a god. Both Plato and Cicero considered Epimenidês in the same light in which he was regarded by his contemporaries, as a prophet divinely inspired, and foretelling the future under fits of temporary ecstasy. But according to Aristotle, Epimenidês himself professed to have received from the gods no higher gift than that of divining the unknown phænomena of the past.[3]

His life and character.

The religious mission of Epimenidês to Athens, and its efficacious as well as healing influence on the public mind, deserve notice as characteristics of the age in which they occurred.[4] If we transport ourselves two centuries forward to the Peloponnesian war, when rational influences and positive habits of thought had acquired a durable hold upon the superior minds, and when practical discussions on political and judicial matters were familiar to every Athenian citizen,

Contrast of his age with that of Plato.

[1] Plutarch, Præcept. Reipubl. Gerend. c. 27, p. 820.

[2] Diogen. Laërt. *l. c.*

[3] Plato, Legg. i. p. 642; Cicero, De Divinat. i. 18. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 17.

Plato places Epimenidês ten years before the Persian invasion of Greece, whereas his real date is near upon 600 B.C.—a remarkable example of carelessness as to chronology.

[4] Respecting the characteristics of this age, see the second chapter of the treatise of Heinrich above alluded to, Kreta und Griechenland in Hinsicht auf Wunderglauben.

no such uncontrollable religious misery could well have subdued the entire public; while, if it had, no living man could have drawn to himself such universal veneration as to be capable of effecting a cure. Plato,[1] admitting the real healing influence of rites and ceremonies, fully believed in Epimenidês as an inspired prophet during the past; but towards those who preferred claims to supernatural power in his own day, he was not so easy of faith. He, as well as Euripidês and Theophrastus, treated with indifference, and even with contempt, the Orpheotelestæ of the later times, who advertised themselves as possessing the same patent knowledge of ceremonial rites, and the same means of guiding the will of the gods, as Epimenidês had wielded before them. These Orpheotelestæ unquestionably numbered a considerable tribe of believers, and speculated with great effect, as well as with profit to themselves, upon the timorous consciences of rich men.[2] But they enjoyed no respect with the general public, or with those to whose authority the public habitually looked up. Degenerate as they were, however, they were the legitimate representatives of the prophet and purifier from Knossus, to whose presence the Athenians had been so much indebted two centuries before: and their altered position was owing less to any falling off in themselves, than to an improvement in the mass upon whom they sought to operate. Had Epimenidês himself come to Athens in those days, his visits would probably have been as much inoperative to all public purposes as a repetition of the stratagem of Phyê, clothed and equipped as the goddess Athênê, which had succeeded so completely in the days of Peisistratus—a stratagem which even Herodotus treats as incredibly absurd, although a century before his time, both the city of Athens and the Demes of Attica had obeyed, as a divine mandate, the orders of this magnificent and stately woman to restore Peisistratus.[3]

[1] Plato, Kratylus, p. 405; Phædr. p. 244. Republ. ii. p. 364; Theophrast. Charact. c. 16.

[2] Eurip. Hippolyt. 957; Plato,

[3] Herodot. i. 60.

CHAPTER XI.

SOLONIAN LAWS AND CONSTITUTION.

WE now approach a new æra in Grecian history—the first known example of a genuine and disinterested constitutional reform, and the first foundation-stone of that great fabric, which afterwards became the type of democracy in Greece. The archonship of the eupatrid Solôn dates in 594 B.C., thirty years after that of Drako, and about eighteen years after the conspiracy of Kylôn (assuming the latter event to be correctly placed B.C. 612).

Life, character, and poems of Solôn.

The lives of Solôn by Plutarch and Diogenês (especially the former) are our principal sources of information respecting this remarkable man, and while we thank them for what they have told us, it is impossible to avoid expressing disappointment that they have not told us more. For Plutarch certainly had before him both the original poems, and the original laws, of Solôn, and the few transcripts, which he gives from one or the other, form the principal charm of his biography. But such valuable materials ought to have been made available to a more instructive result than that which he has brought out. There is hardly anything more to be deplored, amidst the lost treasures of the Grecian mind, than the poems of Solôn; for we see by the remaining fragments, that they contained notices of the public and social phænomena before him, which he was compelled attentively to study—blended with the touching expression of his own personal feelings, in the post alike honourable and difficult, to which the confidence of his countrymen had exalted him.

Solôn, son of Exekestidês, was a Eupatrid of middling fortune,[1] but of the purest heroic blood, belonging to the gens or family of

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, i.; Diogen. Laërt. iii. 1; Aristot. Polit. iv. 9, 10.

the Kodrids and Neleids, and tracing his origin to the god Poseidôn. His father is said to have diminished his substance by prodigality, which compelled Solôn in his earlier years to have recourse to trade, and in this pursuit he visited many parts of Greece and Asia. He was thus enabled to enlarge the sphere of his observation, and to provide material for thought as well as for composition. His poetical talents displayed themselves at a very early age, first on light, afterwards on serious, subjects. It will be recollected that there was at that time no Greek prose writing, and that the acquisitions as well as the effusions of an intellectual man, even in their simplest form, adjusted themselves not to the limitations of the period and the semicolon, but to those of the hexameter and pentameter. Nor in point of fact do the verses of Solôn aspire to any higher effect than we are accustomed to associate with an earnest, touching, and admonitory prose composition. The advice and appeals which he frequently addressed to his countrymen[1] were delivered in this easy metre, doubtless far less difficult than the elaborate prose of subsequent writers or speakers, such as Thucydidês, Isokratês, or Demosthenês. His poetry and his reputation became known throughout many parts of Greece, so that he was classed along with Thalês of Milêtus, Bias of Priênê, Pittakus of Mitylênê, Periander of Corinth, Kleobûlus of Lindus, Cheilôn of Lacedæmôn—altogether forming the constellation afterwards renowned as the seven wise men.

War between Athens and Megara about Salamis.

The first particular event in respect to which Solôn appears as an active politician is the possession of the island of Salamis, then disputed between Megara and Athens. Megara was at that time able to contest with Athens, and for some time to contest with success, the occupation of this important island—a remarkable fact, which perhaps may be explained by supposing that the inhabitants of Athens and its neighbourhood carried on the struggle with only partial aid from the rest of Attica. However this may be, it appears that the Megarians had actually established themselves in Salamis, at the time when Solôn began his political career, and that the Athenians had experienced so much loss in the struggle,

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, v.

as to have formally prohibited any citizen from ever submitting a proposition for its reconquest. Stung with this dishonourable abnegation, Solôn counterfeited a state of ecstatic excitement, rushed into the agora, and there on the stone usually occupied by the official herald, pronounced to the surrounding crowd a short elegiac poem[1] which he had previously composed on the subject of Salamis. Enforcing upon them the disgrace of abandoning the island, he wrought so powerfully upon their feelings, that they rescinded the prohibitory law:—"Rather (he exclaimed) would I forfeit my native city and become a citizen of Pholegandrus, than be still named an Athenian, branded with the shame of surrendered Salamis!" The Athenians again entered into the war, and conferred upon him the command of it—partly, as we are told, at the instigation of Peisistratus, though the latter must have been at this time (600—594 B.C.) a very young man, or rather a boy.[2]

Acquisition of Salamis by Athens.

The stories in Plutarch, as to the way in which Salamis was recovered, are contradictory as well as apocryphal, ascribing to Solôn various stratagems to deceive the Megarian occupiers. Unfortunately no authority is given for any of them. According to that which seems the most plausible, he was directed by the Delphian god first to propitiate the local heroes of the island; and he accordingly crossed over to it by night, for the purpose of sacrificing to the heroes Periphêmus and Kychreus on the Salaminian shore. Five hundred Athenian volunteers were then levied for the attack of the island, under the stipulation that if they were victorious they should hold it in property and citizenship.[3] They were safely

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, viii. It was a poem of 100 lines, χαριέντως πάνυ πεποιημένων.

Diogenês tells us that "Solôn read the verses to the people through the medium of the herald"—a statement not less deficient in taste than in accuracy, and which spoils the whole effect of the vigorous exordium, Αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἱμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος, &c.

[2] Plutarch, *l. c.*; Diogen. Laërt. i. 47. Both Herodotus (i. 59) and some authors read by Plutarch ascribed to Peisistratus an active part in the war against the Megarians, and even the capture of Nisæa the port of Megara. Now the first usurpation of Peisistratus was in 560 B.C., and we can hardly believe that he can have been prominent and renowned in a war no less than forty years before.

It will be seen hereafter (see the note on the interview between Solôn and Crœsus towards the end of this chapter) that Herodotus, and perhaps other authors also, conceived the Solonian legislation to date at a period later than it really does; instead of 594 B.C., they placed it nearer to the usurpation of Peisistratus.

[3] Plutarch, Solôn, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος. The strict meaning of these words refers only to the *government* of the island; but it seems almost

landed on an outlying promontory, while Solôn, having been fortunate enough to seize a ship which the Megarians had sent to watch the proceedings, manned it with Athenians and sailed straight towards the city of Salamis, to which the Athenians who had landed also directed their march. The Megarians marched out from the city to repel the latter, and during the heat of the engagement, Solôn, with his Megarian ship and Athenian crew, sailed directly to the city. The Megarians, interpreting this as the return of their own crew, permitted the ship to approach without resistance, and the city was thus taken by surprise. Permission having been given to the Megarians to quit the island, Solôn took possession of it for the Athenians, erecting a temple to Enyalius, the god of war, on Cape Skiradium, near the city of Salamis.[1]

The citizens of Megara, however, made various efforts for the recovery of so valuable a possession, so that a war ensued long as well as disastrous to both parties. At last it was agreed between them to refer the dispute to the arbitration of Sparta, and five Spartans were appointed to decide it—Kritolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsêchidas, Anaxilas, and Kleomenês. The verdict in favour of Athens was founded on evidence which it is somewhat curious to trace. Both parties attempted to show that the dead bodies buried in the island conformed to their own peculiar mode of interment, and both parties are said to have cited verses from the catalogue of the Iliad[2]—each accusing the other of error or interpolation. But the Athenians had the advantage on two points: first there were oracles from Delphi, wherein Salamis was mentioned with the epithet Ionian; next Philæus and Eurysakês, sons of the Telamonian Ajax, the great hero of the island, had accepted the citizenship of Athens, made over Salamis to the Athenians, and transferred their own residences to Braurôn and Melitê in Attica,

Settlement of the dispute by Spartan arbitration in favour of Athens.

certainly implied that they would be established in it as Klêruchs or proprietors of land, not meaning necessarily that *all* the pre-existing proprietors would be expelled.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 8, 9, 10. Daïmachus of Platæa, however, denied to Solôn any personal share in the Salaminian war (Plutarch, comp. Solôn and Public. c. 4).

Polyænus (i. 20) ascribes a different stratagem to Solôn: compare Ælian, V. H. vii. 19. It is hardly necessary to say that the account which the Megarians gave of the way in which they lost the island was totally different: they imputed it to the treachery of some exiles (Pausan. i. 40, 4): compare Justin, ii. 7.

[2] Aristot. Rhet. i. 16, 3.

where the deme or gens Philaidæ still worshipped Philæus as its eponymous ancestor. Such a title was held sufficient, and Salamis was adjudged by the five Spartans to Attica,[1] with which it ever afterwards remained incorporated until the days of Macedonian supremacy. Two centuries and a half later, when the orator Æschinês argued the Athenian right to Amphipolis against Philip of Macedon, the legendary elements of the title were indeed put forward, but more in the way of preface or introduction to the substantial political grounds.[2] But in the year 600 B.C., the authority of the legend was more deep-seated and operative, and adequate by itself to determine a favourable verdict.

In addition to the conquest of Salamis, Solôn increased his reputation by espousing the cause of the Delphian temple against the extortionate proceedings of the inhabitants of Kirrha, of which more will be said in a coming chapter; and the favour of the oracle was probably not without its effect in procuring for him that encouraging prophecy with which his legislative career opened.

State of Athens immediately before the legislation of Solôn.

It is on the occasion of Solôn's legislation that we obtain our first glimpse—unfortunately but a glimpse—of the actual state of Attica and its inhabitants. It is a sad and repulsive picture, presenting to us political discord and private suffering combined.

Violent dissensions prevailed among the inhabitants of Attica, who were separated into three factions—the Pedieis, or men of the plain, comprising Athens, Eleusis, and the neighbouring territory, among whom the greatest number of rich families were included; the mountaineers in the east and north of Attica, called Diakrii, who were on the whole the poorest party; and the Paralii in the southern portion of Attica from sea to sea, whose means and social position were intermediate between the two.[3]

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 10: compare Aristot. Rhet. i. 16. Alkibiadês traced up his γένος to Eurysakês (Plutarch, Alkibiad. c. 1); Miltiadês traced up his to Philæus (Herodot. vi. 35).

According to the statement of Hêreas the Megarian, both his countrymen and the Athenians had the same way of interment: both interred the dead with their faces towards the west. This statement therefore affords no proof of any peculiarity of Athenian custom in burial.

The Eurysakeium, or precinct sacred to the hero Eurysakês, stood in the deme of Melitê (Harpokrat. ad v.), which formed a portion of the city of Athens.

[2] Æschin. Fals. Legat. p. 250, c. 14.

[3] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 13. The language of Plutarch, in which he talks of the Pedieis as representing the

Upon what particular points these intestine disputes turned we are not distinctly informed. They were not however peculiar to the period immediately preceding the archontate of Solôn. They had prevailed before, and they reappear afterwards prior to the despotism of Peisistratus; the latter standing forward as the leader of the Diakrii, and as champion, real or pretended, of the poorer population.

Internal dissension—misery of the poorer population.

But in the time of Solôn these intestine quarrels were aggravated by something much more difficult to deal with—a general mutiny of the poorer population against the rich, resulting from misery combined with oppression. The Thêtes, whose condition we have already contemplated in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, are now presented to us as forming the bulk of the population of Attica—the cultivating tenants, metayers, and small proprietors of the country. They are exhibited as weighed down by debts and dependence, and driven in large numbers out of a state of freedom into slavery—the whole mass of them (we are told) being in debt to the rich, who were proprietors of the greater part of the soil.[1] They had either borrowed money for their own necessities, or they tilled the lands of the rich as dependent tenants, paying a stipulated portion of the produce, and in this capacity they were largely in arrear.

All the calamitous effects were here seen of the old harsh law of debtor and creditor—once prevalent in Greece, Italy, Asia, and a large portion of the world—combined with the recognition

oligarchical tendency, and the Diakrii as representing the democratical, is not quite accurate when applied to the days of Solôn. Democratical pretensions, as such, can hardly be said to have then existed.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 13. Ἅπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων· ἢ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκείνοις ἕκτα τῶν γινομένων τελοῦντες, ἐκτημόριοι προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ θῆτες· ἢ χρέα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀγώγιμοι τοῖς δανείζουσιν ἦσαν· οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ξένῃ πιπρασκόμενοι. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἠναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστῶν. Οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι συνίσταντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, &c.

Respecting these Hektêmori "tenants paying one-sixth portion," we find little or no information: they are just noticed in Hesychius (v. Ἑκτήμοροι, Ἐπίμορτος) and in Pollux, vii. 151; from whom we learn that ἐπίμορτος γῆ was an expression which occurred in one of the Solonian laws. Whether they paid to the landlord one-sixth, or retained for themselves only one-sixth, has been doubted (see Photius, Πελάται).

Dionysius Hal. (A. R. ii. 9) compares the Thêtes in Attica to the Roman clients: that both agreed in being relations of personal and proprietary dependence is certain; but we can hardly carry the comparison farther, nor is there any evidence in Attica of that sanctity of obligation which is said to have bound the Roman patron to his client.

of slavery as a legitimate status, and of the right of one man to sell himself as well as that of another man to buy him. Every debtor unable to fulfil his contract was liable to be adjudged as the slave of his creditor, until he could find means either of paying it or working it out; and not only he himself, but his minor sons and unmarried daughters and sisters also, whom the law gave him the power of selling.[1] The poor man thus borrowed upon the security of his body (to translate literally the Greek phrase) and upon that of the persons in his family. So severely had these oppressive contracts been enforced, that many debtors had been reduced from freedom to slavery in Attica itself,—many others had been sold for exportation,—and some had only hitherto preserved their own freedom by selling their children. Moreover a great number of the smaller properties in Attica were under mortgage, signified (according to the formality usual in the Attic law, and continued down throughout the historical times) by a stone pillar erected on the land, inscribed with the name of the lender and the amount of the loan. The proprietors of these mortgaged lands, in case of an unfavourable turn of events, had no other prospect except that of irremediable slavery for themselves and their families, either in their own native country robbed of all its delights, or in some barbarian region where the Attic accent would never meet their ears. Some had fled the country to escape legal adjudication of their persons, and earned a miserable subsistence in foreign parts by degrading occupations. Upon several, too, this deplorable lot had fallen by unjust condemnation and corrupt judges; the conduct of the rich, in regard to money sacred and profane, in regard to matters public as well as private, being thoroughly unprincipled and rapacious.

Slavery of the debtors —law of debtor and creditor

The manifold and long-continued suffering of the poor under this system, plunged into a state of debasement not more tolerable than that of the Gallic plebs[2]—and the injustices of the rich in whom all political power was then vested—are facts well attested by the poems of

Injustice and rapacity of the rich.

[1] So the Frisii, when unable to pay the tribute imposed by the Roman empire, "primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora conjugum et liberorum, servitio tradebant" (Tacit. Annal. iv. 72). About the selling of children by parents, to pay the taxes, in the later times of the Roman empire, see Zosimus, ii. 38; Libanius, t. ii. p. 427, ed. Paris, 1627.

[2] Cæsar. Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

Solôn himself, even in the short fragments preserved to us.[1] It appears that immediately preceding the time of his archonship, the evils had ripened to such a point—and the determination of the mass of sufferers, to extort for themselves some mode of relief, had become so pronounced—that the existing laws could no longer be enforced. According to the profound remark of Aristotle—that seditions are generated by great causes but out of small incidents[2]—we may conceive that some recent events had occurred as immediate stimulants to the outbreak of the debtors, —like those which lend so striking an interest to the early Roman annals, as the inflaming sparks of violent popular movements for which the train had long before been laid. Condemnations by the archons, of insolvent debtors, may have been unusually numerous; or the maltreatment of some particular debtor, once a respected freeman, in his condition of slavery, may have been brought to act vividly upon the public sympathies—like the case of the old plebeian centurion at Rome[3] (first impoverished by the plunder of the enemy, then reduced to borrow, and lastly adjudged to his creditor as an insolvent), who claimed the protection of the people in the forum, rousing their feelings to the highest pitch by the marks of the slave-whip visible on his person. Some such incidents had probably happened, though we have no historians to recount them. Moreover it is not unreasonable to imagine, that that public mental affliction which the purifier Epimenidês

General mutiny and necessity for a large reform.

[1] See the fragment *περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας*, No. 2, Schneidewin.

Δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοιμος
Ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν
. . . . Οὐθ' *ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων*
Φειδόμενοι, κλέπτουσιν ἐφ' ἁρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος,
Οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα.
. . . . *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ πενιχρὸν*
Ἱκνεῦνται πολλοὶ γαίαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπὴν
Πραθέντες, δεσμοῖσι τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες.

[2] Aristot. Polit. *γίγνονται δὲ αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν.*

[3] Livy, ii. 23; Dionys. Hal. A. R. vi. 26: compare Livy, vi. 34—36.

"An placeret, fœnore circumventam plebem, potius quam sorte creditum solvat, corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare? et gregatim quotidie de foro addictos duci, et repleri vinctis nobiles domos? et ubicunque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?"

The exposition of Niebuhr respecting the old Roman law of debtor and creditor (Röm. Gesch. i. p. 602 *seq.*; Arnold's Roman Hist., ch. viii. vol. i. p. 135), and the explanation which he there gives of the Nexi as distinguished from the Addicti, have been shown to be incorrect by M. von Savigny, in an excellent Dissertation Ueber das Altrömische Schuldrecht (Abhandlungen Berlin. Academ. 1833, p. 70—73), an abstract of which will be found in an appendix at the close of this chapter.

had been invoked to appease, as it sprung in part from pestilence, so it had its cause partly in years of sterility, which must of course have aggravated the distress of the small cultivators. However this may be, such was the condition of things in 594 B.C., through mutiny of the poor freemen and Thêtes, and uneasiness of the middling citizens, that the governing oligarchy, unable either to enforce their private debts or to maintain their political power, were obliged to invoke the well-known wisdom and integrity of Solôn. Though his vigorous protest (which doubtless rendered him acceptable to the mass of the people) against the iniquity of the existing system, had already been proclaimed in his poems—they still hoped that he would serve as an auxiliary to help them over their difficulties. They therefore chose him, nominally as archon along with Philombrotus, but with power in substance dictatorial.

Solôn made archon, and invested with full powers of legislation.

It had happened in several Grecian states that the governing oligarchies, either by quarrels among their own members or by the general bad condition of the people under their government, were deprived of that hold upon the public mind which was essential to their power. Sometimes (as in the case of Pittakus of Mitylênê anterior to the archonship of Solôn, and often in the factions of the Italian republics in the middle ages) the collision of opposing forces had rendered society intolerable, and driven all parties to acquiesce in the choice of some reforming dictator. Usually, however, in the early Greek oligarchies, this ultimate crisis was anticipated by some ambitious individual, who availed himself of the public discontent to overthrow the oligarchy and usurp the powers of a despot. And so probably it might have happened in Athens, had not the recent failure of Kylôn, with all its miserable consequences, operated as a deterring motive. It is curious to read, in the words of Solôn himself, the temper in which his appointment was construed by a large portion of the community, but most especially by his own friends: bearing in mind that at this early day, so far as our knowledge goes, democratical government was a thing unknown in Greece—all Grecian governments were either oligarchical or despotic, the mass of the freemen having not yet tasted of constitutional privilege. His

He refuses to make himself despot.

own friends and supporters were the first to urge him, while redressing the prevalent discontents, to multiply partisans for himself personally, and seize the supreme power. They even "chid him as a madman, for declining to haul up the net when the fish were already enmeshed".[1] The mass of the people, in despair with their lot, would gladly have seconded him in such an attempt; while many even among the oligarchy might have acquiesced in his personal government, from the mere apprehension of something worse if they resisted it. That Solôn might easily have made himself despot admits of little doubt. And though the position of a Greek despot was always perilous, he would have had greater facility for maintaining himself in it than Peisistratus possessed after him; so that nothing but the combination of prudence and virtue, which marks his lofty character, restricted him within the trust specially confided to him. To the surprise of every one,—to the dissatisfaction of his own friends,—under the complaints alike (as he says) of various extreme and dissentient parties, who required him to adopt measures fatal to the peace of society,[2]—he set himself honestly to solve the very difficult and critical problem submitted to him.

Of all grievances the most urgent was the condition of the poorer class of debtors. To their relief Solôn's first measure, the memorable Seisachtheia, or shaking off of burthens, was directed. The relief which it afforded was complete and immediate. It cancelled at once all those contracts in which the debtor had borrowed on the security either of his person or of his land: it forbade all future loans or contracts in which the person of the debtor was pledged as security: it deprived the creditor in future of all power to imprison, or enslave, or extort work from, his debtor, and confined him to an effective judgment at law authorizing the seizure of the property of the latter. It swept off all

His Seisachtheia, or relief-law for the poorer debtors.

[1] See Plutarch, Solôn, 14; and above all, the Trochaic tetrameters of Solôn himself, addressed to Phôkus, Fr. 24—26, Schneidewin:—

Οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων, οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνήρ,
Ἐσθλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ δίδοντος, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
Περιβαλὼν δ' ἄγραν, ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἀνέσπασεν μέγα Δίκτυον, θυμοῦ θ' ἁμαρτῇ καὶ φρενῶν ἀποσφαλείς.

[2] Aristides, Περὶ τοῦ Παραφθέγματος, ii. p. 397; and Fragm. 29 (Schn.) of the Iambics of Solôn:—

. . . . . εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
Ἅ τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἤνδανεν τότε,
Λύθις δ' ἃ τοῖσιν ἀτέροις δράσαι . . .
Πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις.

the numerous mortgage pillars from the landed properties in Attica, leaving the land free from all past claims. It liberated and restored to their full rights all debtors actually in slavery under previous legal adjudication; and it even provided the means (we do not know how) of re-purchasing in foreign lands, and bringing back to a renewed life of liberty in Attica, many insolvents who had been sold for exportation.[1] And while Solôn forbade every Athenian to pledge or sell his own person into slavery, he took a step farther in the same direction by forbidding him to pledge or sell his son, his daughter, or an unmarried sister under his tutelage—excepting only the case in which either of the latter might be detected in unchastity.[2] Whether this last ordinance was contemporaneous with the Seisachtheia, or followed as one of his subsequent reforms, seems doubtful.

By this extensive measure the poor debtors—the Thêtes, small tenants, and proprietors—together with their families, were rescued from suffering and peril. But these were not the only debtors in the state: the creditors and landlords of the exonerated Thêtes were doubtless in their turn debtors to others, and were less able to discharge their obligations in consequence of the loss

[1] See the valuable fragment of his Iambics, preserved by Plutarch and Aristides, the expression of which is rendered more emphatic by the appeal to the *personal Earth*, as having passed by his measures from slavery into freedom (compare Plato, Legg. v. p. 740—741):—

Συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ Κρόνου
Μήτηρ, μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
Ἀριστα, Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε
Ὅρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας,
Πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα.
Πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας, πατρίδ' εἰς θεόκτιτον,
Ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
Ἄλλον δικαίως· τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπο
Χρησμὸν λέγοντας, γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
Ἱέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῆ πλανωμένους·
Τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
Ἔχοντας, ἤδη δεσπότας τρομευμένους,
Ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα.

Also Plutarch, Solôn, c. 15.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 23: compare c. 13. The statement in Sextus Empiricus (Pyrrhon. Hypot. iii. 24, 211) that Solôn enacted a law permitting fathers to kill (φονεύειν) their children, cannot be true, and must be copied from some untrustworthy authority: compare Dionys. Hal. A. R. ii. 26, where Dionysius contrasts the prodigious extent of the *patria potestas* among the early Romans with the restrictions which all the Greek legislators alike—Solôn, Pittakus, Charondas—either found or introduced: he says however that the Athenian father was permitted to disinherit legitimate male children, which does not seem to be correct.

Meier (Der Attische Prozess, iii. 2, p. 427) rejects the above-mentioned statement of Sextus Empiricus, and farther contends that the exposure of new-born infants was not only rare, but discountenanced as well by law as by opinion; the evidence in the Latin comedies to the contrary, he considers as manifestations of Roman, and not of Athenian, manners. In this latter opinion I do not think that he is borne out, and I agree in the statement of Schömann (Ant. J. P. Græc. sec. 82), that the practice and feeling of Athens, as well as of Greece generally, left it to the discretion of the father whether he would consent, or refuse, to bring up a new-born child.

inflicted upon them by the Seisachtheia. It was to assist these wealthier debtors, whose bodies were in no danger— yet without exonerating them entirely—that Solôn resorted to the additional expedient of debasing the money-standard. He lowered the standard of the drachma in a proportion something more than 25 per cent., so that 100 drachmas of the new standard contained no more silver than 73 of the old, or 100 of the old were equivalent to 138 of the new. By this change the creditors of these more substantial debtors were obliged to submit to a loss, while the debtors acquired an exemption, to the extent of about 27 per cent.[1]

Debasing of the money-standard.

Lastly, Solôn decreed that all those who had been condemned by the archons to atimy (civil disfranchisement) should be restored to their full privileges of citizens—excepting however from this indulgence those who had been condemned by the Ephetæ, or by the Areopagus, or by the Phylo-Basileis (the four kings of the tribes), after trial in the Prytaneium, on charges either of murder or treason.[2] So wholesale a measure of amnesty affords strong grounds for believing that the previous judgments of the archons had been intolerably harsh; and it is to be recollected that the Drakonian ordinances were then in force.

Such were the measures of relief with which Solôn met the dangerous discontent then prevalent. That the wealthy men and leaders of the people—whose insolence and iniquity he has himself severely denounced in his poems, and whose views in nominating him he had greatly disappointed[3]—should have detested propositions which robbed them without compensation of many legal rights, it is easy to imagine. But the statement of Plutarch, that the poor emancipated debtors were also dissatisfied, from having expected that Solôn would not only remit their debts, but also redivide the soil of Attica, seems utterly incredible; nor

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 15. See the full exposition given of this debasement of the coinage in Boeckh's Metrologie, ch. ix. p. 515.

M. Boeckh thinks (ch. xv. s. 2) that Solôn not only debased the coin, but also altered the weights and measures. I dissent from his opinion on this latter point, and have given my reason for so doing in a review of his valuable treatise in the Classical Museum, No. 1.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 19. In the general restoration of exiles throughout the Greek cities, proclaimed first by order of Alexander the Great, afterwards by Polysperchôn, exception is made of men exiled for sacrilege or homicide (Diodor. xvii. 109; xviii. 8—46).

[3] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 15. οὐδὲ μαλακῶς, οὐδ' ὑπείκων τοῖς δυναμένοις, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἁλομένων, ἔθετο τοὺς νόμους, &c.

is it confirmed by any passage now remaining of the Solonian poems.[1] Plutarch conceives the poor debtors as having in their minds the comparison with Lykurgus and the equality of property at Sparta, which (as I have already endeavoured to show)[2] is a fiction; and even had it been true as matter of history long past and antiquated, would not have been likely to work upon the minds of the multitude of Attica in the forcible way that the biographer supposes. The Seisachtheia must have exasperated the feelings and diminished the fortunes of many persons; but it gave to the large body of Thêtes and small proprietors all that they could possibly have hoped. We are told that after a short interval it became eminently acceptable in the general public mind, and procured for Solôn a great increase of popularity—all ranks concurring in a common sacrifice of thanksgiving and harmony.[3] One incident there was which occasioned an outcry of indignation. Three rich friends of Solôn, all men of great family in the state, and bearing names which will hereafter reappear in this history as borne by their descendants—Konôn, Kleinias, and Hipponikus—having obtained from Solôn some previous hint of his designs, profited by it, first, to borrow money, and next, to make purchases of lands; and this selfish breach of confidence would have disgraced Solôn himself, had it not been found that he was personally a great loser, having lent money to the extent of five talents.[4]

General popularity of the measure after partial dissatisfaction.

In regard to the whole measure of the Seisachtheia, indeed, though the poems of Solôn were open to every one, ancient authors gave different statements both of its purport and of its extent. Most of them construed it as having cancelled indiscriminately all money contracts; while Androtiôn and others thought that it did nothing more than lower the rate of interest and depreciate the currency to the extent of 27 per cent., leaving the letter of the contracts unchanged. How Androtiôn came to maintain such an opinion we cannot easily understand. For the fragments now remaining from Solôn seem distinctly to refute it,

Different statements afterwards as to the nature and extent of the Seisachtheia.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 16.

[2] See above, part ii. ch. vi.

[3] Plutarch, *l. c.* *ἔθυσάν τε κοινῇ Σεισάχθειαν τὴν θυσίαν ὀνομάζοντες*, &c.

[4] The Anecdote is noticed, but without specification of the names of the friends, in Plutarch, Reipub. Gerend. Præcep. p. 807.

though, on the other hand, they do not go so far as to substantiate the full extent of the opposite view entertained by many writers, —that all money contracts indiscriminately were rescinded:[1] against which there is also a farther reason, that if the fact had been so, Solôn could have had no motive to debase the money-standard. Such debasement supposes that there must have been *some* debtors at least whose contracts remained valid, and whom nevertheless he desired partially to assist. His poems distinctly mention three things:—1. The removal of the mortgage-pillars. 2. The enfranchisement of the land. 3. The protection, liberation, and restoration of the persons of endangered or enslaved debtors. All these expressions point distinctly to the Thêtes and small proprietors, whose sufferings and peril were the most urgent, and whose case required a remedy immediate as well as complete. We find that his repudiation of debts was carried far enough to exonerate them, but no farther.

It seems to have been the respect entertained for the character of Solôn which partly occasioned these various misconceptions of his ordinances for the relief of debtors. Androtiôn in ancient, and some eminent critics in modern times, are anxious to make out that he gave relief without loss or injustice to any one. But this opinion seems inadmissible. The loss to creditors by the wholesale abrogation of numerous pre-existing contracts, and by the partial depreciation of the coin, is a fact not

Necessity of the measure—mischievous contracts to which the previous law had given rise.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 15. The statement of Dionysius of Halic. in regard to the bearing of the Seisachtheia is in the main accurate—*χρεῶν ἄφεσιν ψηφισαμένην τοῖς ἀπόροις* (v. 65)—to the debtors who were liable on the security of their bodies and their lands, and who were chiefly poor—not to *all* debtors.

Herakleidês Pontic. (Πολιτ. c. 1) and Dio Chrysostom (Or. xxxi. p. 351) express themselves loosely.

Both Wachsmuth (Hell. Alterth. v. 1. p. 259) and K. F. Hermann (Gr. Staatsalter. s. 106) quote the Heliastic oath and its energetic protest against repudiation, as evidence of the bearing of the Solonian Seisachtheia. But that oath is referable only to a later period; it cannot be produced in proof of any matter applicable to the time of Solôn; the mere mention of the senate of Five Hundred in it, shows that it belongs to times subsequent to the Kleisthenean revolution. Nor does the passage from Plato (Legg. iii. p. 684) apply to the case.

Both Wachsmuth and Hermann appear to me to narrow too much the extent of Solôn's measure in reference to the clearing of debtors. But on the other hand, they enlarge the effect of his measures in another way, without any sufficient evidence—they think that he raised *the villein tenants* into *free proprietors*. Of this I see no proof and think it improbable. A large proportion of the small debtors whom Solôn exonerated were probably free proprietors before; the existence of the *ὅροι* or mortgage pillars upon their land proves this.

to be disguised. The Seisachtheia of Solôn, unjust so far as it rescinded previous agreements, but highly salutary in its consequences, is to be vindicated by showing that in no other way could the bonds of government have been held together, or the misery of the multitude alleviated. We are to consider, first, the great personal cruelty of these pre-existing contracts, which condemned the body of the free debtor and his family to slavery; next, the profound detestation created by such a system in the large mass of the poor, against both the judges and the creditors by whom it had been enforced, which rendered their feelings unmanageable, so soon as they came together under the sentiment of a common danger and with the determination to ensure to each other mutual protection. Moreover, the law which vests a creditor with power over the person of his debtor, so as to convert him into a slave, is likely to give rise to a class of loans which inspire nothing but abhorrence—money lent with the foreknowledge that the borrower will be unable to repay it, but also in the conviction that the value of his person as a slave will make good the loss; thus reducing him to a condition of extreme misery, for the purpose sometimes of aggrandizing, sometimes of enriching, the lender. Now the foundation on which the respect for contracts rests, under a good law of debtor and creditor, is the very reverse of this. It rests on the firm conviction that such contracts are advantageous to both parties as a class, and that to break up the confidence essential to their existence would produce extensive mischief throughout all society. The man whose reverence for the obligation of a contract is now the most profound, would have entertained a very different sentiment if he had witnessed the dealings of lender and borrower at Athens under the old ante-Solonian law. The oligarchy had tried their best to enforce this law of debtor and creditor with its disastrous series of contracts; and the only reason why they consented to invoke the aid of Solôn was because they had lost the power of enforcing it any longer, in consequence of the newly awakened courage and combination of the people. That which they could not do for themselves, Solôn could not have done for them, even had he been willing. Nor had he in his position the means either of exempting or compensating those creditors who, separately taken, were open to no reproach; indeed, in following his proceedings,

we see plainly that he thought compensation due, not to the creditors, but to the past sufferings of the enslaved debtors, since he redeemed several of them from foreign captivity, and brought them back to their home. It is certain that no measure, simply and exclusively prospective, would have sufficed for the emergency. There was an absolute necessity for overruling all that class of pre-existing rights which had produced so violent a social fever. While, therefore, to this extent, the Seisachtheia cannot be acquitted of injustice, we may confidently affirm that the injustice inflicted was an indispensable price paid for the maintenance of the peace of society, and for the final abrogation of a disastrous system as regarded insolvents.[1] And the feeling as well as the legislation universal in the modern European world, by interdicting beforehand all contracts for selling a man's person or that of his children into slavery, goes far to sanction practically the Solonian repudiation.

One thing is never to be forgotten in regard to this measure, combined with the concurrent amendments introduced by Solôn in the law—it settled finally the question to which it referred. Never again do we hear of the law of debtor and creditor as disturbing Athenian tranquillity. The general sentiment which grew up at Athens, under the Solonian money-law and under the democratical government, was one of high respect for the sanctity of contracts. Not only was there never any demand in the Athenian democracy for new tables or a depreciation of the money-standard, but a formal abnegation of any such projects was inserted in the solemn oath taken annually by the numerous Dikasts, who formed the popular judicial body called Hêliæa or the Héliastic jurors

Solôn's law finally settled the question—no subsequent complaint as to private debts—respect for contracts unbroken under the democracy.

[1] That which Solôn did for the Athenian people in regard to debts is less than what was *promised* to the Roman plebs (at the time of its secession to the Mons Sacer in 491 B.C.) by Menenius Agrippa, the envoy of the senate, to appease them, though it does not seem to have been ever *realized* (Dionys. Halic. vi. 83). He promised an abrogation of all the debts of debtors unable to pay, without exception—if the language of Dionysius is to be trusted, which probably it cannot be. Dr. Thirlwall justly observes respecting Solôn, "He must be considered as an arbitrator to whom all the parties interested submitted their claims with the avowed intent that they should be decided by him, not upon the footing of legal right, but according to his own view of the public interest. It was in this light that he himself regarded his office, and he appears to have discharged it faithfully and discreetly." (History of Greece, ch. xi. vol. ii. p. 42.)

—the same oath which pledged them to uphold the democratical constitution, also bound them to repudiate all proposals either for an abrogation of debts or for a redivision of the lands.[1] There can be little doubt that under the Solonian law, which enabled the creditor to seize the property of his debtor, but gave him no power over the person, the system of money-lending assumed a more beneficial character. The old noxious contracts, mere snares for the liberty of a poor freeman and his children, disappeared, and loans of money took their place, founded on the property and prospective earnings of the debtor, which were in the main useful to both parties, and therefore maintained their place in the moral sentiment of the public. And though Solôn had found himself compelled to rescind all the mortgages on land subsisting in his time, we see money freely lent upon this same security, throughout the historical times of Athens, and the evidentiary mortgage-pillars remaining ever after undisturbed.

In the sentiment of an early society, as in the old Roman law, a distinction is commonly made between the principal and the interest of a loan, though the creditors have sought to blend them indissolubly together. If the borrower cannot fulfil his promise to repay the principal, the public will regard him as having committed a wrong which he must make good by his

[1] Demosthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 746. οὐδὲ τῶν χρεῶν τῶι ἰδίων ἀποκοπὰς, οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων, οὐδ' οἰκιῶν (ψηφιοῦμαι): compare Dio Chrysostom, Orat. xxxi. p. 332, who also dwells upon the anxiety of various Grecian cities to fix a curse upon all propositions for χρεῶν ἀποκοπή and γῆς ἀνα ασμός. What is not less remarkable is, that Dio seems not to be aware of any well-authenticated case in Grecian history in which a redivision of lands had ever actually taken place—ὃ μηδ' ὅλως ἴσμεν εἰ ποτε συνέβη (*l. c.*).

For the law of debtor and creditor as it stood during the times of the Orators at Athens, see Heraldus, Animadv. ad Salmasium, p. 174—286; Meier und Schömann, Der Attische Prozess, b. iii. c. 2, p. 497 *seqq.* (though I doubt the distinction which they there draw between χρεος and δανεῖον); Platner, Prozess und Klagen, B. ii. Absch. 11, pp. 349. 361.

There was one exceptional case, in which the Attic law always continued to the creditor that power over the person of the insolvent debtor which all creditors had possessed originally —it was when the creditor had lent money for the express purpose of ransoming the debtor from captivity (Demosthen. cont. Nikostr. p. 1249)—analogous to the Actio Depensi in the old Roman law.

Any citizen who owed money to the public treasury and whose debt became overdue, was deprived for the time of all civil rights until he had cleared it off.

Diodôrus (i. 79) gives us an alleged law of the Egyptian king Bocchoris releasing the persons of debtors and rendering their properties only liable, which is affirmed to have served as an example for Solôn to copy. If we can trust this historian, lawgivers in other parts of Greece still retained the old severe law enslaving the debtor's person: compare a passage in Isokratês (Orat. xiv. Plataicus, p. 305; p. 414 Bek.).

person. But there is not the same unanimity as to his promise to pay interest: on the contrary, the very exaction of interest will be regarded by many in the same light in which the English law considers usurious interest, as tainting the whole transaction. But in the modern mind, principal, and interest within a limited rate, have so grown together, that we hardly understand how it can ever have been pronounced unworthy of an honourable citizen to lend money on interest. Yet such is the declared opinion of Aristotle and other superior men of antiquity; while at Rome, Cato the censor went so far as to denounce the practice as a heinous crime.[1] It was comprehended by them among the worst of the tricks of trade—and they held that all trade, or profit derived from interchange, was unnatural, as being made by one man at the expense of another; such pursuits therefore could not be commended, though they might be tolerated to a certain extent as a matter of necessity, but they belonged essentially to an inferior order of citizens.[2] What is remarkable in Greece is, that the antipathy of a very early state of society against traders and money-lenders lasted longer among the philosophers than among the mass of the people—it harmonised more with the social *idéal* of the former than with the practical instincts of the latter.

Distinction made in an early society between the principal and the interest of a loan—interest disapproved of *in toto*.

In a rude condition, such as that of the ancient Germans described by Tacitus, loans on interest are unknown. Habitually careless of the future, the Germans were gratified both in giving and receiving presents, but without any idea that they thereby either imposed or contracted an obligation.[3] To a people in this

[1] Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 23; Cato ap. Cicero. de Offic. ii. 25. Plato in his treatise de Legg. (v. p. 742) forbids all lending on interest; indeed he forbids any private citizen to possess either gold or silver.

To illustrate the marked difference made in the early Roman law, between the claim for the principal and that for the interest, I insert in an Appendix at the end of this Chapter the explanation given by M. von Savigny of the treatment of the Nexi and Addicti—connected as it is by analogy with the Solonian Seisachtheia.

[2] Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 23. Τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐστιν), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατική, &c. Compare Ethik. Nikom. iv. 1.

Plutarch borrows from Aristotle the quibble derived from the word τόκος (the Greek expression for interest), which has given birth to the well-known dictum of Aristotle—that money being naturally *barren*, to extract *offspring* from it must necessarily be *contrary to nature* (see Plutarch, De Vit. Ær. Al. p. 829).

[3] Tacit. Germ. 26. "Fœnus agitare et in usuras extendere, ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum

state of feeling, a loan on interest presents the repulsive idea of making profit out of the distress of the borrower. Moreover, it is worthy of remark, that the first borrowers must have been for the most part men driven to this necessity by the pressure of want, and contracting debt as a desperate resource, without any fair prospect of ability to repay: debt and famine run together in the mind of the poet Hesiod.[1] The borrower is, in this unhappy state, rather a distressed man soliciting aid, than a solvent man capable of making and fulfilling a contract. If he cannot find a friend to make him a free gift in the former character, he will not, under the latter character, obtain a loan from a stranger, except by the promise of exorbitant interest,[2] and by the fullest

esset." C. 21: "Gaudent muneribus: sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur".

[1] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 647, 404. Βούλῃαι χρέα τε προφυγεῖν, καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπῆ. Some good observations on this subject are to be found in the excellent treatise of M. Turgot, written in 1763, "Mémoire sur les Prêts d'Argent":—

"Les causes qui avoient autrefois rendu odieux le prêt à intérêt, ont cessé d'agir avec tant de force . . . . De toutes ces circonstances réunies, il est résulté que les emprunts faits par le pauvre pour subsister ne sont plus qu'un objet à peine sensible dans la somme totale d'emprunts: que la plus grande partie des prêts se font à l'homme riche, ou du moins à l'homme industrieux, qui espère se procurer de grands profits par l'emploi de l'argent qu'il emprunte . . . . Les prêteurs sur gage à gros intérêt, les seuls qui prêtent véritablement au pauvre pour ses besoins journaliers et non pour le mettre en état de gagner, ne font point le même mal que les anciens usuriers qui conduisoient par degrés à la misère et à l'esclavage les pauvres citoyens auxquels ils avoient procuré des secours funestes . . . . Le créancier qui pouvait réduire son débiteur en esclavage y trouvait un profit: c'étoit un esclave qu'il acquerait: mais aujourd'hui le créancier sait qu'en privant son débiteur de la liberté, il n'y gagnera autre chose que d'être obligé de la nourrir en prison: aussi ne s'avise-t-on pas de faire contracter à un homme qui n'a rien, et qui est réduit à emprunter pour vivre, des engagemens qui emportent la contrainte par corps. La seule sûreté vraiment solide contre l'homme pauvre est le gage: et l'homme pauvre s'estime heureux de trouver un secours pour le moment sans autre danger que de perdre ce gage. Aussi le peuple a-t-il plutôt de la reconnoissance pour ces petits usuriers qui le secourent dans son besoin, quoiqu'ils lui vendent assez cher ce secours." (Mémoire sur les Prêts d'Argent, in the collection of Œuvres de Turgot, by Dupont de Nemours, vol. v. sect. xxx. 1-xxxi. pp. 326, 327, 329.)

[2] "In Bengal (observes Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, b. i. ch. 9, p. 143, ed. 1812) money is frequently lent to the farmers at 40, 50, and 60 per cent., and the succeeding crop is mortgaged for the payment."

Respecting this commerce at Florence in the middle ages, M. Depping observes:—"Il semblait que l'esprit commercial fût inné chez les Florentins: déjà aux 12me et 13me siècles, on les voit tenir des banques et prêter de l'argent aux princes. Ils ouvrirent partout des maisons de prêt, marcherent de pair avec les Lombards, et, il faut le dire, ils furent souvent maudits, comme ceux-ci, par leurs débiteurs, à cause de leur rapacité. Vingt pour cent par an était le taux ordinaire des prêteurs Florentins: et il n'était pas rare qu'ils en prissent trente et quarante." Depping, Histoire du Commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe, vol. i. p. 235.

Boeckh (Public Economy of Athens, book i. ch. 22) gives from 12 to 18 per cent. per annum as the common rate of interest at Athens in the time of the orators.

The valuable Inscription No. 1845 in his Corpus Inscr. (Pars viii. p. 23, sect.

eventual power over his person which he is in a condition to grant. In process of time a new class of borrowers rise up who demand money for temporary convenience or profit, but with full prospect of repayment—a relation of lender and borrower quite different from that of the earlier period, when it presented itself in the repulsive form of misery on the one side, set against the prospect of very large profit on the other. If the Germans of the time of Tacitus looked to the condition of the poor debtors in Gaul, reduced to servitude under a rich creditor, and swelling by hundreds the crowd of his attendants, they would not be disposed to regret their own ignorance of the practice of money-lending.[1]

3) proves that at Korkyra a rate of 2 per cent. per month, or 24 per cent. per annum, might be obtained from perfectly solvent and responsible borrowers. For this is a decree of the Korkyræan government, prescribing what shall be done with a sum of money given to the state for the Dionysiac festivals — placing that money under the care of certain men of property and character, and directing them to lend it out exactly at 2 per cent. per month, *neither more nor less*, until a given sum shall be accumulated. This Inscription dates about the third or second century B.C., according to Boeckh's conjecture.

The Orchomenian Inscription, No. 1569, to which Boeckh refers in the passage above alluded to, is unfortunately defective in the words determining the rate of interest payable to Eubulus: but there is another, the Theræan Inscription (No. 2446), containing the Testament of Epiktêta, wherein the annual sum payable in lieu of a principal sum bequeathed, is calculated at 7 per cent.; a rate which Boeckh justly regards as moderate, considered in reference to ancient Greece.

[1] Cæsar, B. G. i. 4, respecting the Gallic chiefs and plebs: "Die constitutâ causâ dictionis, Orgetorix ad judicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coëgit: et omnes clientes, *obæratos*que suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit". Ibid. vi. 13: "Plerique, cum aut *ære alieno*, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuriâ potentiorum, premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos." The wealthy Romans cultivated their large possessions partly by the hands of adjudged debtors, in the time of Columella (i. 3, 14): "more præpotentium, qui possident fines gentium, quos . . . aut occupatos nexu civium, aut ergastulis tenent".

According to the Teutonic codes also, drawn up several centuries subsequently to Tacitus, it seems that the insolvent debtor falls under the power of his creditor and is subject to personal fetters and chastisement (Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 612—615): both he and Von Savigny assimilate it to the terrible process of personal execution and addiction in the old law of Rome, against the insolvent debtor on loan. King Alfred exhorts the creditor to lenity (Laws of King Alfred, Thorpe, Ancient Laws of England, vol. i. p. 53, Law 35).

A striking evidence of the alteration of the character and circumstances of debtors, between the age of Solôn and that of Plutarch, is afforded by the treatise of the latter, "De Vitando Ære Alieno," wherein he sets forth in the most vehement manner the miserable consequences of getting into debt. "*The poor*," he says, "*do not get into debt, for no one will lend them money* (τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις οὐ δανείζουσιν, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοις εὐπορίαν τινὰ ἑαυτοῖς κτᾶσθαι καὶ μάρτυρα δίδωσι καὶ βεβαιώτην ἄξιον, ὅτι ἔχει πιστευεσθαι): the borrowers are men who have still some property and some security to offer, but who wish to keep up a rate of expenditure beyond what they can afford, and become utterly ruined by contracting debts." (Plut. p. 827, 830.) This shows how intimately the multiplication of poor debtors was connected

How much the interest of money was then regarded as an undue profit extorted from distress, is powerfully illustrated by the old Jewish law; the Jew being permitted to take interest from foreigners (whom the lawgiver did not think himself obliged to protect), but not from his own countrymen.[1] The Koran follows out this point of view consistently, and prohibits the taking of interest altogether. In most other nations, laws have been made to limit the rate of interest, and at Rome especially, the legal rate was successively lowered—though it seems, as might have been expected, that the restrictive ordinances were constantly eluded. All such restrictions have been intended for the protection of debtors; an effect which large experience proves them never to

with the liability of their persons to enslavement. Compare Plutarch, De Cupidine Divitiarum, c. 2, p. 523.

[1] Levitic. xxv. 35—36; Deuteron. xxiii. 20. This enactment seems sufficiently intelligible: yet M. Salvador (Histoire des Institutions de Moise, liv. iii. ch. 6) puzzles himself much to assign it to some far-sighted commercial purpose. "Unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon *usury*, but unto a stranger thou mayst lend upon *usury*." It is of more importance to remark that the word here translated *usury* really means *any interest* for money, great or small—see the opinion of the Sanhedrim of seventy Jewish doctors, assembled at Paris in 1807, cited in M. Salvador's work, *l. c.*

The Mosaic law therefore (as between Jew and Jew, or even as between Jew and the μέτοικος or *resident stranger*, distinguished from the *foreigner*) went as far as the Koran in prohibiting all taking of interest. That its enactments were not much observed, we have one proof at least in the proceeding of Nehemiah at the building of the second temple—which presents so curious a parallel in many respects to the Solônian Seisachtheia, that I transcribe the account of it from Prideaux, Connection of Sacred and Profane History, part i. b. 6, p. 290:—

"The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were enforced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great . . . care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers; which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich, taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the centesima for all moneys lent them, that is, 1 per cent. for every month, which amounted to 12 per cent. for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families: which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by Moses (for that forbids all the race of Israel to take usury of any of their brethren), Nehemiah, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity; in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people, where having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also *release all the lands, vineyards, olive-yards, and houses*, which had been taken of them upon *mortgage* on the account hereof."

The measure of Nehemiah appears thus to have been not merely a Seisachtheia such as that of Solôn, but also a παλιντοκία or refunding of interest paid by the debtor in past time—analogous to the proceeding of the Megarians on emancipating themselves from their oligarchy, as recounted above, Chapter ix.

produce, unless it be called protection to render the obtaining of money on loan impracticable for the most distressed borrowers. But there was another effect which they *did* tend to produce—they softened down the primitive antipathy against the practice generally, and confined the odious name of usury to loans lent above the fixed legal rate.

In this way alone could they operate beneficially, and their tendency to counterwork the previous feeling was at that time not unimportant, coinciding as it did with other tendencies arising out of the industrial progress of society, which gradually exhibited the relation of lender and borrower in a light more reciprocally beneficial, and less repugnant to the sympathies of the bystander.[1]

At Athens the more favourable point of view prevailed throughout all the historical times. The march of industry and commerce, under the mitigated law which prevailed subsequently to Solôn, had been sufficient to bring it about at a very early period and to suppress all public antipathy against lenders at interest.[2] We may remark too that this more equitable tone of opinion grew up spontaneously, without any legal restriction on the rate of interest,—no such restriction having ever been imposed and the rate being expressly declared free by a law ascribed to Solôn himself.[3] The same may probably be said of the communities of Greece generally—at least there is no information to make us suppose the contrary. But the feeling against lending money at interest remained in the bosoms of the philosophical men long after it had ceased to form a part of the practical morality of the citizens, and long after it had ceased to be justified by the appearances of

This opinion was retained by the philosophers, after it had ceased to prevail in the community generally.

[1] In every law to limit the rate of interest, it is of course implied that the law not only ought to fix, but *can fix*, the maximum rate at which money is to be lent. The tribunes at Rome followed out this proposition with perfect consistency: they passed successive laws for the reduction of the rate of interest, until at length they made it illegal to take any interest at all: "Genucium, tribunum plebis, tulisse ad populum, ne fœnerari liceret". (Liv. vii. 42.) History shows that the law, though passed, was not carried into execution.

[2] Boeckh (Public Econ. of Athens, b. i. ch. 22, p. 128) thinks differently—in my judgment, contrary to the evidence: the passages to which he refers (especially that of Theophrastus) are not sufficient to sustain his opinion, and there are other passages which go far to contradict it.

[3] Lysias cont. Theomnêst 4. c. 5, p. 360.

the case as at first it really had been. Plato, Aristotle, Cicero,[1] and Plutarch treat the practice as a branch of that commercial and money-getting spirit which they are anxious to discourage; and one consequence of this was, that they were less disposed to contend strenuously for the inviolability of existing money-contracts. The conservative feeling on this point was stronger among the mass than among the philosophers. Plato even complains of it as inconveniently preponderant,[2] and as arresting the legislator in all comprehensive projects of reform. For the most part indeed schemes of cancelling debts and redividing lands were never thought of except by men of desperate and selfish ambition, who made them stepping-stones to despotic power. Such men were denounced alike by the practical sense of the community and by the speculative thinkers: but when we turn to the case of the Spartan king Agis III., who proposed a complete extinction of debts and an equal redivision of the landed property of the state, not with any selfish or personal views, but upon pure ideas of patriotism, well or ill understood, and for the purpose of renovating the lost ascendency of Sparta—we find Plutarch[3] expressing the most unqualified admiration of this young king and his projects, and treating the opposition made to him as originating in no better feelings than meanness and cupidity. The philosophical thinkers on politics conceived (and to a great degree justly, as I shall show hereafter) that the conditions of security, in the ancient world, imposed upon the citizens generally the absolute necessity of keeping up a military spirit and willingness to brave at all times personal hardship and discomfort: so that increase of wealth, on account of the habits of self-indulgence

[1] Cicero, De Officiis, i. 42.

[2] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 684. ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντι δὴ νομοθέτῃ κινεῖν τῶν τοιούτων τι πᾶς ἀπαντᾷ, λέγων, μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀπαράτα γῆς τε ἀναδασμοὺς εἰσηγούμενον καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, ὥστ' εἰς ἀπορίαν καθίστασθαι πάντα ἄνδρα, &c.: compare also v. p. 736—737, where similar feelings are intimated not less emphatically.

Cicero lays down very good principles about the mischief of destroying faith in contracts; but his admonitions to this effect seem to be accompanied with an impracticable condition: the lawgiver is to take care that debts shall not be contracted to an extent hurtful to the state—"Quamobrem ne sit æs alienum, quod reipublicæ noceat, providendum est (quod *multis rationibus* caveri potest): non, si fuerit, ut locupletes suum perdant, debitores lucrentur alienum," &c. What the *multæ rationes* were, which Cicero had in his mind, I do not know. Compare his opinion about *fœneratores*, Offic. i. 42; ii. 25.

[3] See Plutarch's Life of Agis, especially ch. 13, about the bonfire in which the κλάρια or mortgage deeds of the creditors were all burnt, in the agora of Sparta; compare also the comparison of Agis with Gracchus, c. 2.

which it commonly introduces, was regarded by them with more or less of disfavour. If in their estimation any Grecian community had become corrupt, they were willing to sanction great interference with pre-existing rights for the purpose of bringing it back nearer to their ideal standard. And the real security for the maintenance of these rights lay in the conservative feelings of the citizens generally, much more than in the opinions which superior minds imbibed from the philosophers.

Such conservative feelings were in the subsequent Athenian democracy peculiarly deep-rooted. The mass of the Athenian people identified inseparably the maintenance of property in all its various shapes with that of their laws and constitution. And it is a remarkable fact, that though the admiration entertained at Athens for Solôn was universal, the principle of his Seisachtheia and of his money-depreciation was not only never imitated, but found the strongest tacit reprobation; whereas at Rome, as well as in most of the kingdoms of modern Europe, we know that one debasement of the coin succeeded another. The temptation, of thus partially eluding the pressure of financial embarrassments, proved, after one successful trial, too strong to be resisted, and brought down the coin by successive depreciations from the full pound of twelve ounces to the standard of one half ounce. It is of some importance to take notice of this fact, when we reflect how much "Grecian faith" has been degraded by the Roman writers into a byword for duplicity in pecuniary dealings.[1] The democracy of Athens (and indeed the cities of Greece generally, both oligarchies and democracies) stands far above the senate of Rome, and far above the

Solonian Seisachtheia never imitated at Athens—money-standard honestly maintained afterwards.

[1] "Græcâ fide mercari." Polybius puts the Greeks greatly below the Romans in point of veracity and good faith (vi. 56); in another passage he speaks not quite so confidently (xviii. 17). Even the testimony of the Roman writers is sometimes given in favour of Attic good faith, not against it—"ut semper et in omni re, quicquid sincerâ fide gereretur, id Romani *Atticâ fieri* prædicarent". (Velleius Paterc. ii. 23.)

The language of Heffter (Athenäische Gerichtsverfassung, p. 466), especially, degrades very undeservedly the state of good faith and credit at Athens.

The whole tone and argument of the Oration of Demosthenês against Leptinês is a remarkable proof of the respect of the Athenian Dikastery for vested interests, even under less obvious forms than that of pecuniary possession. We may add a striking passage of Demosthenês cont. Timokrat. wherein he denounces the rescinding of past transactions (τὰ πεπραγμένα λῦσαι, contrasted with prospective legislation) as an injustice peculiar to oligarchy, and repugnant to the feelings of a democracy (cont. Timokrat. c. 20, p. 724; c. 36, 747).

modern kingdoms of France and England until comparatively recent times, in respect of honest dealing with the coinage.[1] Moreover, while there occurred at Rome several political changes which brought about new tables,[2] or at least a partial depreciation of contracts, no phænomenon of the same kind ever happened at Athens, during the three centuries between Solôn and the end of the free working of the democracy. Doubtless there were fraudulent debtors at Athens; while the administration of private law, though not in any way conniving at their proceedings, was far too imperfect to repress them as effectually as might have been wished. But the public sentiment on the point was just and decided. It may be asserted with confidence that a loan of money at Athens was quite as secure as it ever was at any time or place of the ancient world,—in spite of the great and important superiority of Rome with respect to the accumulation of a body of authoritative legal precedent, the source of what was ultimately shaped into the Roman jurisprudence. Among the various causes of sedition or mischief in the Grecian communities,[3] we hear little of the pressure of private debt.

[1] A similar credit, in respect to monetary probity, may be claimed for the republic of Florence. M. Sismondi says, "Au milieu des révolutions monétaires de tous les pays voisins et tandis que la mauvaise foi des gouvernemens altéroit le numéraire d'une extrémité à l'autre de l'Europe, le florin ou séquin de Florence est toujours resté le même: il est du même poids, du même titre; il porte la même empreinte que celui qui fut battu en 1252". (Républiques Italiennes, vol. iii. ch. 18, p. 176.)

M. Boeckh (Public Econ. of Athens, i. 6; iv. 19), while affirming justly and decidedly, that the Athenian republic always set a high value on maintaining the integrity of their silver money—yet thinks that the gold pieces which were coined in Olymp. 93, 2 (408 B.C.) under the archonship of Antigenês (out of the golden ornaments in the acropolis, and at a time of public embarrassments) were debased and made to pass for more than their value. The only evidence in support of this position appears to be the passage in Aristophanês (Ran. 719—737) with the Scholia; but this very passage seems to me rather to prove the contrary. "The Athenian people (says Aristophanês) deal with their public servants as they do with their coins: they prefer the new and bad to the old and good." If the people were so exceedingly, and even extravagantly, desirous of obtaining the new coins, this is a strong proof that they were *not* depreciated, and that no loss was incurred by giving the old coins in exchange for them. They might perhaps be carelessly executed.

[2] "Sane vetus Urbi fœnebre malum (says Tacitus, Ann. vi. 16) et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa," &c.: compare Appian, Bell. Civil. Præfat.; and Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, L. xxii. c. 22.

The constant hopes and intrigues of debtors at Rome, to get rid of their debts by some political movement, are nowhere more forcibly brought out than in the second Catilinarian Oration of Cicero, c. 8—9: read also the striking harangue of Catiline to his fellow-conspirators (Sallust, B. Catilin. c. 20—21).

[3] The insolvent debtor in some of the Bœotian towns was condemned to sit publicly in the agora with a basket on his head, and then disfranchised

By the measures of relief above described,[1] Solôn had accomplished results surpassing his own best hopes. He had healed the prevailing discontents; and such was the confidence and gratitude which he had inspired, that he was now called upon to draw up a constitution and laws for the better working of the government in future. His constitutional changes were great and valuable: respecting his laws, what we hear is rather curious than important.

Solôn is empowered to modify the political constitution.

It has been already stated that, down to the time of Solôn, the classification received in Attica was that of the four Ionic tribes, comprising in one scale the Phratries and Gentes, and in another scale the three Trittyes and forty-eight Naukraries—while the Eupatridæ, seemingly a few specially respected gentes, and perhaps a few distinguished families in all the gentes, had in their hands all the powers of government. Solôn introduced a new principle of classification—called in Greek the timocratic principle. He distributed all the citizens of the tribes, without any reference to their gentes or phratries, into four classes, according to the amount of their property, which he caused to be assessed and entered in a public schedule. Those whose annual income was equal to 500 medimni of corn (about 700 Imperial bushels) and upwards—one medimnus being considered equivalent to one drachma in money—he placed in the highest class; those who received between 300 and 500 medimni or drachms formed the second class; and those between 200 and 300, the third.[2] The fourth and most numerous class comprised all those who did not possess land yielding a produce equal to 200 medimni. The first class, called Pentakosiomedimni, were alone eligible to the

His census —four scales of property.

(Nikolaus Damaskenus, Frag. p. 152, ed. Orelli).

According to Diodôrus, the old severe law against the body of a debtor, long after it had been abrogated by Solôn at Athens, still continued in other parts of Greece (i. 79).

[1] Solôn, Frag. 27, ed. Schneid.—

Ἀ μὲν ἄελπτα σὺν θεοῖσιν ἤνυσ', ἄλλα δ' οὐ μάτην
Ἔρδον.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, 18—23; Pollux, xiii. 130; Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 4; Aristot. Fragm. περὶ Πολιτείων, Fr. 51, ed. Neumann; Harpokration and Photius, v. Ἱππάς; Etymolog. Mag. Ζευγίσιον, Θητικόν; the Etym. Mag. Ζευγίσιον, and the Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 627, recognize only three classes.

He took a medimnus (of wheat or barley?) as equivalent to a drachm, and a sheep at the same value (*ib.* c. 23).

The medimnus seems equal to about one and two-fifths (1·4) English Imperial bushel: consequently 500 medimni = 700 English Imperial bushels, or 87½ quarters.

archonship and to all commands: the second were called the Knights or horsemen of the state, as possessing enough to enable them to keep a horse and perform military service in that capacity: the third class, called the Zeugitæ, formed the heavy-armed infantry, and were bound to serve, each with his full panoply. Each of these three classes was entered in the public schedule as possessed of a taxable capital calculated with a certain reference to his annual income, but in a proportion diminishing according to the scale of that income—and a man paid taxes to the state according to the sum for which he stood rated in the schedule; so that this direct taxation acted really like a graduated income-tax. The rateable property of the citizen belonging to the richest class (the Pentakosiomedimnus) was calculated and entered on the state-schedule at a sum of capital equal to twelve times his annual income: that of the Hippeus, Horseman or knight, at a sum equal to ten times his annual income: that of the Zeugite, at a sum equal to five times his annual income. Thus a Pentakosiomedimnus whose income was exactly 500 drachms (the minimum qualification of his class), stood rated in the schedule for a taxable property of 6000 drachms or one talent, being twelve times his income—if his annual income were 1000 drachms, he would stand rated for 12,000 drachms or two talents, being the same proportion of income to rateable capital. But when we pass to the second class, Horsemen or knights, the proportion of the two is changed. The Horseman possessing an income of just 300 drachms (or 300 medimni) would stand rated for 3000 drachms, or ten times his real income, and so in the same proportion for any income above 300 and below 500. Again, in the third class, or below 300, the proportion is a second time altered—the Zeugite possessing exactly 200 drachms of income was rated upon a still lower calculation, at 1000 drachms, or a sum equal to five times his income; and all incomes of this class (between 200 and 300 drachms) would in like manner be multiplied by five in order to obtain the amount of rateable capital. Upon these respective sums of scheduled capital, all direct taxation was levied. If the state required one per cent. of direct tax, the poorest Pentakosiomedimnus would pay (upon 6000 drachms) 60 drachms: the poorest Hippeus would pay

Graduated liability to income-tax of the three richest classes, one compared with the other.

(upon 3000 drachms) 30; the poorest Zeugite would pay (upon 1000 drachms) 10 drachms. And thus this mode of assessment would operate like a *graduated* income-tax, looking at it in reference to the three different classes—but as an *equal* income-tax, looking at it in reference to the different individuals comprised in one and the same class.[1]

All persons in the state whose annual income amounted to less than 200 medimni or drachms were placed in the fourth class, and they must have constituted the large majority of the community. They were not liable to any direct taxation, and perhaps were not at first even entered upon the taxable schedule, more especially as we do not know that any taxes were actually levied upon this schedule during the Solonian times. It is said that they were all called Thêtes, but this appellation is not well

[1] The excellent explanation of the Solonian (τίμημα) property-schedule and graduated qualification, first given by Boeckh in his Staatshaushaltung der Athener (b. iii. c. 5), has elucidated a subject which was, before him, nothing but darkness and mystery. The statement of Pollux (viii. 130), given in very loose language, had been, before Boeckh, erroneously apprehended: ἀνήλισκον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, does not mean the sums which the Pentakosiomedimnus, the Hippeus, or the Zeugite, *actually paid* to the state, but the sums for which each was rated, or which each was *liable* to pay if called upon: of course the state does not call for *the whole* of a man's rated property, but exacts an equal proportion of it from each.

On one point I cannot concur with Boeckh. He fixes the pecuniary qualification of the third class, or Zeugites, at 150 drachms, not at 200. All the positive testimonies (as he himself allows, p. 31) agree in fixing 200, and not 150; and the inference drawn from the old law, quoted in Demosthenês (cont. Makartat. p. 1067) is too uncertain to outweigh this concurrence of authorities.

Moreover, the whole Solonian schedule becomes clearer and more symmetrical if we adhere to the statement of 200 drachms, and not 150, as the lowest scale of Zeugite income; for the scheduled capital is then, in all the three scales, a definite and exact multiple of the income returned—in the richest class it is twelve times—in the middle class, ten times—in the poorest, five times the income. But this correspondence ceases, if we adopt the supposition of Boeckh, that the lowest Zeugite income was 150 drachms; for the sum of 1000 drachms (at which the lowest Zeugite was rated in the schedule) is no exact multiple of 150 drachms. In order to evade this difficulty, Boeckh employs a way both roundabout and including nice fractions; he thinks that the income of each was converted into capital by multiplying by twelve, and that in the case of the richest class, or Pentakosiomedimni, the *whole* sum so obtained was entered in the schedule—in the case of the second class, or Hippeis, five-sixths of the sum—and in the case of the third class, or Zeugites, five-ninths of the sum. Now this process seems to me rather complicated, and the employment of a fraction such as five-ninths (both difficult and not much above the simple fraction of one-half) very improbable: moreover Boeckh's own table (p. 41) gives fractional sums in the third class, when none appear in the first or second.

Such objections, of course, would not be admissible, if there was any positive evidence to prove the point. But in this case they are in harmony with all the positive evidence, and are amply sufficient (in my judgment) to countervail the presumption arising from the old law on which Boeckh relies.

sustained, and cannot be admitted: the fourth compartment in the descending scale was indeed termed the Thetic census, because it contained all the Thêtes, and because most of its members were of that humble description; but it is not conceivable that a proprietor whose land yielded to him a clear annual return of 100, 120, 140, or 180 drachms, could ever have been designated by that name.[1]

Admeasurement of political rights and franchises according to this scale—a Timocracy.

Such were the divisions in the political scale established by Solôn, called by Aristotle a Timocracy, in which the rights, honours, functions, and liabilities of the citizens were measured out according to the assessed property of each. The highest honours of the state—that is, the places of the nine archons annually chosen, as well as those in the senate of Areopagus, into which the past archons always entered—perhaps also the posts of Prytanes of the Naukrari—were reserved for the first class: the poor Eupatrids became ineligible, while rich men not Eupatrids were admitted. Other posts of inferior distinction were filled by the second and third classes, who were moreover bound to military service, the one on horseback, the other as heavy-armed soldiers on foot. Moreover, the Liturgies of the state, as they were called—unpaid functions such as the trierarchy, chorêgy, gymnasiarchy, &c., which entailed expense and trouble on the holder of them—were distributed in some way or other between the members of the three classes, though we do not know how the distribution was made in these early times. On the other hand, the members of the fourth or lowest class were disqualified from holding any individual office of dignity. They performed no liturgies, served in case of war only as light-armed or with a panoply provided by the state, and paid nothing to the direct property-tax or Eisphora. It would be incorrect to say that they paid *no* taxes, for indirect taxes, such

[1] See Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung der Athener, *ut supra*. Pollux gives an Inscription describing Anthemiôn son of Diphilus,—Θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος. The word τελεῖν does not necessarily mean *actual* payment, but "the being included in a class with a certain aggregate of duties and liabilities,"—equivalent to *censeri* (Boeckh, p. 36).

Plato in his treatise De Legibus admits a quadripartite census of citizens, according to more or less of property (Legg. v. p. 744; vi. p. 756). Compare Tittmann, Griechische Staatsverfassungen, p. 648, 653; K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Gr. Staatsalt. § 108.

as duties on imports, fell upon them in common with the rest; and we must recollect that these latter were, throughout a long period of Athenian history, in steady operation, while the direct taxes were only levied on rare occasions.

But though this fourth class, constituting the great numerical majority of the free people, were shut out from individual office, their collective importance was in another way greatly increased. They were invested with the right of choosing the annual archons, out of the class of Pentakosiomedimni; and what was of more importance still, the archons and the magistrates generally, after their year of office, instead of being accountable to the senate of Areopagus, were made formally accountable to the public assembly sitting in judgment upon their past conduct. They might be impeached and called upon to defend themselves, punished in case of misbehaviour, and debarred from the usual honour of a seat in the senate of Areopagus.

Fourth or poorest class—exercised powers only in assembly—chose magistrates and held them to accountability.

Had the public assembly been called upon to act alone without aid or guidance, this accountability would have proved only nominal. But Solôn converted it into a reality by another new institution, which will hereafter be found of great moment in the working out of the Athenian democracy. He created the pro-bouleutic or pre-considering senate, with intimate and especial reference to the public assembly—to prepare matters for its discussion, to convoke and superintend its meetings, and to ensure the execution of its decrees. The senate, as first constituted by Solôn, comprised 400 members, taken in equal proportions from the four tribes,—not chosen by lot (as they will be found to be in the more advanced stage of the democracy), but elected by the people, in the same way as the archons then were,—persons of the fourth or poorest class of the census, though contributing to elect, not being themselves eligible.

Pro-bouleutic or pre-considering Senate of Four Hundred.

But while Solôn thus created the new pre-considering senate, identified with and subsidiary to the popular assembly, he manifested no jealousy of the pre-existing Areopagitic senate. On the contrary, he enlarged its powers, gave to it an ample supervision over the execution of

Senate of Areopagus—its powers enlarged.

the laws generally, and imposed upon it the censorial duty of inspecting the lives and occupation of the citizens, as well as of punishing men of idle and dissolute habits. He was himself, as past archon, a member of this ancient senate, and he is said to have contemplated that by means of the two senates, the state would be held fast, as it were with a double anchor, against all shocks and storms.[1]

Such are the only new political institutions (apart from the laws to be noticed presently) which there are grounds for ascribing to Solôn, when we take proper care to discriminate what really belongs to Solôn and his age, from the Athenian constitution as afterwards remodelled. It has been a practice common with many able expositors of Grecian affairs, and followed partly even by Dr. Thirlwall,[2] to connect the name of Solôn with the whole political and judicial state of Athens as it stood between the age of Periklês and that of Demosthenês,—the regulations of the senate of five hundred, the numerous public dikasts or jurors taken by lot from the people, as well as the body annually selected for law-revision, and called Nomothets, and the prosecution (called the Graphê Paranomôn) open to be instituted against the proposer of any measure illegal, unconstitutional or dangerous. There is indeed some countenance for this confusion between Solonian and post-Solonian Athens, in the usage of the orators themselves. For Demosthenês and Æschinês employ the name of Solôn in a very loose manner, and treat him as the author of institutions belonging evidently to a later age: for example, the striking and characteristic oath of the Heliastic jurors, which Demosthenês[3] ascribes to

Confusion frequently seen between Solonian and post-Solonian institutions.

Loose language of the Athenian orators on this point.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 18, 19, 23; Philochorus, Frag. 60, ed. Didot. Athenæus, iv. p. 168; Valer. Maxim. ii. 6.

[2] Meursius, Solôn, *passim*; Sigonius, De Republ. Athen. i. p. 39 (though in some passages he makes a marked distinction between the time before and after Kleisthenês, p. 28) See Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. sect. 46, 47; Tittman, Griechische Staatsverfassungen, p. 146; Platner, Der Attische Prozess, book ii. ch. 5, p. 28—38: Dr. Thirlwall, History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xi. p. 46—57.

Niebuhr, in his brief allusions to the legislation of Solôn, keeps duly in view the material difference between Athens as constituted by Solôn, and Athens as it came to be after Kleisthenês; but he presumes a closer analogy between the Roman patricians and the Athenian Eupatridæ than we are entitled to count upon.

[3] Demosthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 746. Æschinês ascribes this oath to ὁ νομοθέτης (c. Ktesiphon. p. 389).

Dr. Thirlwall notices the oath as prescribed by Solôn (History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xi. p. 47).

So again Demosthenês and Æschinês,

Solôn, proclaims itself in many ways as belonging to the age after Kleisthenês, especially by the mention of the senate of five hundred, and not of four hundred. Among the citizens who served as jurors or dikasts, Solôn was venerated generally as the author of the Athenian laws. An orator therefore might well employ his name for the purpose of emphasis, without provoking any critical inquiry whether the particular institution, which he happened to be then impressing upon his audience, belonged really to Solôn himself or to the subsequent periods. Many of those institutions, which Dr. Thirlwall mentions in conjunction with the name of Solôn, are among the last refinements and

in the oration against Leptinês (c. 21, p. 486) and against Timokrat. p. 706, 707—compare Æschin. c. Ktesiph. p. 429—in commenting upon the formalities enjoined for repealing an existing law and enacting a new one, while ascribing the whole to Solôn—say, among other things, that Solôn directed the proposer "to post up his project of law before the Eponymi" (ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθεν τῶν Ἐπωνύμων): now the Eponymi were (the statues of) the heroes from whom the ten Kleisthenean tribes drew their names, and the law making mention of these statues proclaims itself as of a date subsequent to Kleisthenês. Even the law defining the treatment of the condemned murderer who returned from exile, which both Demosthenês and Doxopater (ap. Walz. Collect. Rhetor. vol. ii. p. 223) call a law of Drako, is really later than Solôn, as may be seen by its mention of the ἄξονες (Demosth. cont. Aristok. p. 629).

Andokidês is not less liberal in his employment of the name of Solôn (see Orat. i. De Mysteriis, p. 13), where he cites as a law of Solôn an enactment which contains the mention of the tribe Æantis and the senate of five hundred (obviously therefore subsequent to the revolution of Kleisthenês), besides other matters which prove it to have been passed even subsequent to the oligarchical revolution of the four hundred, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war. The Prytanes, the Proëdri, and the division of the year into ten portions of time, each called by the name of a *prytany*—so interwoven with all the public proceedings of Athens—do not belong to the Solonian Athens, but to Athens as it stood after the ten tribes of Kleisthenês.

Schömann maintains emphatically, that the sworn Nomothetæ as they stood in the days of Demosthenês were instituted by Solôn; but he admits at the same time that the allusions of the orators to this institution include both words and matters essentially post-Solonian, so that modifications subsequent to Solôn must have been introduced. This admission seems to me fatal to the cogency of his proof: see Schömann, De Comitiis, ch. vii. p. 266—268; and the same author, Antiq. J. P. Att. sect. xxxii. His opinion is shared by K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterth. sect. 131; and Platner, Attischer Prozess, vol. ii. p. 38.

Meier, De Bonis Damnatorum, p. 2, remarks upon the laxity with which the orators use the name of Solôn: "Oratores Solonis nomine sæpe utuntur, ubi omnino legislatorem quemquam significare volunt, etiamsi a Solone ipso lex lata non est". Hermann Schelling, in his Dissertation de Solonis Legibus ap. Oratt. Attic. (Berlin, 1842), has collected and discussed the references to Solôn and to his laws in the orators. He controverts the opinion just cited from Meier, but upon arguments no way satisfactory to me (p. 6—8); the more so as he himself admits that the dialect in which the Solonian laws appear in the citation of the orators can never have been the original dialect of Solôn himself (p. 3—5), and makes also substantially the same admission as Schömann, in regard to the presence of post-Solonian matters in the supposed Solonian law (p. 23—27).

elaborations of the democratical mind of Athens—gradually prepared, doubtless, during the interval between Kleisthenês and Periklês, but not brought into full operation until the period of the latter (460—429 B.C.). For it is hardly possible to conceive these numerous dikasteries and assemblies in regular, frequent, and long standing operation, without an assured payment to the dikasts who composed them. Now such payment first began to be made about the time of Periklês, if not by his actual proposition ;[1] and Demosthenês had good reason for contending that if it were suspended, the judicial as well as the administrative system of Athens would at once fall to pieces.[2] It would be a marvel, such as nothing short of strong direct evidence would justify us in believing, that in an age when even partial democracy was yet untried, Solôn should conceive the idea of such institutions; it would be a marvel still greater that the half-emancipated Thêtes and small proprietors, for whom he legislated—yet trembling under the rod of the Eupatrid archons, and utterly inexperienced in collective business—should have been found suddenly competent to fulfil these ascendant functions, such as the citizens of conquering Athens in the days of Periklês—full of the sentiment of force and actively identifying themselves with the dignity of their community—became gradually competent, and not more than competent, to exercise with effect. To suppose that Solôn contemplated and provided for the periodical revision of his laws by establishing a Nomothetic jury or dikastery, such as that which we find in operation during the time of Demosthenês, would be at variance (in my judgment) with any reasonable estimate either of the man or of the age. Herodotus says that Solôn, having exacted from the Athenians solemn oaths that *they* would not rescind any of his laws for ten years, quitted Athens for that period, in order that he might not be compelled to rescind them himself: Plutarch informs us that he gave to his laws force for a century absolute.[3] Solôn himself, and Drako before him, had been lawgivers evoked and empowered by the special emer-

Solôn never contemplated the future change or revision of his own laws.

[1] See Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, book ii. c. 15.

[2] Demosthen. cont. Timokrat. c. 26, p. 731: compare Aristophanês, Ekklesiazus. 302.

[3] Herodot. i. 29; Plutarch, Solôn, c. 25. Aulus Gellius affirms that the Athenians swore under strong religious penalties to observe them for ever (ii. 12).

gency of the times: the idea of a frequent revision of laws, by a body of lot-selected dikasts, belongs to a far more advanced age, and could not well have been present to the minds of either. The wooden rollers of Solôn, like the tables of the Roman decemvirs,[1] were doubtless intended as a permanent "fons omnis publici privatique juris".

If we examine the facts of the case, we shall see that nothing more than the bare foundation of the democracy of Athens as it stood in the time of Periklês, can reasonably be ascribed to Solôn. "I gave to the people (Solôn says in one of his short remaining fragments[2]) as much strength as sufficed for their needs, without either enlarging or diminishing their dignity: for those too who possessed power and were noted for wealth, I took care that no unworthy treatment should be reserved. I stood with the strong shield cast over both parties, so as not to allow an unjust triumph to either." Again, Aristotle tells us that Solôn bestowed upon the people as much power as was indispensable, but no more:[3] the power to elect their magistrates and hold them to accountability: if the people had had less than this, they could not have been expected to remain tranquil—they

Solôn laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy, but his institutions are not democratical.

[1] Livy, iii. 34.

[2] Solôn, Fragm. ii. 3, ed. Schneidewin:—

Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος, ὅσσον ἐπαρκεῖ,
Τιμῆς οὔτ' ἀφελὼν, οὔτ' ἐπορεξάμενος·
Οἳ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοί,
Καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.
Ἕστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι,
Νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἴασ' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.

The reading ἐπαρκεῖ in the first line is not universally approved: Brunck adopts ἐπαρκεῖν, which Niebuhr approves. The latter construes it to mean—"I gave to the people only so much power as could not be withheld from them". (Röm. Geschichte, t. ii. p. 346, 2nd ed.) Taking the first two lines together, I think Niebuhr's meaning is substantially correct, though I give a more literal translation myself. Solôn seems to be vindicating himself against the reproach of having been too democratical, which was doubtless addressed to him in every variety of language.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 4. Ἐπεὶ Σόλων γ' ἔοικε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀποδιδόναι τῷ δήμῳ δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τούτου κύριος ὢν ὁ δῆμος, δοῦλος ἂν εἴη καὶ πολέμιος.

In this passage respecting Solôn (containing sections 2, 3, 4 of the edition of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire) Aristotle first gives the opinion of certain critics who praised Solôn, with the reasons upon which it is founded; next, the opinion of certain critics who blamed him, with *their* reasons; thirdly, his own judgment. The first of these three contains sect. 2 (from Σόλωνα δ' ἔνιοι, down to τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων). The second contains the greater part of sect. 3 (from Διὸ καὶ μέμφονταί τινες αὐτῷ, down to τὴν νυν δημοκρατίαν). The remainder is his own judgment. I notice this, because sections 2 and 3 are not to be taken as the opinion of Aristotle himself, but of those upon whom he was commenting, who considered Solôn as the author of the dikasteries selected by lot.

would have been in slavery and hostile to the constitution. Not less distinctly does Herodotus speak, when he describes the revolution subsequently operated by Kleisthenês—the latter (he tells us) found "the Athenian people excluded from everything".[1] These passages seem positively to contradict the supposition, in itself sufficiently improbable, that Solôn is the author of the peculiar democratical institutions of Athens, such as the constant and numerous dikasts for judicial trials and revision of laws. The genuine and forward democratical movement of Athens begins only with Kleisthenês, from the moment when that distinguished Alkmæônid, either spontaneously or from finding himself worsted in his party strife with Isagoras, purchased by large popular concessions the hearty co-operation of the multitude under very dangerous circumstances. While Solôn, in his own statement as well as in that of Aristotle, gave to the people as much power as was strictly needful, but no more—Kleisthenês (to use the significant phrase of Herodotus), "being vanquished in the party contest with his rival, *took the people into partnership*".[2] It was, thus, to the interests of the weaker section, in a strife of contending nobles, that the Athenian people owed their first admission to political ascendency—in part, at least, to this cause, though the proceedings of Kleisthenês indicate a hearty and spontaneous popular sentiment. But such constitutional admission of the people would not have been so astonishingly fruitful in positive results, if the course of public events for the half century after Kleisthenês had not been such as to stimulate most powerfully their energy, their self-reliance, their mutual sympathies, and their ambition. I shall recount in a future chapter these historical causes, which, acting upon the Athenian character, gave such efficiency and expansion to the great democratical impulse communicated by Kleisthenês: at present it is enough to remark that that impulse commences properly with Kleisthenês, and not with Solôn.

The real Athenian democracy begins with Kleisthenês.

[1] Herodot. v. 69. *τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, πρότερον ἀπωσμένον πάντων*, &c.

[2] Herodot. v. 66—69. Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες (Kleisthenês and Isagoras) *ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμιος· ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. . . . . Ὡς γάρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, πρότερον ἀπωσμένον πάντων, τότε πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ προσεθήκατο*, (Kleisthenês) *τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε . . . . ἦν δὲ, τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος, πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιώτεων.*

As to the marked democratical tendency of the proceedings of Kleisthenês, see Aristot. Polit. vi. 2, 11; iii. 1, 10.

But the Solonian constitution, though only the foundation, was yet the indispensable foundation, of the subsequent democracy. And if the discontents of the miserable Athenian population, instead of experiencing his disinterested and healing management, had fallen at once into the hands of selfish power-seekers like Kylôn or Peisistratus—the memorable expansion of the Athenian mind during the ensuing century would never have taken place, and the whole subsequent history of Greece would probably have taken a different course. Solôn left the essential powers of the state still in the hands of the oligarchy. The party combats (to be recounted hereafter) between Peisistratus, Lykurgus, and Megaklês, thirty years after his legislation, which ended in the despotism of Peisistratus, will appear to be of the same purely oligarchical character as they had been before Solôn was appointed archon. But the oligarchy which he established was very different from the unmitigated oligarchy which he found, so teeming with oppression and so destitute of redress, as his own poems testify.

Athenian government after Solôn still oligarchical, but mitigated.

It was he who first gave both to the citizens of middling property and to the general mass a *locus standi* against the Eupatrids. He enabled the people partially to protect themselves, and familiarized them with the idea of protecting themselves, by the peaceful exercise of a constitutional franchise. The new force, through which this protection was carried into effect, was the public assembly called Heliæa,[1] regularized and armed with enlarged

[1] Lysias cont. Theomnest. A. c. 5, p. 357, who gives ἐὰν μὴ προστιμήσῃ ἡ Ἡλίαια as a Solonian phrase; though we are led to doubt whether Solôn can ever have employed it, when we find Pollux (vii. 5, 22) distinctly stating that Solôn used the word ἐπαίτια to signify what the orators called προστιμήματα.

The original and proper meaning of the word Ἡλίαια is, the public assembly (see Tittmann, Griech. Staatsverfass. pp. 215—216): in subsequent times we find it signifying at Athens—1. The aggregate of 6000 dikasts chosen by lot annually and sworn, or the assembled people considered as exercising judicial functions; 2. Each of the separate fractions into which this aggregate body was in practice subdivided for actual judicial business. Ἐκκλησία became the term for the public deliberative assembly properly so called, which could never be held on the same day that the dikasteries sat (Demosthen. cont. Timokrat. c. 21, p. 726): every dikastery is in fact always addressed as if it were the assembled people engaged in a specific duty.

I imagine the term Ἡλίαια in the time of Solôn to have been used in its original meaning—the public assembly, perhaps with the implication of employment in judicial proceeding. The fixed number of 6000 does not date before the time of Kleisthenês, because it is essentially connected with the ten tribes: while the subdivision of this

prerogatives and farther strengthened by its indispensable ally—the pro-bouleutic or pre-considering senate. Under the Solonian constitution, this force was merely secondary and defensive, but after the renovation of Kleisthenês it became paramount and sovereign. It branched out gradually into those numerous popular dikasteries which so powerfully modified both public and private Athenian life, drew to itself the undivided reverence and submission of the people, and by degrees rendered the single magistracies essentially subordinate functions. The popular assembly, as constituted by Solôn, appearing in modified efficiency and trained to the office of reviewing and judging the general conduct of a past magistrate—forms the intermediate stage between the passive Homeric agora, and those omnipotent assemblies and dikasteries which listened to Periklês or Demosthenês. Compared with these last, it has in it but a faint streak of democracy—and so it naturally appeared to Aristotle, who wrote with a practical experience of Athens in the time of the orators; but compared with the first, or with the ante-Solonian constitution of Attica, it must doubtless have appeared a concession eminently democratical. To impose upon the Eupatrid archon the necessity of being elected, or put upon his trial of after-accountability, by the *rabble* of freemen (such would be the phrase in Eupatrid society), would be a bitter humiliation to those among whom it was first introduced; for we must recollect that this was the most extensive scheme of constitutional reform yet propounded in Greece, and that despots and oligarchies shared between them at that time the whole Grecian world. As it appears that Solôn, while constituting the popular assembly with its pro-bouleutic senate, had no jealousy of the senate of Areopagus, and indeed even enlarged its powers—we may infer that his grand object was, not to weaken the oligarchy generally, but to improve the administration and to repress the misconduct and irregularities of the individual archons; and that too, not by diminishing their powers, but by making some degree of popularity the condition both of their entry into office, and of their safety or honour after it.

body of 6000 into various bodies of jurors for different courts and purposes did not commence, probably, until after the first reforms of Kleisthenês. I shall revert to this point when I touch upon the latter and his times.

It is, in my judgment, a mistake to suppose that Solôn transferred the judicial power of the archons to a popular dikastery. These magistrates still continued self-acting judges, deciding and condemning without appeal—not mere presidents of an assembled jury, as they afterwards came to be during the next century.[1] For the general exercise of such power they were accountable after their year of office. Such accountability was the security against abuse—a very insufficient security, yet not wholly inoperative. It will be seen however presently that these archons, though strong to coerce, and perhaps to oppress, small and poor men, had no means of keeping down rebellious nobles of their own rank, such as Peisistratus, Lykurgus, and Megaklês, each with his armed followers. When we compare the drawn swords of these ambitious competitors, ending in the despotism of one of them, with the vehement parliamentary strife between Themistoklês and Aristeidês afterwards, peaceably decided by the vote of the sovereign people and never disturbing the public tranquillity—we shall see that the democracy of the ensuing century fulfilled the conditions of order, as well as of progress, better than the Solonian constitution.

The archons still continued to be judges until after the time of Kleisthenês.

To distinguish this Solonian constitution from the democracy which followed it, is essential to a due comprehension of the progress of the Greek mind, and especially of Athenian affairs. That democracy was achieved by gradual steps, which will be

[1] The statement of Plutarch, that Solôn gave an appeal from the decision of the archon to the judgment of the popular dikastery (Plutarch, Solôn, 18), is distrusted by most of the expositors, though Dr. Thirlwall seems to admit it, justifying it by the analogy of the Ephetæ or judges of appeal constituted by Drako (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xi. p. 46).

To me it appears that the Drakonian Ephetæ were not really judges in *appeal*: but be that as it may, the supposition of an appeal from the judgment of the archon is inconsistent with the known course of Attic procedure, and has apparently arisen in Plutarch's mind from confusion with the Roman *provocatio*, which really was an appeal from the judgment of the consul to that of the people. Plutarch's comparison of Solôn with Publicola leads to this suspicion—Καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσι δίκην, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων τοὺς δικαστὰς, ἔδωκε (Publicola). The Athenian archon was first a judge without appeal; and afterwards, ceasing to be a judge, he became president of a dikastery, performing only those preparatory steps which brought the case to an issue fit for decision: but he does not seem ever to have been a judge subject to appeal.

It is hardly just to Plutarch to make him responsible for the absurd remark that Solôn rendered his laws intentionally obscure, in order that the dikasts might have more to do and greater power. He gives the remark, himself, only with the saving expression λέγεται, "it is said"; and we may well doubt whether it was ever seriously intended even by its author, whoever he may have been.

hereafter described. Demosthenês and Æschinês lived under it as a system consummated and in full activity, when the stages of its previous growth were no longer matter of exact memory; and the dikasts then assembled in judgment were pleased to hear their constitution associated with the names either of Solôn or of Thêseus. Their inquisitive contemporary Aristotle was not thus misled: but even common-place Athenians of the century preceding would have escaped the same delusion. For during the whole course of the democratical movement from the Persian invasion down to the Peloponnesian war, and especially during the changes proposed by Periklês and Ephialtês, there was always a strenuous party of resistance, who would not suffer the people to forget that they had already forsaken, and were on the point of forsaking still more, the orbit marked out by Solôn. The illustrious Periklês underwent innumerable attacks both from the orators in the assembly and from the comic writers in the theatre. And among these sarcasms on the political tendencies of the day, we are probably to number the complaint, breathed by the poet Kratinus, of the desuetude into which both Solôn and Drako had fallen—"I swear (said he in a fragment of one of his comedies) by Solôn and Drako, whose wooden tablets (of laws) are now employed by people to roast their barley".[1] The laws of Solôn respecting penal offences, respecting inheritance and adoption, respecting the private relations generally, &c., remained for the most part in force: his quadripartite census also continued, at least for financial purposes, until the archonship of Nausinikus in 377 B.C.—so that Cicero and others might be warranted in affirming that his laws still prevailed at Athens: but his political

After-changes in the Athenian constitution overlooked by the orators, but understood by Aristotle, and strongly felt at Athens during the time of Periklês.

[1] Kratinus ap. Plutarch. Solôn, 25.—

Πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος, οἵσι νῦν
Φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυς ταῖς κύρβεσιν.

Isokratês praises the moderate democracy in early Athens, as compared with that under which he lived; but in the Orat. vii. (Areopagitic.) he connects the former with the names of Solôn and Kleisthenês, while in the Orat. xii. (Panathenaic.) he considers the former to have lasted from the days of Thêseus to those of Solôn and Peisistratus. In this latter oration he describes pretty exactly the power which the people possessed under the Solonian constitution,—*τοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς καταστῆσαι καὶ λαβεῖν δίκην παρὰ τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων*, which coincides with the phrase of Aristotle—*τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν*,—supposing *ἀρχόντων* to be understood as the substantive of *ἐξαμαρτανόντων*.

Compare Isokratês, Or. vii. p. 143 (p. 192 Bek.) and p. 150 (202 Bek.), and Orat. xii. p. 260—264 (351—356 Bek.).

and judicial arrangements had undergone a revolution[1] not less complete and memorable than the character and spirit of the Athenian people generally. The choice, by way of lot, of archons and other magistrates—and the distribution by lot of the general body of dikasts or jurors into pannels for judicial business—may be decidedly considered as not belonging to Solôn, but adopted after the revolution of Kleisthenês;[2] probably the choice of senators by lot also. The lot was a symptom of pronounced democratical spirit, such as we must not seek in the Solonian institutions.

Gentes and Phratries under the Solonian constitution—status of persons not included in them.

It is not easy to make out distinctly what was the political position of the ancient Gentes and Phratries, as Solôn left them. The four tribes consisted altogether of gentes and phratries, insomuch that no one could be included in any one of the tribes who was not also a member of some gens and phratry. Now the new pro-bouleutic or preconsidering senate consisted of 400 members,—100 from each of the tribes: persons not included in any gens or phratry could therefore have had no access to it. The conditions of eligibility were similar, according to ancient custom, for the nine archons—of course, also, for the senate of Areopagus. So that there remained only the public assembly, in which an Athenian not a member of these tribes could take part: yet he was a citizen, since he could give his vote for archons and senators, and could take part in the annual decision of their accountability, besides being entitled to claim redress for wrong from the archons in his own person—while the alien could only do so through the intervention of an avouching citizen or Prostatês. It seems therefore that all persons not included in the four tribes, whatever their grade or fortune might be, were on the same level in respect to political privilege as the fourth and poorest class of the Solonian census. It has already been remarked, that even before the time of Solôn, the number of Athenians not included in the gentes or phratries was probably considerable; it tended to become greater and greater, since these bodies were close and unexpansive, while the policy of the new

[1] Cicero, Orat. pro Sext. Roscio, c. 25; Ælian, V. H. viii. 10.

[2] This seems to be the opinion of Dr. Thirlwall, against Wachsmuth; though he speaks with doubt (History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. 11, p. 48, 2nd ed.).

lawgiver tended to invite industrious settlers from other parts of Greece to Athens. Such great and increasing inequality of political privilege helps to explain the weakness of the government in repelling the aggressions of Peisistratus, and exhibits the importance of the revolution afterwards wrought by Kleisthenês, when he abolished (for all political purposes) the four old tribes, and created ten new comprehensive tribes in place of them.

In regard to the regulations of the senate and the assembly of the people, as constituted by Solôn, we are altogether without information: nor is it safe to transfer to the Solonian constitution the information, comparatively ample, which we possess respecting these bodies under the later democracy.

Laws of Solôn.

The laws of Solôn were inscribed on wooden rollers and triangular tablets, in the species of writing called Boustrophêdon (lines alternating first from left to right, and next from right to left, like the course of the ploughman), and preserved first in the Akropolis, subsequently in the Prytaneium. On the tablets, called Kyrbeis, were chiefly commemorated the laws respecting sacred rites and sacrifices:[1] on the pillars or rollers, of which there were at least sixteen, were placed the regulations respecting matters profane. So small are the fragments which have come down to us, and so much has been ascribed to Solôn by the orators which belongs really to the subsequent times, that it is hardly possible to form any critical judgment respecting the legislation as a whole, or to discover by what general principles or purposes he was guided.

The Drakonian laws about homicide retained; the rest abrogated.

He left unchanged all the previous laws and practices respecting the crime of homicide, connected as they were intimately with the religious feelings of the people.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 23—25. He particularly mentions the sixteenth ἄξων: we learn also that the thirteenth ἄξων contained the eighth law (c. 19): the twenty-first law is alluded to in Harpokratiôn, v. Ὅτι οἱ ποιηταί.

Some remnants of these wooden rollers existed in the days of Plutarch in the Athenian Prytaneium. See Harpokratiôn and Photius, v. Κύρβεις; Aristot. περὶ Πολιτειῶν, Frag. 35, ed. Neumann; Euphorion ap. Harpokrat. Ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος. Bekker, Anecdota, p. 413.

What we read respecting the ἄξονες and the κύρβεις does not convey a clear idea of them. Besides Aristotle, both Seleukus and Didymus are named as having written commentaries expressly about them (Plutarch, Solôn, i.; Suidas, v. Ὀργεῶνες; compare also Meursius, Solôn, c. 24; Vit. Aristotelis ap. Westermann. Vitarum Scriptt. Græc. p. 404), and the collection in Stephan. Thesaur. p. 1095.

The laws of Drako on this subject, therefore, remained, but on other subjects, according to Plutarch, they were altogether abrogated:[1] there is however room for supposing that the repeal cannot have been so sweeping as this biographer represents.

The Solonian laws seem to have borne more or less upon all the great departments of human interest and duty. We find regulations political and religious, public and private, civil and criminal, commercial, agricultural, sumptuary, and disciplinarian. Solôn provides punishment for crimes; restricts the profession and status of the citizen, prescribes detailed rules for marriage as well as for burial, for the common use of springs and wells, and for the mutual interest of conterminous farmers in planting or hedging their properties. As far as we can judge from the imperfect manner in which his laws come before us, there does not seem to have been any attempt at a systematic order or classification. Some of them are mere general and vague directions, while others again run into the extreme of speciality.

Multifarious character of Solôn: no appearance of classification.

By far the most important of all was the amendment of the law of debtor and creditor which has already been adverted to, and the abolition of the power of fathers and brothers to sell their daughters and sisters into slavery. The prohibition of all contracts on the security of the body was itself sufficient to produce a vast improvement in the character and condition of the poorer population,—a result which seems to have been so sensibly obtained from the legislation of Solôn, that Boeckh and some other eminent authors suppose him to have abolished villenage and conferred upon the poor tenants a property in their lands, annulling the seignorial rights of the landlord. But this opinion rests upon no positive evidence, nor are we warranted in ascribing to him any stronger measure in reference to the land than the annulment of the previous mortages.[2]

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 17; Cyrill. cont. Julian. v. p. 169, ed. Spanheim. The enumeration of the different admitted justifications for homicide, which we find in Demosth. cont. Aristokrat. p. 637, seems rather too copious and systematic for the age of Drako; it may have been amended by Solôn, or perhaps in an age subsequent to Solôn.

[2] See Boeckh, Public Economy of the Athenians, book iii. sect. 5. Tittmann (Griechische Staatsverfass. p. 651) and others have supposed (from Aristot. Polit. ii. 4, 4) that Solôn enacted a law to limit the quantity of land which any individual citizen might acquire. But the passage does not seem to me to bear out such an opinion.

He prohibits the export of landed produce from Attica, except oil.

The first pillar of his laws contained a regulation respecting exportable produce. He forbade the exportation of all produce of the Attic soil, except olive-oil alone. And the sanction employed to enforce observance of this law deserves notice, as an illustration of the ideas of the time—the archon was bound, on pain of forfeiting 100 drachms, to pronounce solemn curses against every offender.[1] We are probably to take this prohibition in conjunction with other objects said to have been contemplated by Solôn, especially the encouragement of artisans and manufacturers at Athens. Observing (we are told) that many new immigrants were just then flocking into Attica to seek an establishment, in consequence of its greater security, he was anxious to turn them rather to manufacturing industry than to the cultivation of a soil naturally poor.[2] He forbade the granting of citizenship to any immigrants, except to such as had quitted irrevocably their former abodes, and come to Athens for the purpose of carrying on some industrious profession; and in order to prevent idleness, he directed the senate of Areopagus to keep watch over the lives of the citizens generally, and punish every one who had no course of regular labour to support him. If a father had not taught his son some art or profession, Solôn relieved the son from all obligation to maintain him in his old age. And it was to encourage the multiplication of these artisans, that he ensured, or sought to ensure, to the residents in Attica the exclusive right of buying and consuming all its landed produce except olive-oil, which was raised in abundance more than sufficient for their wants. It was his wish that the trade with foreigners should be carried on by exporting the produce of artisan labour, instead of the produce of land.[3]

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 24. The *first law*, however, is said to have related to the ensuring of a maintenance to wives and orphans (Harpokratiôn, v. Σῖτος).

By a law of Athens (which marks itself out as belonging to the century after Solôn, by the fulness of its provisions and by the number of steps and official persons named in it), the rooting up of an olive-tree in Attica was forbidden, under a penalty of 200 drachms for each tree so destroyed—except for sacred purposes, or to the extent of two trees per annum for the convenience of the proprietor (Demosthen. cont. Makartat. c. 16, p. 1074).

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, 22. ταῖς τέχναις ἀξίωμα περιέθηκε.

[3] Plutarch, Solôn, 22—24. According to Herodotus, Solôn had enacted that the authorities should punish every man with death who could not show a regular mode of industrious life (Herod. ii. 177; Diodor. i. 77).

So severe a punishment is not cred-

This commercial prohibition is founded on principles substantially similar to those which were acted upon in the early history of England, with reference both to corn and to wool, and in other European countries also. In so far as it was at all operative it tended to lessen the total quantity of produce raised upon the soil of Attica, and thus to keep the price of it from rising,—a purpose less objectionable (if we assume that the legislator is to interfere at all) than that of our late Corn Laws, which were destined to prevent the price of grain from falling. But the law of Solôn must have been altogether inoperative, in reference to the great articles of human subsistence; for Attica imported, both largely and constantly, grain and salt provisions,—probably also wool and flax for the spinning and weaving of the women, and certainly timber for building. Whether the law was ever enforced with reference to figs and honey, may well be doubted; at least these productions of Attica were in after-times generally consumed and celebrated throughout Greece. Probably also in the time of Solôn, the silver-mines of Laureium had hardly begun to be worked: these afterwards became highly productive, and furnished to Athens a commodity for foreign payments not less convenient than lucrative.[1]

The prohibition of little or no effect.

It is interesting to notice the anxiety, both of Solôn and of Drako, to enforce among their fellow-citizens industrious and self-maintaining habits;[2] and we shall find the same sentiment proclaimed by Periklês, at the time when Athenian power was at its maximum. Nor ought we to pass over this early manifestation in Attica of an opinion equitable and tolerant towards sedentary industry, which in most other parts of Greece was regarded as comparatively dishonourable. The general tone of Grecian sentiment recognised no occupations as perfectly worthy of a free citizen except arms, agriculture, and athletic and musical exercises; and the proceedings of the Spartans, who

Encouragement to artisans and industry.

ible; nor is it likely that Solôn borrowed his idea from Egypt.

According to Pollux (viii. 6) idleness was punished by atimy (civil disfranchisement) under Drako: under Solôn, this punishment only took effect against the person who had been convicted of it on three successive occasions. See Meursius, Solôn, c. 17; and the "Areopagus" of the same author, c. 8 and 9; and Taylor, Lectt. Lysiac. cap. 10.

[1] Xenophôn, De Vectigalibus, iii. 2.

[2] Thucyd. ii. 40 (the funeral oration delivered by Periklês)—καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον.

kept aloof even from agriculture and left it to their Helots, were admired, though they could not be copied, throughout most part of the Hellenic world. Even minds like Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophôn concurred to a considerable extent in this feeling, which they justified on the ground that the sedentary life and unceasing house-work of the artisan were inconsistent with military aptitude. The town-occupations are usually described by a word which carries with it contemptuous ideas, and though recognised as indispensable to the existence of the city, are held suitable only for an inferior and semi-privileged order of citizens. This, the received sentiment among Greeks, as well as foreigners, found a strong and growing opposition at Athens, as I have already said—corroborated also by a similar feeling at Corinth.[1] The trade of Corinth, as well as of Chalkis in Eubœa, was extensive, at a time when that of Athens had scarce any existence. But while the despotism of Periander can hardly have failed to operate as a discouragement to industry at Corinth, the contemporaneous legislation of Solôn provided for traders and artisans a new home at Athens, giving the first encouragement to that numerous town-population both in the city and in the Peiræeus, which we find actually residing there in the succeeding century. The multiplication of such town residents, both citizens and metics (*i.e.* resident persons, not citizens, but enjoying an assured position and civil rights), was a capital fact in the onward march of Athens, since it determined not merely the extension of her trade, but also the pre-eminence of her naval force—and thus, as a farther consequence, lent extraordinary vigour to her democratical government. It seems moreover to have been a departure from the primitive temper of Atticism, which tended both to cantonal residence and rural occupation. We have therefore the greater interest in noting the first mention of it as a consequence of the Solonian legislation.

To Solôn is first owing the admission of a power of testamentary bequest at Athens, in all cases in which a man had no legitimate children. According to the pre-existing custom, we may rather

[1] Herodot. ii. 167—177; compare Xenophôn, Œconomic. iv. 3.

The unbounded derision, however, which Aristophanês heaps upon Kleôn as a tanner, and upon Hyperbolus as a lamp-maker, proves that if any manufacturer engaged in politics, his party opponents found enough of the old sentiment remaining to turn it to good account against him.

presume that if a deceased person left neither children nor blood relations, his property descended (as at Rome) to his gens and phratry.[1] Throughout most rude states of society the power of willing is unknown, as among the ancient Germans—among the Romans prior to the twelve tables,—in the old laws of the Hindus,[2] &c. Society limits a man's interest or power of enjoyment to his life, and considers his relatives as having joint reversionary claims to his property, which take effect, in certain determinate proportions, after his death. Such a view was the more likely to prevail at Athens, since the perpetuity of the family sacred rites, in which the children and near relatives partook of right, was considered by the Athenians as a matter of public as well as of private concern. Solôn gave permission to every man dying without children to bequeath his property by will as he should think fit; and the testament was maintained unless it could be shown to have been procured by some compulsion or improper seduction. Speaking generally, this continued to be the law throughout the historical times of Athens. Sons, wherever there were sons, succeeded to the property of their father in equal shares, with the obligation of giving out their sisters in marriage along with a certain dowry. If there were no sons, then the daughters succeeded, though the father might by will, within certain limits, determine the person to whom they should be married, with their rights of succession attached to them; or might, with the consent of his daughters, make by will certain other arrangements about his property. A person who had no children or direct lineal descendants might bequeath his property at pleasure: if he died without a will, first his father, and then his brother or brother's children, next his sister or sister's children succeeded: if none such existed, then the cousins by the father's side, next the cousins by the mother's side,—the male line of descent having preference over the female. Such was the principle of the Solonian laws of succession, though the particulars are in several ways obscure and

Power of testamentary bequest—first sanctioned by Solôn.

[1] This seems the just meaning of the words, ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἴδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καταμένειν, for that early day (Plutarch, Solôn, 21): compare Meier, De Gentilitate Attica, p. 33.

[2] Tacitus, German. c. 20; Halhed, Preface to Gentoo Code, p. i. iii.; Mill's History of British India, b. ii. ch. iv. p. 214.

doubtful.[1] Solôn, it appears, was the first who gave power of superseding by testament the rights of agnates and gentiles to succession,—a proceeding in consonance with his plan of encouraging both industrious occupation and the consequent multiplication of individual acquisitions.[2]

Laws relating to women.

It has been already mentioned that Solôn forbade the sale of daughters or sisters into slavery by fathers or brothers; a prohibition which shows how much females had before been looked upon as articles of property. And it would seem that before his time the violation of a free woman must have been punished at the discretion of the magistrates; for we are told that he was the first who enacted a penalty of 100 drachms against the offender, and 20 drachms against the seducer of a free woman.[3] Moreover it is said that he forbade a bride when given in marriage to carry with her any personal ornaments and appurtenances, except to the extent of three robes and certain matters of furniture not very valuable.[4] Solôn

Regulations about funerals.

further imposed upon women several restraints in regard to proceeding at the obsequies of deceased relatives. He forbade profuse demonstrations of sorrow, singing of composed dirges, and costly sacrifices and contributions. He limited strictly the quantity of meat and drink admissible for the funeral banquet, and prohibited nocturnal exit, except in a car and with a light. It appears that both in Greece and Rome, the feelings of duty and affection on the part of surviving relatives prompted them to ruinous expense in a funeral, as well as to unmeasured effusions both of grief and conviviality; and the general necessity experienced for legal restriction is attested by the remark of Plutarch, that similar

[1] See the Dissertation of Bunsen, De Jure Hereditario Atheniensium, pp. 28, 29; and Hermann Schelling, De Solonis Legibus ap. Orat. Atticos, ch. xvii.

The adopted son was not allowed to bequeath by will that property of which adoption had made him the possessor: if he left no legitimate children, the heirs at law of the adopter claimed it as of right (Demosthen. cont. Leochar. p. 1100; cont. Stephan. B. p. 1133; Bunsen, *ut sup.* p. 55—58).

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, 21. τὰ χρήματα, κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν.

[3] According to Æschinês (cont. Timarch. pp. 16—78), the punishment enacted by Solôn against the προαγωγός, or procurer, in such cases of seduction, was death.

[4] Plutarch, Solôn, 20. These φεραί were independent of the dowry of the bride, for which the husband, when he received it, commonly gave security, and repaid it in the event of his wife's death: see Bunsen, De Jure Herod. Ath. p. 43.

prohibitions to those enacted by Solôn were likewise in force at his native town of Chæroneia.[1]

Other penal enactments of Solôn are yet to be mentioned. He forbade absolutely evil speaking with respect to the dead. He forbade it likewise with respect to the living, either in a temple or before judges or archons, or at any public festival—on pain of a forfeit of three drachms to the person aggrieved, and two more to the public treasury. How mild the general character of his punishments was, may be judged by this law against foul language, not less than by the law beforementioned against rape. Both the one and the other of these offences were much more severely dealt with under the subsequent law of democratical Athens. The peremptory edict against

About evil-speaking and abusive language.

[1] Plutarch, *l. c.* The Solonian restrictions on the subject of funerals were to a great degree copied in the twelve tables at Rome: see Cicero, De Legg. ii. 23, 24. He esteems it a right thing to put the rich and the poor on a level in respect to funeral ceremonies. Plato follows an opposite idea, and limits the expense of funerals upon a graduated scale according to the census of the deceased (Legg. xii. p. 959).

Demosthenês (cont. Makartat. p. 1071) gives what he calls the Solonian law on funerals, different from Plutarch on several points.

Ungovernable excesses of grief among the female sex are sometimes mentioned in Grecian towns: see the μανικὸν πένθος among the Milesian women (Polyæn. viii. 63): the Milesian women, however, had a tinge of Karian feeling.

Compare an instructive inscription recording a law of the Greek city of Gambreion in Æolic Asia Minor, wherein the dress, the proceedings, and the time of allowed mourning, for men, women, and children, who had lost their relatives, are strictly prescribed under severe penalties (Franz, Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte in Kleinasien, Berlin, 1840, p. 17). Expensive ceremonies in the celebration of marriage are forbidden by some of the old Scandinavian laws (Wilda, Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter, p. 18).

And we may understand the motives whether we approve the wisdom or not, of sumptuary restrictions on these ceremonies, when we read the account given by Colonel Sleeman of the ruinous expenses incurred to this day among the Hindoos, in the celebration of marriage. (Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 51—53.)

"I do not believe there is a country upon earth, in which a larger portion of the wealth of the community is spent in the ceremonies of marriage. . . . One of the evils which press most upon Indian society, is, the necessity which long usage has established of squandering large sums of money in marriage ceremonies. Instead of giving what they can to their children to establish them, and enable them to provide for their families, parents everywhere feel bound to squander all they have, and all they can borrow, in the festivities of marriage. . . . Every man feels himself bound to waste all his stock and capital, and exhaust all his credit, in feeding idlers during the ceremonies which attend the marriage of his children, because his ancestors squandered similar sums, and he would sink in the estimation of society if he were to allow his children to be married with less. There is nothing which husband and wife recollect through life with so much pride and pleasure as the cost of their marriage, if it happen to be large for their condition in life; it is their Amoku, their title of nobility. Nothing is now more common than to see an individual in the humblest rank, spending all he has or can borrow, in the marriage of one out of many daughters, and trusting to Providence for the means of marrying the others."

speaking ill of a deceased person, though doubtless springing in a great degree from disinterested repugnance, is traceable also in part to that fear of the wrath of the departed which strongly possessed the early Greek mind.

Rewards to the victors at the sacred games.

It seems generally that Solôn determined by law the outlay for the public sacrifices, though we do not know what were his particular directions. We are told that he reckoned a sheep and a medimnus (of wheat or barley?) as equivalent, either of them, to a drachm, and that he also prescribed the prices to be paid for first-rate oxen intended for solemn occasions. But it astonishes us to see the large recompense which he awarded out of the public treasury to a victor at the Olympic or Isthmian games: to the former 500 drachms, equal to one year's income of the highest of the four classes on the census; to the latter 100 drachms. The magnitude of these rewards strikes us the more when we compare them with the fines on rape and evil speaking. We cannot be surprised that the philosopher Xenophanês noticed, with some degree of severity, the extravagant estimate of this species of excellence, current among the Grecian cities.[1] At the same time, we must remember both that these Pan-Hellenic sacred games presented the chief visible evidence of peace and sympathy among the numerous communities of Greece, and that in the time of Solôn, factitious reward was still needful to encourage them. In respect to land and agriculture Solôn proclaimed a public reward of five drachms for every wolf brought in, and one drachm for every wolf's cub: the extent of wild land has at all times been considerable in Attica. He also provided rules respecting the use of wells between neighbours, and respecting the planting in conterminous olive-grounds. Whether any of these regulations continued in operation during the better-known period of Athenian history cannot be safely affirmed.[2]

Theft.

In respect to theft, we find it stated that Solôn repealed the punishment of death which Drako had annexed to that crime, and enacted as a penalty, compensation to an amount double the value of the property stolen. The simplicity

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 23. Xenophanês, Frag. 2, ed. Schneidewin. If Diogenês is to be trusted, the rewards were even larger anterior to Solôn: he reduced them (Diog. L. i. 55).

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, c. 23. See Suidas, v. Φεισόμεθα.

of this law perhaps affords ground for presuming that it really does belong to Solôn. But the law which prevailed during the time of the orators respecting theft[1] must have been introduced at some later period, since it enters into distinctions and mentions both places and forms of procedure, which we cannot reasonably refer to the forty-sixth Olympiad. The public dinners at the Prytaneium, of which the archons and a select few partook in common, were also either first established, or perhaps only more strictly regulated, by Solôn. He ordered barley-cakes for their ordinary meals, and wheaten loaves for festival days, prescribing how often each person should dine at the table.[2] The honour of dining at the table of the Prytaneium was maintained throughout as a valuable reward at the disposal of the government.

Among the various laws of Solôn, there are few which have attracted more notice than that which pronounces the man, who in a sedition stood aloof and took part with neither side, to be dishonoured and disfranchised.[3] Strictly speaking, this seems more in the nature of an emphatic moral denunciation, or a religious curse, than a legal sanction capable of being formally applied in an individual case and after judicial trial,—though the sentence of Atimy, under the more elaborated Attic procedure, was both definite in its penal consequences and also judicially delivered. We may however follow the course of ideas under which Solôn was induced to write this sentence on his tables, and

Censure pronounced by Solôn upon citizens neutral in a sedition.

[1] See the laws in Demosthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 733—736. Notwithstanding the opinion both of Heraldus (Animadversion. in Salmas. iv. 8) and of Meier (Attischer Prozess, p. 356), I cannot imagine anything more than the basis of these laws to be Solonian—they indicate a state of Attic procedure too much elaborated for that day (Lysias, c. Theomn. p. 356). The word ποδοκάκκη belongs to Solôn, and probably the penalty, of five days' confinement in the stocks, for the thief who had not restored what he had stolen.

Aulus Gell. (xi. 18) mentions the simple *pœna dupli*: in the authors from whom he copied, it is evident that Solôn was stated to have enacted this law generally for *all* thefts; we cannot tell from whom he copied, but in another part of his work, he copies a Solonian law from the wooden ἄξονες on the authority of Aristotle (ii. 12).

Plato, in his Laws, prescribes the *pœna dupli* in all cases of theft without distinction of circumstances (Legg. ix. p. 857; xii. p. 941): it was also the primitive law of Rome: "posuerunt furem duplo condemnari, fœneratorem quadruplo" (Cato, De Re Rusticâ, Procœmium)—that is to say, in cases of *furtum nec manifestum* (Walter, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, sect. 757).

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, 24; Athenæ. iv. p. 137; Diogen. Laërt. i. 58: καὶ πρῶτος τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν, εἰς τὸ συνεπεῖν.

[3] Plutarch, Solôn, 20, and De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 550; Aulus Gell. ii. 12.

we may trace the influence of similar ideas in later Attic institutions. It is obvious that his denunciation is confined to that special case in which a sedition has already broken out: we must suppose that Kylôn has seized the Akropolis, or that Peisistratus, Megaklês, and Lykurgus, are in arms at the head of their partisans. Assuming these leaders to be wealthy and powerful men, which would in all probability be the fact, the constituted authority—such as Solôn saw before him in Attica, even after his own organic amendments—was not strong enough to maintain the peace; it became in fact itself one of the contending parties. Under such given circumstances, the sooner every citizen publicly declared his adherence to some one of them, the earlier this suspension of legal authority was likely to terminate. Nothing was so mischievous as the indifference of the mass, or their disposition to let the combatants fight out the matter among themselves, and then to submit to the victor.[1] Nothing was more likely to encourage aggression on the part of an ambitious malcontent than the conviction, that if he could once overpower the small amount of physical force which surrounded the archons, and exhibit himself in armed possession of the Prytaneium or the Akropolis, he might immediately count upon passive submission on the part of all the freemen without. Under the state of feeling which Solôn inculcates, the insurgent leader would have to calculate that every man who was not actively in his favour would be actively against him, and this would render his enterprise much more dangerous. Indeed he could then never hope to succeed, except on the double supposition of extraordinary popularity in his own person, and wide-spread detestation of the existing government. He would thus be placed under the influence of powerful deterring motives; so that ambition would be less likely to seduce him into a course which threatened nothing but ruin, unless under such encouragements from the pre-existing public opinion as to make his success a result desirable for the community. Among the small political societies of Greece—especially in the age of Solôn, when the number of despots in other parts of Greece seems to have been at its maximum—every government, whatever might be its form, was sufficiently weak to

[1] See a case of such indifference manifested by the people of Argos in Plutarch's Life of Aratus, c. 27.

make its overthrow a matter of comparative facility. Unless upon the supposition that a band of foreign mercenaries—which would render the government a system of naked force, and which the Athenian lawgiver would of course never contemplate—there was no other stay for it except a positive and pronounced feeling of attachment on the part of the mass of citizens. Indifference on their part would render them a prey to every daring man of wealth who chose to become a conspirator. That they should be ready to come forward, not only with voice but with arms—and that they should be known beforehand to be so—was essential to the maintenance of every good Grecian government. It was salutary, in preventing mere personal attempts at revolution; and pacific in its tendency, even where the revolution had actually broken out—because in the greater number of cases the proportion of partisans would probably be very unequal, and the inferior party would be compelled to renounce their hopes.

Necessity, under the Grecian city-governments, of some positive sentiment on the part of the citizens.

It will be observed that in this enactment of Solôn, the existing government is ranked merely as one of the contending parties. The virtuous citizen is enjoined, not to come forward in its support, but to come forward at all events, either for it or against it. Positive and early action is all which is prescribed to him as matter of duty. In the age of Solôn there was no political idea or system yet current which could be assumed as an unquestionable datum—no conspicuous standard to which the citizens could be pledged under all circumstances to attach themselves. The option lay only between a mitigated oligarchy in possession and a despot in possibility; a contest wherein the affections of the people could rarely be counted upon in favour of the established government. But this neutrality in respect to the constitution was at an end after the revolution of Kleisthenês, when the idea of the sovereign people and the democratical institutions became both familiar and precious to every individual citizen. We shall hereafter find the Athenians binding themselves by the most sincere and solemn oaths to uphold their democracy against all attempts to subvert it; we shall discover in them a sentiment not less positive and uncompromising in its direction,

Contrast in this respect between the age of Solôn and the subsequent democracy.

than energetic in its inspirations. But while we notice this very important change in their character, we shall at the same time perceive that the wise precautionary recommendation of Solôn, to obviate sedition by an early declaration of the impartial public between two contending leaders, was not lost upon them. Such, in point of fact, was the purpose of that salutary and protective institution which is called the Ostracism. When two party leaders, in the early stages of the Athenian democracy, each powerful in adherents and influence, had become passionately embarked in bitter and prolonged opposition to each other, such opposition was likely to conduct one or other to violent measures. Over and above the hopes of party triumph, each might well fear that if he himself continued within the bounds of legality, he might fall a victim to aggressive proceedings on the part of his antagonists. To ward off this formidable danger, a public vote was called for to determine which of the two should go into temporary banishment, retaining his property and unvisited by any disgrace. A number of citizens not less than 6000, voting secretly and therefore independently, were required to take part, pronouncing upon one or other of these eminent rivals a sentence of exile for ten years. The one who remained became of course more powerful, yet less in a situation to be driven into anti-constitutional courses than he was before. I shall in a future chapter speak again of this wise precaution and vindicate it against some erroneous interpretations to which it has given rise. At present I merely notice its analogy with the previous Solonian law, and its tendency to accomplish the same purpose of terminating a fierce party-feud, by artificially calling in the votes of the mass of impartial citizens against one or other of the leaders—with this important difference, that while Solôn assumed the hostile parties to be actually in arms, the ostracism averted that great public calamity by applying its remedy to the premonitory symptoms.

The same idea followed out in the subsequent Ostracism.

I have already considered, in a previous chapter, the directions given by Solôn for the more orderly recital of the Homeric poems; and it is curious to contrast his reverence for the old epic with the unqualified repugnance which he manifested towards Thespis and the drama—then just nascent, and holding out little

Sentiment of Solôn towards the Homeric poems and the drama.

promise of its subsequent excellence. Tragedy and comedy were now beginning to be grafted on the lyric and choric song. First one actor was provided to relieve the chorus; next two actors were introduced to sustain fictitious characters and carry on a dialogue, in such manner that the songs of the chorus and the interlocution of the actors formed a continuous piece. Solôn, after having heard Thespis acting (as all the early composers did, both tragic and comic) in his own comedy, asked him afterwards if he was not ashamed to pronounce such falsehoods before so large an audience. And when Thespis answered that there was no harm in saying and doing such things merely for amusement, Solôn indignantly exclaimed, striking the ground with his stick,[1] "If once we come to praise and esteem such amusement as this, we shall quickly find the effects of it in our daily transactions". For the authenticity of this anecdote it would be rash to vouch, but we may at least treat it as the protest of some early philosopher against the deceptions of the drama; and it is interesting as marking the incipient struggles of that literature in which Athens afterwards attained such unrivalled excellence.

It would appear that all the laws of Solôn were proclaimed, inscribed, and accepted without either discussion or resistance. He is said to have described them, not as the best laws which he could himself have imagined, but as the best which he could have induced the people to accept. He gave them validity for the space of ten years, during which period[2] both the senate collectively and the archons individually swore to observe them with fidelity; under penalty, in case of non-observance, of a golden statue as large as life to be erected at Delphi. But though the acceptance of the laws was accomplished without difficulty, it was not found so easy either for the people to understand and obey, or for the framer to explain them. Every day persons came to Solôn either with praise, or criticism, or suggestions of various improvements, or questions as to the construction of particular enactments; until at last he became tired of this endless process of reply and vindication, which was seldom successful either in removing obscurity or in satisfying complainants. Foreseeing that if he

Difficulties of Solôn after the enactment of the laws. He retires from Attica.

[1] Plutarch. Solôn. 29: Diogen. Laërt. i. 59.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, 15.

remained he would be compelled to make changes, he obtained leave of absence from his countrymen for ten years, trusting that before the expiration of that period they would have become accustomed to his laws. He quitted his native city, in the full certainty that his laws would remain unrepealed until his return, for (says Herodotus) "the Athenians *could not* repeal them, since they were bound by solemn oaths to observe them for ten years". The unqualified manner in which the historian here speaks of an oath, as if it created a sort of physical necessity and shut out all possibility of a contrary result, deserves notice as illustrating Grecian sentiment.[1]

Visits Egypt and Cyprus.

On departing from Athens, Solôn first visited Egypt, where he communicated largely with Psenôphis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Saïs, Egyptian priests who had much to tell respecting their ancient history, and from whom he learnt matters real or pretended, far transcending in alleged antiquity the oldest Grecian genealogies—especially the history of the vast submerged island of Atlantis, and the war which the ancestors of the Athenians had successfully carried on against it, 9000 years before. Solôn is said to have commenced an epic poem upon this subject, but he did not live to finish it, and nothing of it now remains. From Egypt he went to Cyprus, where he visited the small town of Æpeia, said to have been originally founded by Demophôn son of Thêseus, and ruled at this period by the prince Philokyprus—each town in Cyprus having its own petty prince. It was situated near the river Klarius in a position precipitous and secure, but inconvenient and ill-supplied. Solôn persuaded Philokyprus to quit the old site and establish a new town down in the fertile plain beneath. He himself stayed and became Œkist of the new establishment, making all the regulations requisite for its safe and prosperous march, which was indeed so decisively manifested, that many new settlers flocked into the new plantation, called by Philokyprus *Soli*, in honour of Solôn. To our deep regret, we are not permitted to know what these regulations were; but the general

[1] Herod. i. 29. Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας, ἀπεδημησε ἔτεα δέκα, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκάσθῃ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἔτεα χρῆσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἂν σφι Σόλων θῆται. One hundred years is the term stated by Plutarch (Solôn, 25).

fact is attested by the poems of Solôn himself, and the lines, in which he bade farewell to Philokyprus on quitting the island, are yet before us. On the dispositions of this prince his poem bestowed unqualified commendation.[1]

Alleged interview and conversation of Solôn with Crœsus at Sardis.

Besides his visit to Egypt and Cyprus, a story was also current of his having conversed with the Lydian king Crœsus at Sardis. The communication said to have taken place between them has been woven by Herodotus into a sort of moral tale which forms one of the most beautiful episodes in his whole history. Though this tale has been told and retold as if it were genuine history, yet as it now stands, it is irreconcilable with chronology—although very possibly Solôn may at some time or other have visited Sardis, and seen Crœsus as hereditary prince.[2]

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 26; Herodot. v. 113. The statements of Diogenês that Solôn founded Soli in Kilikia, and that he died in Cyprus, are not worthy of credit (Diog. Laërt. i. 51—62).

[2] Plutarch tells us that several authors rejected the reality of this interview as being chronologically impossible. It is to be recollected that the question all turns upon the interview *as described by Herodotus* and its alleged sequel; for that there may have been an interview between Solôn and Crœsus at Sardis, at some period between B.C. 594 and 560, is possible, though not shown.

It is evident that Solôn made no mention of any interview with Crœsus in his poems; otherwise the dispute would have been settled at once. Now this, in a man like Solôn, amounts to negative evidence of some value, for he noticed in his poems both Egypt and the prince Philokyprus in Cyprus, and had there been any conversation so impressive as that which Herodotus relates, between him and Crœsus, he could hardly have failed to mention it.

Wesseling, Larcher, Volney, and Mr. Clinton, all try to obviate the chronological difficulties, and to save the historical character of this interview, but in my judgment unsuccessfully. See Mr. Clinton's F. H. ad ann. 546 B.C., and Appendix, c. 17, p. 298. The chronological data are there—Crœsus was born in 595 B.C., one year before the legislation of Solôn: he succeeded to his father at the age of thirty-five, in 560 B.C.: he was overthrown, and Sardis captured, in 546 B.C., by Cyrus.

Mr. Clinton, after Wesseling and the others, supposes that Crœsus was king jointly with his father Halyattês, during the lifetime of the latter, and that Solôn visited Lydia and conversed with Crœsus during this joint reign in 570 B.C. "We may suppose that Solôn left Athens in B.C. 575, about twenty years after his archonship, and returned thither in B.C. 565, about five years before the usurpation of Peisistratus" (p. 300). Upon which hypothesis we may remark,—

1. The arguments whereby Wesseling and Mr. Clinton endeavour to show that Crœsus was king jointly with his father, do not sustain the conclusion. The passage of Nicolaus Damaskenus, which is produced to show that it was Halyattês (and not Crœsus) who conquered Karia, only attests that Halyattês *marched* with an armed force against Karia (ἐπὶ Καρίαν στρατεύων): this same author states, that Crœsus was deputed by Halyattês to govern *Adramyttium and the plain of Thêbê* (ἄρχειν ἀποδεδειγμένος), but Mr. Clinton stretches this testimony to an inadmissible extent when he makes it tantamount to a conquest of *Æolis* by Halyattês ("*so that Æolis is already conquered*"). Nothing at all is said about Æolis or the cities of the Æolic Greeks in this passage of Nikolaus, which represents Crœsus as governing a sort of satrapy under his father Halyattês, just as Cyrus the younger

But even if no chronological objections existed, the moral purpose of the tale is so prominent, and pervades it so systematically from beginning to end, that these internal grounds are of themselves sufficiently strong to impeach its credibility as a matter of fact, unless such doubts happen to be outweighed—which in this case they are not—by good contemporary testimony. The narrative of Solôn and Crœsus can be taken for

did in after-times under Artaxerxes. And the expression of Herodotus, ἐπεί τε, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, appears to me, when taken along with the context, to indicate a bequest or nomination of successor, and not a donation during life.

2. The hypothesis therefore that Crœsus was king 570 B.C., during the life-time of his father, is one purely gratuitous, resorted to on account of the chronological difficulties connected with the account of Herodotus. But it is quite insufficient for such a purpose. It does not save us from the necessity of contradicting Herodotus in most of his particulars; there may perhaps have been *an interview* between Solôn and Crœsus in B.C. 570, but it cannot be *the interview* described by Herodotus. That interview takes place within ten years after the promulgation of Solôn's laws—at the maximum of the power of Crœsus, and after numerous conquests effected by himself as king—at a time when Crœsus had a son old enough to be married and to command armies (Herod. i. 35)—at a time moreover immediately preceding the turn of his fortunes from prosperity to adversity, first in the death of his son, succeeded by two years of mourning, which were put an end to (πένθεος ἀπέπαυσε, Herod. i. 46) by the stimulus of war with the Persians. That war, if we read the events of it as described in Herodotus, cannot have lasted more than three or four years,—so that the interview between Solôn and Crœsus, *as Herodotus conceived it*, may be fairly stated to have occurred within seven years before the capture of Sardis.

If we put together all these conditions, it will appear that the interview recounted by Herodotus is a chronological impossibility: and Niebuhr (Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 579) is right in saying that the historian has fallen into a mistake of ten olympiads or forty years; his recital would consist with chronology, if we suppose that the Solonian legislation were referable to 554 B.C., and not to 594.

In my judgment, this is an illustrative tale in which certain real characters—Crœsus and Solôn—and certain real facts—the great power and succeeding ruin of the former by the victorious arm of Cyrus—together with certain facts probably altogether fictitious, such as the two sons of Crœsus, the Phrygian Adrastus and his history, the hunting of the mischievous wild boar on Mount Olympus, the ultimate preservation of Crœsus, &c., are put together so as to convey an impressive moral lesson. The whole adventure of Adrastus and the son of Crœsus is depicted in language eminently beautiful and poetical.

Plutarch treats the impressiveness and suitableness of this narrative as the best proof of its historical truth, and puts aside the chronological tables as unworthy of trust. Upon which reasoning Mr. Clinton has the following very just remarks:—"Plutarch must have had a very imperfect idea of the nature of historical evidence, if he could imagine that the suitableness of a story to the character of Solôn was a better argument for its authenticity than the number of witnesses by whom it is attested. Those who invented the scene (assuming it to be a fiction) would surely have had the skill to adapt the discourse to the character of the actors" (p. 300).

To make this remark quite complete, it would be necessary to add the words "*trustworthiness and means of knowledge*" in addition to the "*number*" of attesting witnesses. And it is a remark the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as Mr. Clinton here pointedly adverts to the existence of *plausible fiction*, as being completely distinct from attested matter of fact—a distinction of which he took no account in his vindication of the historical credibility of the early Greek legends.

nothing else but an illustrative fiction, borrowed by Herodotus from some philosopher, and clothed in his own peculiar beauty of expression, which on this occasion is more decidedly poetical than is habitual with him. I cannot transcribe, and I hardly dare to abridge it. The vain-glorious Crœsus, at the summit of his conquests and his riches, endeavours to win from his visitor Solôn an opinion that he is the happiest of mankind. The latter, after having twice preferred to him modest and meritorious Grecian citizens, at length reminds him that his vast wealth and power are of a tenure too precarious to serve as an evidence of happiness—that the gods are jealous and meddlesome, and often make the show of happiness a mere prelude to extreme disaster—and that no man's life can be called happy until the whole of it has been played out, so that it may be seen to be out of the reach of reverses. Crœsus treats this opinion as absurd, but "a great judgment from God fell upon him, after Solôn was departed—probably (observes Herodotus) because he fancied himself the happiest of all men". First he lost his favourite son Atys, a brave and intelligent youth (his only other son being dumb). For the Mysians of Olympus, being ruined by a destructive and formidable wild boar which they were unable to subdue, applied for aid to Crœsus, who sent to the spot a chosen hunting force, and permitted—though with great reluctance, in consequence of an alarming dream—that his favourite son should accompany them. The young prince was unintentionally slain by the Phrygian exile Adrastus, whom Crœsus had sheltered and protected.[1] Hardly had the latter recovered from the anguish of this misfortune, when the rapid growth of Cyrus and the Persian power induced him to go to war with them, against the advice of his wisest counsellors. After a struggle of about three years he was completely defeated, his capital Sardis taken by storm, and himself made prisoner. Cyrus ordered a large pile to be prepared, and placed upon it Crœsus in fetters, together with fourteen

[1] Herod. i. 32. Ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον, πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες, ἐπειρωτᾶς με ἀνθρωπηίων πραγμάτων πέρι. i. 34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβεν ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον.

The hunting-match, and the terrible wild boar with whom the Mysians cannot cope, appear to be borrowed from the legend of Kalydôn.

The whole scene of Adrastus, returning after the accident in a state of desperate remorse, praying for death with outstretched hands, spared by Crœsus, and then killing himself on the tomb of the young prince, is deeply tragic (Herod. i. 44—45).

young Lydians, in the intention of burning them alive, either as a religious offering, or in fulfilment of a vow, "or perhaps (says Herodotus) to see whether some of the gods would not interfere to rescue a man so pre-eminently pious as the king of Lydia".[1] In this sad extremity, Crœsus bethought him of the warning which he had before despised, and thrice pronounced, with a deep groan, the name of Solôn. Cyrus desired the interpreters to inquire whom he was invoking, and learnt in reply the anecdote of the Athenian lawgiver, together with the solemn memento which he had offered to Crœsus during more prosperous days, attesting the frail tenure of all human greatness. The remark sunk deep into the Persian monarch as a token of what might happen to himself: he repented of his purpose, and directed that the pile, which had already been kindled, should be immediately extinguished. But the orders came too late. In spite of the most zealous efforts of the bystanders, the flame was found unquenchable, and Crœsus would still have been burnt, had he not implored with prayers and tears the succour of Apollo, to whose Delphian and Theban temples he had given such munificent presents. His prayers were heard, the fair sky was immediately overcast and a profuse rain descended, sufficient to extinguish the flames.[2] The life of Crœsus was thus saved, and he became afterwards the confidential friend and adviser of his conqueror.

Moral lesson arising out of the narrative.

Such is the brief outline of a narrative which Herodotus has given with full development and with impressive effect. It would have served as a show-lecture to the youth of Athens not less admirably than the well-known fable of the choice of Hêraklês, which the philosopher Prodikus,[3] a junior contemporary of Herodotus, delivered with so much popularity. It illustrates forcibly the religious and ethical ideas of antiquity; the deep sense of the jealousy of the gods, who would not endure pride in anyone except themselves;[4] the impossibility, for any man, of realising

[1] Herodot. i. 85.

[2] Herodot. i. 86, 87; compare Plutarch, Solôn, 27—28. See a similar story about Gygês, king of Lydia (Valerius Maxim. vii. 1, 2).

[3] Xenoph. Memorab. ii. 1, 21. Πρόδικος ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τῷ περὶ Ἡρακλέους, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδείκνυται, &c.

[4] Herodot. vii. 10. Φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν [. . . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωϋτόν.

to himself more than a very moderate share of happiness; the danger from reactionary Nemesis, if at any time he had overpassed such limit; and the necessity of calculations taking in the whole of life, as a basis for rational comparison of different individuals. And it embodies, as a practical consequence from these feelings, the often-repeated protest of moralists against vehement impulses and unrestrained aspirations. The more valuable this narrative appears, in its illustrative character, the less can we presume to treat it as a history.

State of Attica after the Solonian legislation.

It is much to be regretted that we have no information respecting events in Attica immediately after the Solonian laws and constitution, which were promulgated in 594 B.C., so as to understand better the practical effect of these changes. What we next hear respecting Solôn in Attica refers to a period immediately preceding the first usurpation of Peisistratus in 560 B.C., and after the return of Solôn from his long absence. We are here again introduced to the same oligarchical dissensions as are reported to have prevailed before the Solonian legislation: the Pedieis, or opulent proprietors of the plain round Athens, under Lykurgus; the Parali of the south of Attica, under Megaklês; and the Diakrii or mountaineers of the eastern cantons, the poorest of the three classes, under Peisistratus, are in a state of violent intestine dispute. The account of Plutarch represents Solôn as returning to Athens during the height of this sedition. He was treated with respect by all parties, but his recommendations were no longer obeyed, and he was disqualified by age from acting with effect in public. He employed his best efforts to mitigate party animosities, and applied himself particularly to restrain the ambition of Peisistratus, whose ulterior projects he quickly detected.

Return of Solôn to Athens.

The future greatness of Peisistratus is said to have been first portended by a miracle which happened, even before his birth, to his father Hippocratês at the Olympic games. It was realised, partly by his bravery and conduct, which had been displayed in the capture of Nisæa from the Megarians[1]

Rise of Peisistratus.

[1] Herodot. i. 59. I record this allusion to Nisæa and the Megarian war, because I find it distinctly stated in Herodotus; and because it *may* possibly refer to some other *later* war between Athens and Megara than that

—partly by his popularity of speech and manners, his championship of the poor,[1] and his ostentatious disavowal of all selfish pretensions—partly by an artful mixture of stratagem and force. Solôn, after having addressed fruitless remonstrances to Peisistratus himself, publicly denounced his designs in verses addressed to the people. The deception, whereby Peisistratus finally accomplished his design, is memorable in Grecian tradition.[2] He appeared one day in the agora of Athens in his chariot with a pair of mules; he had intentionally wounded both his person and the mules, and in this condition he threw

His memorable stratagem to procure a guard from the people.

which is mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Solôn as having taken place before the Solonian legislation (that is, before 594 B.C.), and therefore nearly forty years before this movement of Peisistratus to acquire the despotism. Peisistratus must then have been so young that he could not with any propriety be said to have "captured Nisæa" (Νίσαιάν τε ἑλών): moreover the public reputation, which was found useful to the ambition of Peisistratus in 560 B.C., must have rested upon something more recent than his bravery displayed about 597 B.C.—just as the celebrity which enabled Napoleon to play the game of successful ambition on the 18th Brumaire (Nov., 1799) was obtained by victories gained within the preceding five years, and could not have been represented by any historian as resting upon victories gained in the Seven Years' War, between 1756—1763.

At the same time my belief is, that the words of Herodotus respecting Peisistratus do really refer to the Megarian war mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Solôn, and that Herodotus supposed that Megarian war to have been much more near to the despotism of Peisistratus than it really was. In the conception of Herodotus, and by what (after Niebuhr) I venture to call a mistake in his chronology, the interval between 600—560 B.C. shrinks from forty years to little or nothing. Such mistake appears, not only on the present occasion, but also upon two others; first, in regard to the alleged dialogue between Solôn and Crœsus, described and commented upon a few pages above; next, in regard to the poet Alkæus and his inglorious retreat before the Athenian troops at Sigeium and Achilleium, where he lost his shield, when the Mityleneans were defeated. The reality of this incident is indisputable, since it was mentioned by Alkæus himself in one of his songs; but Herodotus represents it to have occurred in an Athenian expedition *directed by Peisistratus*. Now the war in which Alkæus incurred this misfortune, and which was brought to a close by the mediation of Periander of Corinth, must have taken place earlier than 584 B.C., and probably took place before the legislation of Solôn; long before the time when Peisistratus had the direction of Athenian affairs—though the latter may have carried on, and probably did carry on, *another and a later war* against the Mityleneans in those regions, which led to the introduction of his illegitimate son Hegesistratus as despot of Sigeium (Herod. v. 94, 95).

If we follow the representation given by Herodotus of these three different strings of events, we shall see that the same chronological mistake pervades all of them—he jumps over nearly ten olympiads, or forty years. Alkæus is the contemporary of Pittakus and Solôn.

I have already remarked, in the previous chapter respecting the despots of Sikyôn (Ch. ix.), another instance of confused chronology in Herodotus respecting the events of this period—respecting Crœsus, Megaklês, Alkmæôn, and Kleisthenês of Sikyôn.

[1] Aristot. Politic. v. 4, 5; Plutarch, Solôn, 29.

[2] Plato, Republic, viii. p. 565. τὸ τυραννικὸν αἴτημα τὸ πολυθρυλλητὸν . . . . αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακάς τινας τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα σῶς αὐτοῖς ᾖ ὁ τοῦ δήμου βοηθός.

himself upon the compassion and defence of the people, pretending that his political enemies had violently attacked him. He implored the people to grant him a guard, and at the moment when their sympathies were freshly aroused both in his favour and against his supposed assassins, Aristo proposed formally to the Ekklêsia (the pro-bouleutic senate, being composed of friends of Peisistratus, had previously authorised the proposition)[1] that a company of fifty club-men should be assigned as a permanent body-guard for the defence of Peisistratus. To this motion Solôn opposed a strenuous resistance,[2] but found himself overborne, and even treated as if he had lost his senses. The poor were earnest in favour of it, while the rich were afraid to express their dissent; and he could only comfort himself after the fatal vote had been passed, by exclaiming that he was wiser than the former, and more determined than the latter. Such was one of the first known instances in which this memorable stratagem was played off against the liberty of a Grecian community.

The unbounded popular favour which had procured the passing of this grant was still farther manifested by the absence of all precautions to prevent the limits of the grant from being exceeded. The number of the body-guard was not long confined to fifty, and probably their clubs were soon exchanged for sharper weapons. Peisistratus thus found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and seize the Akropolis. His leading opponents, Megaklês and the Alkmæônids, immediately fled the city, and it was left to the venerable age and undaunted patriotism of Solôn to stand forward almost alone in a vain attempt to resist the usurpation. He publicly presented himself in the market-place, employing encouragement, remonstrance, and reproach, in order to rouse the spirit of the people. To prevent this despotism from coming (he told them) would have been easy; to shake it off now was more difficult, yet at the same time more glorious.[3] But he spoke in vain, for all who were not actually favourable to Peisistratus listened only to their fears, and remained passive; nor did any one join Solôn, when, as a last

Peisistratus seizes the Akropolis—courageous resistance of Solôn.

[1] Diog. Laërt. i. 49. ἡ βουλὴ, Πεισιστρατίδαι ὄντες, &c.

[2] Plutarch, Solôn. 29, 30; Diog. Laërt. i. 50, 51.

[3] Plutarch, Solôn, 30; Diogen. Laërt. i. 49; Diodor. Excerpta, lib. vii.—x., ed. Mai, Fr. xix.—xxiv.

appeal, he put on his armour and planted himself in military posture before the door of his house. "I have done my duty (he exclaimed at length); I have sustained to the best of my power my country and the laws:" and he then renounced all farther hope of opposition—though resisting the instances of his friends that he should flee, and returning for answer, when they asked him on what he relied for protection, "On my old age". Nor did he even think it necessary to repress the inspirations of his Muse. Some verses yet remain, composed seemingly at a moment when the strong hand of the new despot had begun to make itself sorely felt, in which he tells his countrymen—"If ye have endured sorrow from your own baseness of soul, impute not the fault of this to the gods. Ye have yourselves put force and dominion into the hands of these men, and have thus drawn upon yourselves wretched slavery."

It is gratifying to learn that Peisistratus, whose conduct throughout his despotism was comparatively mild, left Solôn untouched. How long this distinguished man survived the practical subversion of his own constitution, we cannot certainly determine; but according to the most probable statement he died during the very next year, at the advanced age of eighty.

Death of Solôn—his character.

We have only to regret that we are deprived of the means of following more in detail his noble and exemplary character. He represents the best tendencies of his age, combined with much that is personally excellent; the improved ethical sensibility; the thirst for enlarged knowledge and observation, not less potent in old age than in youth; the conception of regularised popular institutions, departing sensibly from the type and spirit of the governments around him, and calculated to found a new character in the Athenian people; a genuine and reflecting sympathy with the mass of the poor, anxious not merely to rescue them from the oppressions of the rich, but also to create in them habits of self-relying industry; lastly, during his temporary possession of a power altogether arbitrary, not merely an absence of all selfish ambition, but a rare discretion in seizing the mean between conflicting exigencies. In reading his poems we must always recollect that what now appears common-place was once new, so that to his comparatively unlettered age, the social pictures which

he draws were still fresh, and his exhortations calculated to live in the memory. The poems composed on moral subjects generally inculcate a spirit of gentleness towards others and moderation in personal objects. They represent the gods as irresistible, retributive, favouring the good and punishing the bad, though sometimes very tardily. But his compositions on special and present occasions are usually conceived in a more vigorous spirit; denouncing the oppressions of the rich at one time, and the timid submission to Peisistratus at another—and expressing in emphatic language his own proud consciousness of having stood forward as champion of the mass of the people. Of his early poems hardly anything is preserved. The few lines remaining seem to manifest a jovial temperament which we may well conceive to have been overlaid by such political difficulties as he had to encounter—difficulties arising successively out of the Megarian war, the Kylonian sacrilege, the public despondency healed by Epimenidês, and the task of arbiter between a rapacious oligarchy and a suffering people. In one of his elegies addressed to Mimnermus, he marked out the sixtieth year as the longest desirable period of life, in preference to the eightieth year, which that poet had expressed a wish to attain.[1] But his own life, as far as we can judge, seems to have reached the longer of the two periods; and not the least honourable part of it (the resistance to Peisistratus) occurs immediately before his death.

There prevailed a story, that his ashes were collected and scattered around the island of Salamis, which Plutarch treats as absurd—though he tells us at the same time that it was believed both by Aristotle and by many other considerable men. It is at least as ancient as the poet Kratinus, who alluded to it in one of his comedies, and I do not feel inclined to reject it.[2] The inscription on the statue of Solôn at Athens described him as a Salaminian: he had been the great means of acquiring the island for his country: and it seems highly probable that among the new Athenian citizens, who went to settle there, he may have received a lot of land and become enrolled among the Salaminian

[1] Solôn, Fragment 22, ed. Bergk. Isokratês affirms that Solon was the first person to whom the appellation Sophist (in later times carrying with it so much obloquy) was applied (Isokratês, Or. xv. De Permutatione, p. 344; p. 496 Bek.).

[2] Plutarch, Solôn, 32; Kratinus ap. Diogen. Laërt. i. 62.

demots. The dispersion of his ashes, connecting him with the island as its Œkist, may be construed, if not as the expression of a public vote, at least as a piece of affectionate vanity on the part of his surviving friends.[1]

We have now reached the period of the usurpation of Peisistratus (B.C. 560), whose dynasty governed Athens (with two temporary interruptions during the life of Peisistratus himself) for fifty years. The history of this despotism, milder than Grecian despotism generally, and productive of important consequences to Athens, will be reserved for a succeeding chapter.

[1] Aristidês, in noticing this story of the spreading of the ashes of Solôn in Salamis, treats him as Ἀρχηγέτης of the island (Orat. xlvi. Ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, p. 172; p. 230, Dindorf). The inscription on his statue, which describes him as born in Salamis, can hardly have been literally true; for when he was born, Salamis was not incorporated in Attica. But it may have been true by a sort of adoption (see Diogen. Laërt. i. 62). The statue seems to have been erected by the Salaminians themselves, a long time after Solôn: see Menage ad Diogen. Laërt. *l. c.*

APPENDIX.

The explanation which M. von Savigny gives of the Nexi and Addicti under the old Roman law of debtor and creditor (after he has refuted the elucidation of Niebuhr on the same subject), while it throws great light on the historical changes in Roman legislation on that important matter, sets forth at the same time the marked difference made in the procedure of Rome, between the demand of the creditor for repayment of *principal*, and the demand for payment of *interest*.

The primitive Roman law distinguished a debt arising from money lent (*pecunia certa credita*) from debts arising out of contract, delict, sale, &c., or any other source: the creditor on the former ground had a quick and easy process, by which he acquired the fullest power over the person and property of his debtor. After the debt on loan was either confessed or proved before the magistrate, thirty days were allowed to the debtor for payment: if payment was not made within that time, the creditor laid hold of him (*manûs injectio*) and carried him before the magistrate again. The debtor was now again required either to pay or to find a surety (*vindex*); if neither of these demands were complied with, the creditor took possession of him and carried him home, where he kept him in chains for two months; during which interval he brought him before the prætor publicly on three successive nundinæ. If the debt was not paid within these two months, the sentence of addiction was pronounced, and the creditor became empowered either to put his debtor to death, or to sell him for a slave (p. 81), or to keep him at forced work, without any restriction as to the degree of ill-usage which might be inflicted upon him. The judgment of the magistrate authorised him, besides, to seize the property of his debtor wherever he could find any, within the limits sufficient for payment: this was one of the points which Niebuhr had denied.

Such was the old law of Rome, with respect to the consequences of an action for money had and received, for more than a century after the Twelve Tables. But the law did not apply this stringent personal execution to any debt except that arising from loan—and even in that

debt only to the principal money, not to the interest—which latter had to be claimed by a process both more gentle and less efficient, applying to the property only and not to the person of the debtor. Accordingly it was to the advantage of the creditor to devise some means for bringing his claim of interest under the same stringent process as his claim for the principal; it was also to his advantage, if his claim arose, not out of money lent, but out of sale, compensation for injury, or any other source, to give to it *the form* of an action for money lent. Now the Nexum, or Nexi obligatio, was an artifice—a fictitious loan—whereby this purpose was accomplished. The severe process which legally belonged only to the recovery of the principal money, was extended by the Nexum so as to comprehend the interest; and so as to comprehend also claims for money arising from all other sources (as well as from loan), wherein the law gave no direct recourse except against the property of a debtor. The Debitor Nexus was made liable by this legal artifice to pass into the condition of an Addictus, either without having borrowed money at all, or for the interest as well as for the principal of that which he had borrowed.

The Lex Pœtelia, passed about B.C. 325, liberated all the Nexi then under liability, and interdicted the Nexi obligatio for ever afterwards (Cicero, De Republ. ii. 34; Livy, viii. 28). Here, as in the Seisachtheia of Solôn, the existing contracts were cancelled, at the same time that the whole class of similar contracts were forbidden for the future.

But though the Nexi obligatio was thus abolished, the old stringent remedy still continued against the debtor on loan, *as far as the principal sum borrowed*, apart from interest. Some mitigations were introduced: by Lex Julia, the still more important provision was added, that the debtor by means of a Cessio Bonorum might save his person from seizure. But this Cessio Bonorum was coupled with conditions which could not always be fulfilled, nor was the debtor admitted to the benefit of it, if he had been *guilty* of carelessness or dishonesty. Accordingly the old stringent process, and the addiction in which it ended, though it became less frequent, still continued throughout the course of Imperial Rome, and even down to the time of Justinian. The private prison, with adjudicated debtors working in it, was still the appendage to a Roman moneylender's house, even in the third and fourth centuries after the Christian æra, though the practice seems to have become rarer and rarer. The status of the *Addictus Debitor*, with its peculiar rights and obligations, is discussed by Quintilian (vii. 3); and Aulus Gellius (A.D. 160) observes—"Addici namque *nunc* et vinciri multos *videmus*, quia vinculorum pœnam deterrimi homines contemnunt". (xx. 1.)

If the *Addictus Debitor* was adjudged to several creditors, they were allowed by the Twelve Tables to divide his body among them. No example was known of this power having been ever carried into effect, but the law was understood to give the power distinctly.

It is useful to have before us the old Roman law of debtor and creditor, partly as a point of comparison with the ante-Solonian practice in Attica, partly to illustrate the difference drawn in an early state of society between the claim for the principal and the claim for the interest.

See the Abhandlung of Von Savigny in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1833, p. 70—103; the subject is also treated by the same admirable expositor in his System des heutigen Römischen Rechts, vol. v. sect. 19, and in Beilage xi. 10, 11 of that volume.

The same peculiar stringent process, which was available in the case of an action for *pecunia certa credita*, was also specially extended to the surety, who had paid down money to liquidate another man's debt; the debtor, if insolvent, became his Addictus—this was the *Actio Depensi*. I have already remarked in a former note, that in the Attic law, a case analogous to this was the only one in which the original remedy against the person of the debtor was always maintained. When a man had paid money to redeem a citizen from captivity, the latter, if he did not repay it, became the slave of the party who had advanced the money.

Walter (Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, sect. 583—715, 2nd ed.) calls in question the above explanation of Von Savigny, on grounds which do not appear to me sufficient.

How long the feeling continued, that it was immoral and irreligious to receive any interest at all for money lent, may be seen from the following notice respecting the state of the law in France even down to 1789:—

"Avant la Révolution Française (de 1789) le prêt à intérêt n'était pas également admis dans les diverses parties du royaume. Dans les pays de droit écrit, il était permis de stipuler l'intérêt des deniers prêtés: mais la jurisprudence des parlemens résistait souvent à cet usage. Suivant le droit commun des pays coutumiers, on ne pouvait stipuler aucun intérêt pour le prêt appelé en droit *mutuum*. On tenait pour maxime que l'argent ne produisant rien par lui-même, un tel prêt devait être gratuit: que la perception d'intérêts était une usure: à cet égard, on admettait assez généralement les principes du droit canonique. Du reste, la législation et la jurisprudence variaient suivant les localités et suivant la nature des contrâts et des obligations." (Carette, Lois Annotées, ou Lois, Décrets, Ordonnances, Paris, 1843; Note sur

le Décret de l'Assemblée Nationale concernant le Prêt et Intérêt, Août 11, 1789.)

The National Assembly declared the legality of all loans on interest, "suivant le taux déterminé par la loi," but did not then fix any special rate. "Le décret du 11 Avril, 1793, défendit la vente et l'achat du numéraire." "La loi du 6 floréal, an III., déclara que l'or et l'argent sont marchandises; mais elle fut rapportée par le décret du 2 prairial suivant. Les articles 1905 et 1907 du Code Civil permettent le prêt à intérêt, mais au taux fixé ou autorisé par la loi. La loi du 3 Sept., 1807, a fixé le taux d'intérêt à 5 per cent. en matière civile et à 6 per cent. en matière commerciale."

The article on Lending-houses, in Beckmann's History of Inventions (vol. iii. pp. 9—50), is highly interesting and instructive on the same subject. It traces the gradual calling in question, mitigation, and disappearance of the ancient antipathy against taking interest for money; an antipathy long sanctioned by the ecclesiastics as well as by the jurists. Lending-houses, or Monts de Piété, were first commenced in Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century, by some Franciscan monks, for the purpose of rescuing poor borrowers from the exorbitant exactions of the Jews: Pope Pius II. (Æneas Silvius, one of the ablest of the Popes, about 1458—1464) was the first who approved of one of them at Perugia, but even the papal sanction was long combated by a large proportion of ecclesiastics. At first it was to be purely charitable; not only neither giving interest to those who contributed money, nor taking interest from the borrowers—but not even providing fixed pay to the administrators: interest was tacitly taken, but the popes were a long time before they would formally approve of such a practice. "At Vicenza, in order to avoid the reproach of usury, the artifice was employed of not demanding any interest, but admonishing the borrowers that they should give a remuneration according to their piety and ability." (p. 31.) The Dominicans, partisans of the old doctrine, called these establishments Montes *Impietatis*. A Franciscan monk, Bernardinus, one of the most active promoters of the Monts de Piété, did not venture to defend, but only to excuse as an unavoidable evil, the payment of wages to the clerks and administrators: "Speciosius et religiosius fatebatur Bernardinus fore, si absque ullo penitus obolo et pretio mutuum daretur et commodaretur libere pecunia, sed pium opus et pauperum subsidium exiguo sic duraturum tempore. Non enim (inquit) tantus est ardor hominum, ut gubernatores et officiales, Montium ministerio necessarii, velint laborem hunc omnem gratis subire: quod si remunerandi sint ex sorte principali, vel ipso deposito, seu

exili Montium ærario, brevi exhaurietur, et commodum opportunumque istud pauperum refugium ubique peribit." (p. 33.)

The Council of Trent, during the following century, pronounced in favour of the legality and usefulness of these lending-houses, and this has since been understood to be the sentiment of the Catholic Church generally.

To trace this gradual change of moral feeling is highly instructive —the more so, as that general basis of sentiment, of which the antipathy against lending money on interest is only a particular case, still prevails largely in society and directs the current of moral approbation and disapprobation. In some nations, as among the ancient Persians before Cyrus, this sentiment has been carried so far as to repudiate and despise all buying and selling. (Herodot. i. 153.) With many, the principle of reciprocity in human dealings appears, when conceived in theory, odious and contemptible, and goes by some bad name, such as egoism, selfishness, calculation, political economy, &c.; the only sentiment which they will admit in theory, is, that the man who has, ought to be ready at all times to give away to him who has not; while the latter is encouraged to expect and require such gratuitous donation.

CHAPTER XII.

EUBŒA—CYCLADES.

AMONG the Ionic portion of Hellas are to be reckoned (besides Athens) Eubœa, and the numerous group of islands included between the southernmost Eubœan promontory, the eastern coast of Peloponnêsus and the north-western coast of Krête. Of these islands some are to be considered as outlying prolongations, in a south-easterly direction, of the mountain-system of Attica; others, of that of Eubœa; while a certain number of them lie apart from either system, and seem referable to a volcanic origin.[1] To the first class belong Keôs, Kythnus, Seriphus, Pholegandrus, Sikinus, Gyarus, Syra, Paros, and Antiparos; to the second class, Andros, Tênos, Mykonos, Dêlos, Naxos, Amorgos; to the third class, Kimôlus, Mêlos, Thêra. These islands passed amongst the ancients by the general names of Cyclades and Sporades; the former denomination being commonly understood to comprise those which immediately surrounded the sacred island of Dêlos,—the latter being given to those which lay more scattered and apart. But the names are not applied with uniformity or steadiness even in ancient times: at present, the whole group are usually known by the title of Cyclades.

The islands called Cyclades.

The population of these islands was called Ionic—with the exception of Styra and Karystus in the southern part of Eubœa, and the island of Kythnus, which were peopled by Dryopes,[2] the same tribe as those who have been already remarked in the Argolic peninsula; and with the exception also of Mêlos and Thêra, which were colonies from Sparta.

[1] See Fiedler, Reisen durch Griechenland, vol. ii. p. 87
[2] Herodot. viii. 46; Thucyd. vii. 57.

The island of Eubœa, long and narrow like Krête, and exhibiting a continuous backbone of lofty mountains from north-west to south-east, is separated from Bœotia at one point by a strait so narrow (celebrated in antiquity under the name of the Eurīpus), that the two were connected by a bridge for a large portion of the historical period of Greece, erected during the later times of the Peloponnesian war by the inhabitants of Chalkis.[1] Its general want of breadth leaves little room for plains. The area of the island consists principally of mountain, rock, dell, and ravine, suited in many parts for pasture, but rarely convenient for grain-culture or town habitations. Some plains there were, however, of great fertility, especially that of Lelantum,[2] bordering on the sea near Chalkis, and continuing from that city in a southerly direction towards Eretria. Chalkis and Eretria, both situated on the western coast, and both occupying parts of this fertile plain, were the two principal places in the island: the domain of each seems to have extended across the island from sea to sea.[3] Towards the northern end of the island were situated Histiæa, afterwards called Oreus —as well as Kêrinthus and Dium: Athênæ Diades, Ædêpsus, Ægæ, and Orobiæ, are also mentioned on the north-western coast over against Lokris. Dystus, Styra, and Karystus are made known to us in the portion of the island south of Eretria—the two latter opposite to the Attic demes Halæ Araphênides and Prasiæ.[4] The wide extent of the island of Eubœa was thus distributed between six or seven cities, the larger and central portion belonging to Chalkis and Eretria. But the extensive mountain lands, applicable only for pastures in the summer—for the most part public lands, let out for pasture to such proprietors as had the means of providing winter sustenance elsewhere for their cattle, —were never visited by any one except the shepherds. They

Eubœa.

Its six or seven towns —Chalkis, Eretria, &c.

[1] Diodor. xiii. 47.

[2] Kallimachus, Hymn. ad Delum, 289, with Spanheim's note; Theognis, v. 888; Theophrast. Hist. Plant. 8, 5. See Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. ch. 14, p. 254, *seq.* The passage of Theognis leads to the belief that Kêrinthus formed part of the territory of Chalkis.

[3] Skylax (c. 59) treats the island of Skyrus as opposite to Eretria, the territory of which must therefore have included a portion of the eastern coast of Eubœa, as well as the western. He recognises only four cities in the island — Karystus, Eretria, Chalkis, and Hestiæa.

[4] Mannert, Geograph. der Gr. u. Röm. part viii. book i. c. 16, p. 248; Strabo, x. p. 445—449.

were hardly better known to the citizens resident in Chalkis and Eretria than if they had been situated on the other side of the Ægean.[1]

How peopled.

The towns above enumerated in Eubœa, excepting Athênæ Diades, all find a place in the Iliad. Of their history we know no particulars until considerably after 776 B.C. They are first introduced to us as Ionic, though in Homer the population are called Abantes. The Greek authors are never at a loss to give us the etymology of a name. While Aristotle tells us that the Abantes were Thracians who had passed over into the island from Abæ in Phôkis, Hesiod deduces the name of Eubœa from the cow Iô.[2] Hellopia, a district near Histiæa, was said to have been founded by Hellops son of Iôn: according to others, Æklus and Kothus, two Athenians,[3] were the founders, the former of Eretria, the latter of Chalkis and Kêrinthus: and we are told, that among the demes of Attica, there were two named Histiæa and Eretria, from whence some contended that the appellations of the two Eubœan towns were derived. Though Herodotus represents the population of Styra as Dryopian, there were others who contended that the town had originally been peopled from Marathôn and the Tetrapolis of Attica, partly from the deme called Steireïs. The principal writers whom Strabo consulted seem to trace the population of Eubœa, by one means or another, to an Attic origin; though there were peculiarities in the Eretrian dialect which gave rise to the supposition that

[1] The seventh Oration of Dio Chrysostom, which describes his shipwreck near Cape Kaphareus, on the island of Eubœa, and the shelter and kindness which he experienced from a poor mountain huntsman, presents one of the most interesting pictures remaining, of this purely rustic portion of the Greek population (Or. vii. p. 221 *seq.*)—men who never entered the city, and were strangers to the habits, manners, and dress there prevailing—men who drank milk and were clothed in skins (γαλακτοπότας ἀνῆρ, οὐρειβάτας, Eurip. Elektr. 169), yet nevertheless (as it seems) possessing right of citizenship (p. 238) which they never exercised. The industry of the poor men visited by Dion had brought into cultivation a little garden and field in a desert spot near Kaphareus.

Two-thirds of the territory of this Euboic city consisted of barren mountain (p. 232); it must probably have been Karystus.

The high lands of Eubœa were both uninhabited and difficult of approach, even at the time of the battle of Marathôn, when Chalkis and Eretria had not greatly declined from the maximum of their power: the inhabitants of Eretria looked to τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης as a refuge against the Persian force under Datis (Herod. vii. 100).

[2] Strabo, x. p. 445.

[3] Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. p. 296: Strab. x. p. 446 (whose statements are very perplexed): Velleius Patercul. i. 4.

According to Skymnus the Chian (v. 572), Chalkis was founded by Pandôrus son of Erechtheus, and Kêrinthus by Kothôn, from Athens.

they had been joined by settlers from Elis, or from the Triphylian Makistus.

Early power of Chalkis, Eretria, Naxos, &c.

Our earliest historical intimations represent Chalkis and Eretria as the wealthiest, most powerful, and most enterprising Ionic cities in European Greece—apparently surpassing Athens, and not inferior to Samos or Milêtus. Besides the fertility of the plain Lelantum, Chalkis possessed the advantage of copper and iron ore—obtained in immediate proximity both to the city and to the sea—which her citizens smelted and converted into arms and other implements, with a very profitable result. The Chalkidic sword acquired a distinctive renown.[1] In this mineral source of wealth several of the other islands shared: iron ore is found in Keôs, Kythnus, and Seriphus, and traces are still evident in the latter island of extensive smelting formerly practised.[2] Moreover in Siphnus, there were in early times veins of silver and gold, by which the inhabitants were greatly enriched; though their large acquisitions, attested by the magnitude of the tithe[3] which they offered at the Delphian temple, were only of temporary duration, and belong principally to the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian æra. The island of Naxos too was at an early day wealthy and populous. Andros, Tênos, Keôs, and several other islands were at one time reduced to dependence upon Eretria:[4] other islands seem to have been in like manner dependent upon Naxos, which at the time immediately preceding the Ionic revolt possessed a considerable maritime force, and could muster 8000 heavy-armed citizens[5]—a very large force for any single Grecian

[1] Strabo, x. p. 446.—Πὰρ δὲ Χαλκιδικαὶ σπάθαι (Alkæus, Fragm. 7, Schneidewin)—Χαλκιδικὸν ποτήριον (Aristophan. Equit. 237)—certainly belongs to the Euboic Chalkis, not to the Thrakian Chalkidikê. Boeckh, Staatshaushalt. der Athener, vol. ii. p. 284, App. xi., cites Χαλκιδικὰ ποτήρια in an inscription: compare Steph. Byz. Χαλκίς.—Ναυσικλείτης Εὐβοίης, Homer. Hymn. Apoll. 219.

[2] See the mineralogical account of the islands in Fiedler (Reisen, vol. ii. pp. 88, 118, 562).

The copper and iron ore near Chalkis had ceased to be worked even in the time of Strabo: Fiedler indicates the probable site (vol. i. p. 443).

[3] Herodot. iii. 57. Siphnus, however, was still of considerable wealth and importance about 380 B.C.,—see Isokrates, Or. xix. (Ægin.) s. 9—47. The Siphnians, in an evil hour, committed the wrong of withholding their tithe: the sea soon rushed in and rendered the mines ever afterwards unworkable (Pausan. x. 11, 2).

[4] Strabo, x. p. 448.

[5] Herodot. v. 31. Compare the accounts of these various islands in the recent voyages of Professor Ross, Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln, vol. i. letter 2; vol. ii. letter 15.

The population of Naxos is now about 11,000 souls; that of Andros, 15,000 (Ross, vol. i. p. 28; vol ii. p. 22).

city. The military force of Eretria was not much inferior; for in the temple of the Amarynthian Artemis, nearly a mile from the city, to which the Eretrians were in the habit of marching in solemn procession to celebrate the festival of the goddess, there stood an ancient column setting forth that the procession had been performed by no less than 3000 hoplites, 600 horsemen, and 60 chariots.[1] The date of this inscription cannot be known, but it can hardly be earlier than the 45th Olympiad or 600 B.C.—near about the time of the Solônian legislation. Chalkis was still more powerful than Eretria: both were in early times governed by an oligarchy, which among the Chalkidians was called the Hippobotæ or Horsefeeders—proprietors probably of most part of the plain called Lelantum, and employing the adjoining mountains as summer pasture for their herds. The extent of their property is attested by the large number of 4000 Klêruchs or out-freemen, whom Athens quartered upon their lands, after the victory gained over them when they assisted the expelled Hippias in his efforts to regain the Athenian sceptre.[2]

Confining our attention, as we now do, to the first two centuries of Grecian history, or the interval between 776 B.C. and 560 B.C., there are scarce any facts which we can produce to ascertain the condition of these Ionic islands. Two or three circumstances, however, may be named which go to confirm our idea of their early wealth and importance.

Early Ionic festival at Dêlos: crowded and wealthy.

1. The Homeric Hymn to Apollo presents to us the island of Dêlos as the centre of a great periodical festival in honour of Apollo, celebrated by all the cities, insular and continental, of the Ionic name. What the date of this hymn is, we have no means of determining. Thucydidês quotes it without hesitation as the production of Homer, and doubtless it was in his time universally accepted as such—though modern critics concur in regarding both that and the other hymns as much later than the Iliad and Odyssey. Yet it cannot probably be later than 600 B.C. The description of the Ionic visitors presented to us in this hymn is

But the extent and fertility of the Naxian plain perfectly suffice for that aggregate population of 100,000 souls, which seems implied in the account of Herodotus.

[1] Strabo, *l. c.*

[2] Herodot. v. 77; Aristoteles, Fragment *περὶ Πολιτειῶν*, ed. Neumann, p. 111—112: compare Aristot. Polit. iv. 3, 2.

splendid and imposing. The number of their ships, the display of their finery, the beauty of their women, the athletic exhibitions, as well as the matches of song and dance—all these are represented as making an ineffaceable impression on the spectator:[1] "the assembled Ionians look as if they were beyond the reach of old age or death". Such was the magnificence of which Dêlos was the periodical theatre, calling forth the voices and poetical genius not merely of itinerant bards, but also of the Delian maidens in the temple of Apollo, during the century preceding 560 B.C. At that time it was the great central festival of the Ionians in Asia and Europe; frequented by the twelve Ionic cities in and near Asia Minor, as well as by Athens and Chalkis in Europe. It had not yet been superseded by the Ephesia as the exclusive festival of these Asiatics: nor had the Panathenæa of Athens reached the importance which afterwards came to belong to them during the plenitude of the Athenian power.

We find both Polykratês of Samos and Peisistratus of Athens taking a warm interest in the sanctity of Dêlos and the celebrity of her festival.[2] But it was partly the rise of these two great Ionian despots, partly the conquests of the Persians in Asia Minor, which broke up the independence of the numerous petty Ionian cities, during the last half of the sixth century before the Christian æra; hence the great festival at Dêlos gradually declined in importance. Though never wholly intermitted, it was shorn of much of its previous ornament, and especially of that which constituted the first of all ornaments—the crowd of joyous visitors. And Thucydidês, when he notices the attempt made by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, in the height of their naval supremacy, to revive the Delian festival, quotes the Homeric Hymn to Apollo as a certificate of its foregone and long-forgotten splendour. We perceive that even *he* could find no better evidence than this hymn, for Grecian transactions of a century anterior to Peisistratus —and we may therefore judge how imperfectly the history of this

Its decline about 560 B.C.—causes thereof.

[1] Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Del. 146—176; Thucyd. iii. 104:

Φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι αἰεί,
Ὅς τότ' ἐπαντιάσειε' ὅτ' Ἰάονες ἄθροοι εἶεν·
Πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμὸν,
Ἄνδρας τ' εἰσορόων, καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας,
Νῆάς τ' ὠκείας, ἠδ' αὐτῶν χρήματα πολλά.

[2] Thucyd. iii. 104.

period was known to the men who took part in the Peloponnesian war. The hymn is exceedingly precious as an historical document, because it attests to us a transitory glory and extensive association of the Ionic Greeks on both sides of the Ægean Sea, which the conquests of the Lydians first, and of the Persians afterwards, overthrew —a time when the hair of the wealthy Athenian was decorated with golden ornaments, and his tunic made of linen,[1] like that of the Milesians and Ephesians, instead of the more sober costume and woollen clothing which he subsequently copied from Sparta and Peloponnêsus—a time too when the Ionic name had not yet contracted that stain of effeminacy and cowardice which stood imprinted upon it in the time of Herodotus and Thucydidês, and which grew partly out of the subjugation of the Asiatic Ionians by Persia, partly out of the antipathy of the Peloponnesian Dorians to Athens. The author of the Homeric hymn, in describing the proud Ionians who thronged in his day to the Delian festival, could hardly have anticipated a time to come when the name *Ionian* would become a reproach, such as the European Greeks, to whom it really belonged, were desirous of disclaiming.[2]

Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo—evidence as to early Ionic life.

2. Another illustrative fact in reference both to the Ionians generally, and to Chalkis and Eretria in particular, during the century anterior to Peisistratus, is to be found in the war between these two cities respecting the fertile plain Lelantum which lay between them. In general, it appears, these two important towns maintained harmonious relations. But there were some occasions of dispute, and one in particular, wherein a formidable war ensued between them, several allies joining with each It is remarkable that this was the only war known to Thucydidês (anterior to the Persian conquest) which had risen above the dignity of a mere quarrel between neighbours : and in which so many different states manifested a disposition to interfere, as to impart to it a semi-Hellenic character.[3] Respecting

War between Chalkis and Eretria in early times—extensive alliances of each.

[1] Thucyd. i. 6. διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον, &c.

[2] Herodot. i. 143. Οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλῆσθαι—an assertion unquestionable with reference to the times immediately preceding Herodotus, but not equally admissible in regard to the earlier times. Compare Thucyd. i. 124 (with the Scholium), and also v. 9; viii. 25.

[3] Thucyd. i. 15. The second Messenian war cannot have appeared to

the allies of each party on this occasion we know only, that the Milesians lent assistance to Eretria, and the Samians, as well as the Thessalians and the Chalkidic colonies in Thrace, to Chalkis. A column, still visible during the time of Strabo in the temple of the Amarynthian Artemis near Eretria, recorded the covenant entered into mutually by the two belligerents, to abstain from missiles, and to employ nothing but hand weapons. The Eretrians are said to have been superior in horse, but they were vanquished in the battle: the tomb of Kleomachus of Pharsalus, a distinguished warrior who had perished in the cause of the Chalkidians, was erected in the agora of Chalkis. We know nothing of the date, the duration, or the particulars of this war;[1] but it seems that the Eretrians were worsted, though their city always maintained its dignity as the second state in the island. Chalkis was decidedly the first, and continued to be flourishing, populous, and commercial, long after it had lost its political importance throughout all the period of Grecian independent history.[2]

Commerce and colonies of Chalkis and Eretria —Euboic scale of money and weight.

3. Of the importance of Chalkis and Eretria, during the seventh and part of the eighth century before the Christian æra, we gather other evidences—partly in the numerous colonies founded by them (to which I shall advert in a subsequent chapter),—partly in the prevalence throughout a large portion of Greece, of the Euboic scale of weight and money. What the quantities and proportions of this scale were has been first shown by M. Boeckh in his "Metrologie". It was of Eastern origin, and the gold collected by Dareius in tribute throughout the vast Persian empire was ordered to be delivered in Euboic talents.

Thucydidês as having enlisted so many allies on each side as Pausanias represents.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 448; Herodot. v. 99; Plutarch, Amator. p. 760—valuable by the reference to Aristotle.

Hesiod passed over from Askra to Chalkis (on the occasion of the funeral games celebrated by the sons of Amphidamas in honour of their deceased father), and gained a tripod as prize by his song or recital (Opp. Di. 656). According to the Scholia, Amphidamas was king of Chalkis, who perished in the war against Eretria respecting Lelantum. But it appears that Plutarch threw out the lines as spurious, though he acknowledges Amphidamas as a vigorous champion of Chalkis in this war. See Septem Sapient. Conviv. c. 10, p. 153.

This visit of Hesiod to Chalkis was represented as the scene of his poetical competition with and victory over Homer (see the Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 315, ed. Göttl.).

[2] See the striking description of Chalkis given by Dikæarchus in the Βίος Ἑλλάδος (Fragment. p. 146, ed. Fuhr).

Its divisions—the talent equal to 60 minæ, the mina equal to 100 drachms, the drachm equal to 6 obols—were the same as those of the scale called Æginæan, introduced by Pheidôn of Argos. But the six obols of the Euboic drachm contained a weight of silver equal only to five Æginæan obols, so that the Euboic denominations —drachm, mina, and talent—were equal only to five-sixths of the same denominations in the Æginæan scale. It was the Euboic scale which prevailed at Athens before the debasement introduced by Solôn; which debasement (amounting to about 27 per cent., as has been mentioned in a previous chapter) created a third scale called the Attic, distinct both from the Æginæan and Euboic—standing to the former in the ratio of 3 : 5, and to the latter in the ratio of 18 : 25. It seems plain that the Euboic scale was adopted by the Ionians through their intercourse with the Lydians[1] and other Asiatics, and that it became naturalised among their cities under the name of the Euboic, because Chalkis and Eretria were the most actively commercial states in the Ægean—just as the superior commerce of Ægina, among the Dorian states, had given to the scale introduced by Pheidôn of Argos the name of Æginæan. The fact of its being so called indicates a time when these two Eubœan cities surpassed Athens in maritime power and extended commercial relations, and when they stood among the foremost of the Ionic cities throughout Greece. The Euboic scale, after having been debased by Solôn in reference to coinage and money, still continued in use at Athens for merchandise. The Attic mercantile mina retained its primitive Euboic weight.[2]

Three different Grecian scales—Æginæan Euboic, and Attic—their ratio to each other.

[1] Herodot. i. 94.

[2] See Boeckh's Metrologie, c. 8 and 9.

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